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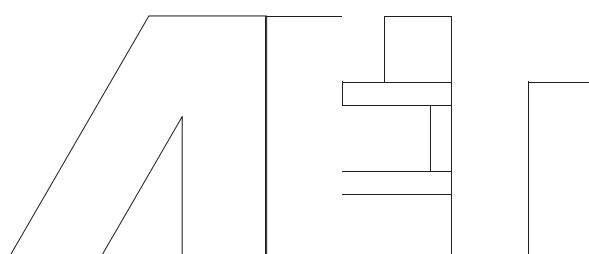
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## MOŽE LI TURIZAM OŽIVJETI HRVATSKU EKONOMIJU?

CAN TOURISM REVIVE THE  
CROATIAN ECONOMY?

**SAŽETAK:** Hrvatska ima jednu od najslabijih ekonomija u Europskoj uniji. Najsnažniji pokretač nacionalne ekonomije su poduzeća. No, hrvatska poduzetnost ne rangira najbolje. Hrvatska vlada nuda se da će turizam pomoći oživjeti gospodarstvo. To je realna nuda, ali će se realizirati samo kroz usklađeno djelovanje poduzeća, vlade i obrazovnog sektora.

**KLJUČNE RIJEČI:** turizam, ekonomija, razvoj

**ABSTRACT:** Croatia has one of its weakest economies in European Union. The most powerful engine driving a nation's economy is its businesses. But Croatian business is not faring well. The Croatian government is hoping tourism will help revive the economy. This is a realistic hope but one that will be realized only through concerted action by business, government, and the education sector.

**KEY WORDS:** tourism, economy, development

U protekle četiri godine predavala sam tri do četiri predmeta godišnje na DIU Libertas Međunarodnom sveučilištu, te dio vremena služila kao rektorica. Bilo je to za mene bogato iskustvo učenja; Hrvatska je sada moj drugi dom. Stari grad Dubrovnik je povijesno i arhitektonsko blago koje privlači golem broj turista, pogotovo tijekom proljetnih i ljetnih mjeseci. Srećom za većinu turista i posjetitelja – uključujući gostujuće profesore – većina stanovnika naučili su govoriti engleski, jer je hrvatski, sa svojim narječjima i mnogim nijansama, strancima teško svladati. Većina se i ne trudi svladati ga, s obzirom na relativno malo ljudi u svijetu koji ga pričaju, te razmjerne kratko vrijeme koje gosti provedu u zemlji.

Moji studenti su topli, gostoljubivi i željni druženja s ludom američkom profesoricom, koja je više zainteresirana za izazivanje na formiranje njihova vlastitog mišljenja nego za govorenje na koji bi način trebali razmišljati. Posvećena sam im, ali i zabrinuta za njihovu budućnost. Moji najbolji diplomanti maju poteškoća u pronalaženju poslova; stopa nezaposlenosti je 18,5 posto u Hrvatskoj, ali 44 posto za ljude mlađe od 25 godina.

Od ulaska Hrvatske u EU u srpnju 2013. godine, mnogi napuštaju zemlju u potrazi za poslom u Bruxellesu, Londonu ili negdje drugdje u Europi. Brine me što budućnost nosi njima i ovoj prelijepoj državi.

Hrvatska, najnoviji član Europske unije, ima jednu od najslabijih ekonomija. Rast je bio negativan od 2008. godine, uključujući i posebno jadnih -5,8 posto u 2009. Iako se prosječni rast zemalja EU u 2015. godini procjenjuje se na 1,5 posto, hrvatski BDP očekuje pad od jedan posto.

Najsnažniji pokretač nacionalne ekonomije su poduzeća. No, hrvatska poduzetnost ne rangira najbolje. U 2014. godini, Svjetski gospodarski forum rangirao je Hrvatsku nacionalnu konkurentnost na 77. mjesto od 144 zemalje, a kvalitetu hrvatskog obrazovnog sustava čak i niže, na 97. mjesto od 144. Svjetska banka rangirala je hrvatsku "lakoću poslovanja" na 65. mjesto od 189 zemalja, a

For the past four years I have taught three or four courses per year at DIU and for a time served as Rector. It has been a rich and rewarding learning experience; Croatia is now like a second home.

