

# Spatial Mobility of the Population of Croatia - Internal Migration

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Spatial mobility of population is one of the basic demographic determinants. Regarding migration, Croatia is a dynamic country, which is characterized not only by external migration, but also by internal resettlement of population. In the last secular period the internal migration was caused by numerous socio-economic and political changes, but without a systematic concern about the country's demographic development. An uncontrolled migration lead to the demographic polarization of the country, to widening of the emigration areas, and narrowing of the immigration ones. So Croatia made a stride towards a new millennium with a polarized spatial distribution of population. Therefore, the country's demographic development policy should be based on the regional development concept, as one of the reasonable economic and demographic development alternatives.

**Key Words:** internal migration, migration rural area - urban area, inter-regional migration, Croatia.

## Prostorna pokretljivost stanovništva Hrvatske - unutarnja migracija

Prostorna pokretljivost jedna je od temeljnih odrednica ukupnog kretanja stanovništva. Prostor Hrvatske, u pogledu migracije, dinamično je područje, koje, uz vanjsku migraciju, karakterizira i intenzivno unutarnje premještanje stanovništva. U posljednjem sekularnom razdoblju unutarnja migracija poticana je brojnim društveno-gospodarskim i političkim promjenama, međutim, bez sustavne brige o demografskom razvoju zemlje. Nekomolirana migracija dovela je do demografske polarizacije zemlje, širenja emigracijskih i sužavanja imigracijskih prostora. Tako je Hrvatska zakoračila u novo tisućljeće s polariziranim prostornim rasporedom stanovništva, oslabljenom demografskom osnovicom i smanjenom populacijom. Stoga se politika demografskog razvoja zemlje treba temeljiti na konceptu regionalnog razvoja, nužnoj i razumnoj gospodarskoj i demografskoj razvojnoj alternativni.

**Ključne riječi:** unutarnja migracija, migracija selo-grad, meduregionalna migracija, Hrvatska.

## INTRODUCTION

The twentieth century in Croatia was marked by an intensive population migration caused by wars and economic crises, looking for employment, earnings and a better life. As a rule, the consequences of population migration are negative for the emigration areas leading to a decrease of the biologically active and working population, which, during a longer period of time, result in depopulation or even extinction. The negative

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consequences of migration can also be noticed in an uneven spatial distribution of population, making, on the one hand the poles of demographic concentration, and on the other, the poles of demographic decline.

In the centennial demographic history the Croatian territory was an area of colonisation, immigration, strong internal migration and emigration. The events in the last ten years have brought new categories of migrants inside their own country, refugees and displaced persons. The year 1991 is the last census year in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It considerably reflects the past events in which various migration processes left visible tracks, and which will, to a large extent, influence further demographic processes in Croatia.

### BASIC FEATURES OF THE SPATIAL MOBILITY

Spatial mobility of population is one of the basic demographic determinants. In Croatia the migration component has been statistically worked out only recently, that's why the evaluation of the population spatial mobility in the centennial period is more based on indirect methods (the net migration estimate, observation of certain trends and census analysis) than on the exact data.

Table 1. Net Migration of the Population of Croatia between 1869 and 1991

YEAR	NUMBER OF POPULATION:		NET MIGRATION	
	THE CENSUS BASIS	THE NATURAL BASIS	TOTAL	% OF TOTAL POPULATION
1869	2.398.000			
1880	2.506.228	2.466.656	39.572	1,58
1890	2.854.558	2.857.531	-2.973	-0,10
1900	3.161.456	3.157.556	3.900	0,12
1910	3.460.584	3.595.653	-135.069	-3,90
1921	3.443.375	3.599.478	-