The old city of Dubrovnik is a historical and architectural treasure that attracts vast numbers of tourists, especially during the spring and summer months. Fortunately, for most tourists and visitors – including visiting professors – most citizens have learned to speak English since Croatian, with its eight cases and many nuances, is extremely difficult for foreigners to master. Not many bother to make the effort, given the relatively few people in the world who speak it and the comparatively short time most visitors remain in the country.

My students are warm, welcoming and eager to go along with the crazy American professor who is more interested in eliciting their opinions than in telling them what to think. I am dedicated to them but also worried about their future. My best graduates have difficulty finding jobs; the unemployment rate is 18.5 percent in Croatia but 44 percent for young people under the age of 25.

Since Croatia's entry into the EU in July 2013, many are leaving the country to look for work in Brussels, London, or elsewhere in Europe. I am worried about what the future will hold for them and this beautiful country.

Croatia, the newest member of the European Union, has one of its weakest economies. Growth has been negative since 2008, including an especially woeful -5.8 percent in 2009. While the average growth of EU nations in 2015 is estimated to be 1.5 percent, Croatia's GDP is expected to decline by one percent.

The most powerful engine driving a nation's economy is its businesses. But Croatian business is not faring well. In 2014, the World Economic Forum ranked Croatia's national competitiveness #77 out of 144 countries; it ranked the quality of the Croatian education system even lower – #97 out of 144. The World Bank ranked Croatia's "Ease of Doing Business" #65 out of

za "dijeljenje građevinskih dozvola" – ključni pokazatelj gospodarskog rasta – Hrvatska je ocijenjena još lošije – 178. od 189 država!

Hrvatska vlada nuda se da će turizam pomoći oživjeti gospodarstvo. To je realna nuda, ali će se realizirati samo kroz usklađeno djelovanje poduzeća, vlade i obrazovnog sektora. Diljem svijeta, turistička industrija je golema, računajući godišnje prihode od oko milijardu dolara,<sup>1</sup> što iznosi gotovo 10 posto globalnog BDP-a, a zapošljava više od 270 milijuna ljudi. Turizam također ubrzano raste. U 2015. godini, predviđa se da će industrijski doprinos globalnom BDP-u narasti 3,7 posto – i iznad procijenjene globalne stope gospodarskog rasta. Diljem svijeta zapošljavanje u turizmu očekuje porast u 2015. za 2,6 posto.<sup>2</sup>

Uz mediteransku klimu duž obale od gotovo 6.000 km i s više od tisuću otoka, Hrvatska je idealno mjesto za iskoristiti rast u svjetskom turizmu. U 2014. godini, više od deset milijuna turista posjetilo je Hrvatsku, što je donijelo više od 15 posto BDP-a Hrvatske. Turizam u Hrvatskoj "generira dovoljno mogućnosti za zapošljavanje da je zemlja bila u mogućnosti smanjiti nezaposlenost na godišnjoj razini od 7 posto" (Economics Watch). Vlada se nuda uvođenju tog broja do 2020.

No, Vlada još nije razvila strategiju za rast turizma – osim dovođenja sve više ljudi. Nekoliko izazova učinit će dostizanje cilja rasta težim. Prvo, turizam je sezonski. U 2011. godini, 94 posto ukupnog broja turističkih noćenja dogodilo se unutar četiri mjeseca – od početka lipnja do kraja rujna. Hoteli, restorani i trgovine gotovo sve prihode zarađuju u ovom kratkom, intenzivnom razdoblju. Velik dio turističke infrastrukture – restorani, izleti, trgovine – zatvoreni su izvan sezone. Kao rezultat toga, industrijska imovina ne koristi se učinkovito, proteže se do maksimuma od četiri mjeseca, a onda je ostatak godine gotova prazna. Ovaj način rada stvara niz nepovoljnih učinaka: upropastava zaposlenike i njihove radne navike i odnose, odvraća ulaganja i inovacije. Također,

189 countries; for its "Dealing with construction permits" – a key indicator of economic growth – Croatia is rated even lower – 178 out of 189!

The Croatian government is hoping tourism will help revive the economy. This is a realistic hope but one that will be realized only through concerted action by business, government, and the education sector. Worldwide, the tourism industry is enormous, accounting for annual revenues of about \$1 trillion,<sup>1</sup> contributing almost 10 percent to global GDP, and employing more than 270 million people. Tourism is also growing rapidly. In 2015, the industry's contribution to global GDP is forecast to grow by 3.7 percent – well above the estimated global economic growth rate. Worldwide employment in tourism is set to expand in 2015 by 2.6 percent.<sup>2</sup>

With a Mediterranean climate along a coastline of almost 6,000 km and over one thousand islands, Croatia is an ideal location to take advantage of this growth in world tourism. In 2014, over ten million tourists visited Croatia, contributing more than 15 percent of Croatia's GDP. Tourism in Croatia has "generated enough employment opportunities that the country has been able to decrease its unemployment at an annual rate of 7 percent" (Economics Watch). The government is hoping to double that number of visitors by 2020.

But the government has not yet developed a strategy to grow tourism – besides bringing in more people. Several challenges will make hitting growth targets difficult. First, tourism is highly seasonal. In 2011, 94 percent of the total number of tourist overnight stays took place in four months – from early June to the end of September. Hotels, restaurants and stores make almost all of the revenue during this short, intensive period. Much of the tourist infrastructure – restaurants, tours, shops – are shuttered for the long off-season. As a result, the industry's assets are not utilized efficiently, stretched to the maximum for four months then virtually idle the rest of the year. This pattern

potiče manipulaciju cijenama i nekonkurentnost. Konačno, česti, masivni valovi posjetitelja tijekom sezone mogu uzrokovati fizičku štetu na povijesnim znamenitostima. Za porast turizma, Hrvatska mora pronaći način kako privući više posjetitelja izvan sezone.

Druge, hrvatski obalni gradovi oslanjaju se na kruzere. Dubrovnik je doživio porast od četiri puta posjetitelja s kruzera u posljednjih deset godina.<sup>3</sup> Tri od pet turista dolaze s kruzera i ostaju manje od jednog dana.<sup>4</sup> Dakle, taj oblik turizma nije toliko isplativ za lokalne tvrtke kao ostali oblici turizma. To također može biti štetno za ugled neke lokacije kao turističke destinacije. "Sporno je", napominje Huffington Post "nadmašuju li turistički prihodi probleme koje uzrokuju posjetitelji velikih kruzera".<sup>5</sup>

Glavne putničke stranice i agencije kritiziraju priljev dolazaka u Dubrovnik s velikih kruzera. Na svojoj utjecajnoj Sunday Travel stranici, jedan New York Times recenzent nazvao je Dubrovnik "najgori grad ograđen zidom... Mjesto je toliko preopterećeno turistima da ne postoji gotovo ni traga od lokalnog života. Grad me najviše podsjetio na Pompeje, osim što stanovnici ovdje nisu bili zakopani vulkanskom prašinom, oni su se jednostavno preselili u druga susjedstva".<sup>6</sup>

Slične kritike gužvi s kruzera sve više preplavljaju popularne turističke web stranice. Britanski putnički blogger zabilježio je:

"S putnicima s kruzera koji dolaze u grad nakon doručka, te se vraćaju na brod sredinom poslijepodneva, lokalni kafići i restorani pretvaraju se u *fast food* poslovnice, a tradicionalne obrtničke trgovine u jeftine trgovine uvoznih suvenira da zadovolje zahtjeve posjetitelja siromašnih vremenom, na ekonomski trošak svojim vlasnicima. Iako putnici s kruzera potroše u prosjeku 50 dolara po danu u gradu, procjenjuje se da turisti smješteni na kopnu potroše tri puta više, a ostaju puno duže. Vlada zabrinutost da će plimni val kruzera istisnuti kopnene posjetitelje, koje će otjerati horde dnevnih posjetitelja na kopnenim izletima."<sup>7</sup>

produces a number of adverse effects. It wreaks havoc on employees and employment practices. It discourages investment and innovation. It encourages price manipulation and non-competitive behaviors. Finally, frequent, massive waves of visitors during the season may cause physical damage to historic sites. To grow tourism, Croatia must find a way to attract more visitors during the offseason.

Second, Croatia's coastal cities rely heavily on cruise-ship tourism. Dubrovnik has seen a four-fold increase in cruise visitors in the past ten years.<sup>3</sup> Three in five tourists arrive by cruise ship and stay for less than one day.<sup>4</sup> Cruise-ship tourism therefore is not as profitable for local businesses as other forms of tourism. It can also be damaging to a location's reputation as a tourist destination. "It is debatable," notes The Huffington Post, "whether the tourist revenues outweigh the problems caused... by visitors from large cruise ships."<sup>5</sup>

Major travel sites criticize the influx of arrivals to Dubrovnik from large cruise ships. On its influential Sunday Travel page, one New York Times reviewer called Dubrovnik "the Worst Walled City... The place is so overrun with tourists that there is virtually no sign of local life... the city it most reminded me of was Pompeii, except here the residents weren't buried by volcanic ash, they simply moved to other neighborhoods."<sup>6</sup>

Similar criticisms of crowds from the cruise ships are all over popular internet travel sites. Notes a self-professed "cranky" but representative British online travel blogger:

"With cruise passengers arriving in the city after breakfast and returning in mid-afternoon, local cafes and restaurants are transforming into fast food outlets, and traditional craft shops into tacky imported souvenir shops to meet the demands of time-poor visitors, at an economic cost to their owners. And over-crowding in Dubrovnik's, winding cobbled streets is compounding the problem. Although cruise passengers spend on

No, putnički brodovi i kruzeri su isto tako i zlatna guska zajednicama poput Dubrovnika. Prijodi od naknada pristajanja tih velikih brodova omogućuju gradovima da plate račune. Pa kako onda Hrvatska može udvostručiti turizam bez ugrožavanja ugleda na turističkom tržištu ili uništavanja povijesnih znamenitosti?

## TURIZAM KAO KLASTER

Istraživanje ekonomista Michaela Portera pokazalo je da je nacionalni i regionalni prosperitet povezan s onim što on naziva "klasteri" – "zemljopisne koncentracije međusobno povezanih poduzeća, dobavljača i institucija u određenom području".<sup>8</sup> Organizacije u klasteru rade za zajedničku dobrobit. Takve organizacije protežu se od onih kojemu je izravno uključene u odnos s turistima – hoteli, restorani, taksi tvrtke i tako dalje – do onih koji pružaju neizravnu podršku – pravonice, trgovci hranom i vinom, turistički uredi i obrazovne ustanove.<sup>9</sup>

Karipski otok Bermuda pruža dobru ilustraciju njegovanja turističkog klastera. Trideset posto Bermudskog BDP-a dolazi od 600.000 posjetitelja godišnje: 36 posto stiže ih zrakom, a 63 posto dolaze brodom. Posjetitelji s kruzera predstavljaju iste probleme gužve i prihoda za Bermude kao i za Dubrovnik. Bermudska turistička vlast (BTA) radi na osiguravanju ravnoteže između kratkoročnih i dugoročnih posjetitelja. BTA procjenjuje da je prosječan boravak turista koji dolaze na otok zrakoplovom 6 dana, a potrošnja pet puta veća od onih koji dolaze kruzerima. BTA koristi sljedeću ilustraciju (Prikaz 1) da objasne koordinaciju potrebnu za jačanje svog turističkog klastera.<sup>10</sup> Svi dijelovi lanca vrijednosti od ključne su važnosti u rastu turizma klastera.

## IZGRADITI TURISTIČKI KLASTER

Sve komponente vitalnog turističkog klastera prisutne su u Hrvatskoj, ali dokazi pokazuju da

average \$50 per day in the city, land-based tourists are estimated to spend three times as much, and stay much longer. The worry is that the tidal wave of cruisers will crowd out land-based visitors, put off by the hordes of day trippers on shore excursions.<sup>7</sup>

But the cruise ships are also the golden goose for communities like Dubrovnik. Revenue from the docking fees assessed from these large ships enable cash-strapped cities to pay their bills. So how can Croatia double its tourism without endangering its reputation in the tourism market or destroying its historic sites?

## TOURISM AS A CLUSTER

The research of economist Michael Porter has demonstrated that national and regional prosperity is linked to what he calls "clusters" – "geographical concentrations of interconnected businesses, suppliers, and associated institutions in a particular field."<sup>8</sup> Organizations in a cluster work together for the benefit of all. Such organizations range from those directly involved with tourists – hotels, restaurants, taxi companies, and so on – to those who provide indirect support – laundries, food and wine retailers, tourist bureaus, and educational institutions.<sup>9</sup>

The Caribbean island of Bermuda provides a good illustration of nurturing a tourism cluster. Thirty percent of the Bermudan GDP comes from its 600,000 visitors per year; 36 percent arrive by air; 63 percent arrive by cruise ship. Cruise ship visitors pose the same crowding and revenue problems for Bermuda as they do for Dubrovnik and the Bermuda Tourist Authority (BTA) works to provide a balance between short- and long-term visitors. BTA estimates that tourists who arrive on the island by air stay for 6 days and spend five times as much as those who arrive by cruise ship. BTA uses the following illustration (Figure 1) to explain the coordination necessary to strengthen its tourism cluster.<sup>10</sup> All parts of the value chain are critically important in growing the tourism cluster.

### PRIKAZ 1. DIONICI U TURISTIČKOM LANCU VRIJEDNOSTI MORAJU IGRATI VAŽNU ULOGU U IMPLEMENTACIJI PLANA

FIGURE 1. STAKEHOLDERS ACROSS THE TOURISM VALUE CHAIN HAVE AN IMPORTANT ROLE TO PLAY IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PLAN



moraju bliže surađivati. Da bi turizam postao pokretač rasta u Hrvatskoj, javne, privatne i druge zainteresirane strane (škole i sveučilišta, na primjer) moraju stvarati jače i čvršće veze.

*Vlada kao sazivač* – Vlada je u Hrvatskoj jako često u ulozi primarnog ekonomskog sudionika. No Vladine politike prečesto stvaraju prepreke prosperitetu nacije.<sup>11</sup> Uloga Vlade ne bi trebala biti vođenje klastera ili govorenje dionicima u industriji što trebaju činiti. Umjesto toga, Vlada bi trebala sazivati dionike, pomoći u izgradnji klastera i obazirati se na savjete o tome koje bi zakone trebalo preraditi ili donijeti.

*Posao Upravljača* – Razne tvrtke u turističkom lancu vrijednosti trebaju biti vođe promjena. Ako te tvrtke rade zajedno kako bi podržale jedna drugu – kroz suradnju na pitanjima kao što su dijeljenje troškova marketinga i promocije, na primjer – svaki dio lanca vrijednosti bit će snažniji.

### BUILD A TOURISM CLUSTER

The components of a vital tourism cluster are all present in Croatia but the evidence suggests that they need to work more closely together. For tourism to become a driver of growth in Croatia, public, private, and other interested parties (schools and universities, for example) must forge stronger and tighter linkages.

*Government as Convener* – Too often in Croatia, the government is seen as the primary economic actor. More often than not, however, its policies form obstacles to the prosperity of the nation's businesses.<sup>11</sup> The role of the government is not to lead the cluster or tell the stakeholders in the industry what to do. Rather, government should convene the stakeholders, help build the cluster, and heed their advice about what policies may need to be revised or developed.

Škole i sveučilišta mogu pomoći u izgradnji ljudskih resursa kako bi klaster uspio. Obrazovni programi u turizmu, kao što je novi program na DIU Libertas sveučilištu, obećavajući su i mogu pomoći u razvoju zaposlenika osposobljenih za rad s turistima, da bi se osiguralo da njihova iskustva budu vrlo pozitivna. Škole turizma mogu nam pomoći da razumijemo zašto turisti dolaze, što traže, kako ih oduševiti, kako ih potaknuti da preporuče Hrvatsku svojim prijateljima i da se i sami ponovno vrate. Da bi se to postiglo, programi u turizmu moraju staviti naglasak na poznавanje engleskog jezika (jezika turizma), naučiti snažnu usmjerenost na uslugu za potrošače, te bi trebali koristiti studije slučaja najboljih praksi iz cijelog svijeta.

## NAGLASAK REGIONALNIH ODNOSSA

Dubrovnik je odredište samo po sebi, ali može izvući dodatnu korist iz suradnje sa susjedima duž obale. Turisti će radije produžiti svoj boravak ako znaju da su druge atrakcije u regiji lako dostupne, pristupačne, te da ih je moguće lako povezati i uskladiti. Dalmatinska obala je jedna od najslikovitijih na svijetu, a mnoga od njezinih bogatstava posjećuju samo najpučeniji turisti. Dnevni izleti ili kratka jednodnevna putovanja s noćenjem iz Dubrovnika mogu se produžiti uz obalu do Splita, Trogira i Zadra. Degustacije vina na poluotoku Pelješac, plodovi mora u Stonu, posjeti nacionalnim parkovima – sve to treba biti dio poboljšanog turističkog klastera, koji bi mogao privući više dugoročnih putnika kroz povećanu regionalnu suradnju.

## PROMJENA RAZMIŠLJANJA

Mnogi gradovi i regije obdareni slavnim prirodnim i civilizacijskim atrakcijama ne shvaćaju njihovu pravu vrijednost u današnjem svijetu. Globalna ekonomija raste, stanovništvo cvate, prosperitet je uporastu, troškovi prijevoza padaju – svaki kritični

*Business as Driver* – The various businesses in the tourism value chain should lead the change. If these businesses work together to support one another – through cooperation on such matters as sharing expenses of marketing and promotion, for example – each part of the value chain will grow stronger.

Schools and universities can help build the human resources to help the cluster succeed. Educational programs in tourism, such as the new one at DIU Libertas, are promising and can help develop employees trained to work with tourists to ensure their experiences are highly positive. Schools of tourism can help us understand why tourists come, what they're looking for, how to delight them, how to make them recommend Croatia to their friends and want to return themselves. To do this, these programs in tourism should emphasize English language skills (the language of tourism), teach a strong orientation to customer service, and should use case studies of best practices from around the world.

## EMPHASIZE REGIONAL RELATIONSHIPS

Dubrovnik is a destination in its own right but can benefit additionally through collaboration with its neighbors up and down the coast. Tourists are more likely to prolong their stays if they know that other attractions in the region are easily accessible, affordable and can be easily coordinated. The Dalmatian coast is one of the world's most scenic, and many of its treasures are visited only by the most knowledgeable tourists. Day- or short-overnight trips from Dubrovnik can be made up the coast to Split, Trogir and Zadar. Winery tastings on the Pelješac peninsula, seafood in Ston, visits to national parks – all of these should be part of enhanced tourism cluster which could draw more long-term travelers through increased regional collaboration.

elementi pogoduju rastu turizma. Ipak, previše mjesta, uključujući i Hrvatsku, nisu istinski bliska odredišta za turiste. Ne treba mnogo vremena prije nego što turisti shvate da su tolerirani, umjesto dobrodošli. Ako se ne osjećaju dobrodošli, provest će manje vremena i novca te će širiti glas da su neka druga mjesta zabavnija za posjetiti. Najpopularnije turističke destinacije su one u kojima su pružatelji usluga i zaposlenici najposvećeniji pružanju odličnog iskustva za gosta. Nije slučajnost da su takva mjesta ujedno i najprofitabilnija u turističkoj industriji. Da bi turizam u Hrvatskoj napredovao, organizacije u klasteru moraju razumjeti potrebe i želje turista te marljivo raditi i surađivati na njihovom zadovoljavanju. Nagrade za Hrvatsku mogu biti značajne: u blagostanju, porastu zaposlenosti, boljoj skrbi o imovini i atrakcijama koje privlače ljudе u zemlju na koje su građani najponosniji.

## CHANGE THE MINDSET

Many cities and regions that are endowed with glorious natural and manmade attractions fail to realize the full value of these in today's world. The global economy is growing, the population is booming, prosperity is on the rise, transportation costs are falling – all critical elements favoring the growth of tourism. Yet too many places, including Croatia, are not truly congenial destinations for tourists. It does not take long for tourists to recognize that they are being tolerated rather than being welcomed. If they do not feel welcomed, they'll spend less time and money and spread the word that other places are more fun to visit. The most popular tourist destinations are those where service providers and employees are most committed to providing great experiences. It is not a coincidence that such places are also the most profitable in the tourism industry. For tourism to thrive in Croatia, the organizations in the cluster must understand the needs and aspirations of tourists and work diligently and collaboratively to satisfy these. The rewards for Croatia can be substantial: in prosperity, rising employment, and better care of the assets and attractions that draw people to the country and of which citizens are most proud.

## BILJEŠKE

- <sup>1</sup> United Nations World Tourism Organization
- <sup>2</sup> WTTC, "Travel and Tourism Industry in 2015"
- <sup>3</sup>[http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/justin-francis/is-croatia-doing-enough-to-protect-itself-from-a-booming-tourism-industry\\_b\\_5558230.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/justin-francis/is-croatia-doing-enough-to-protect-itself-from-a-booming-tourism-industry_b_5558230.html)
- <sup>4</sup><http://www.grumpytraveller.com/2012/11/06/dubrovnik-cruise-ship-problem/>
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- <sup>6</sup><http://frugaltraveler.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/08/17/some-lesser-mediterranean-lights/>
- <sup>7</sup><http://www.grumpytraveller.com/2012/11/06/dubrovnik-cruise-ship-problem/>
- <sup>8</sup> Porter je taj koncept iznio u svojoj knjizi *Competitive Advantage of Nations* (Free Press, 1990).
- <sup>9</sup> Na svojoj internet stranici, Porter navodi primjer turističkog klastera u području Great Barrier Reef u Cairnsu, u Australiji.<http://www.isc.hbs.edu/competitiveness-economic-development/frameworks-and-key-concepts/Pages/default.aspx>
- <sup>10</sup> <http://www.bermuda-online.org/accomm1.htm>
- <sup>11</sup> WEF, World Bank

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- <sup>7</sup><http://www.grumpytraveller.com/2012/11/06/dubrovnik-cruise-ship-problem/>
- <sup>8</sup> Porter introduces this concept in his book *Competitive Advantage of Nations* (Free Press, 1990).
- <sup>9</sup> On his website, Porter uses the example of the tourism cluster in the Great Barrier Reef area of Cairns, Australia.<http://www.isc.hbs.edu/competitiveness-economic-development/frameworks-and-key-concepts/Pages/default.aspx>
- <sup>10</sup> <http://www.bermuda-online.org/accomm1.htm>
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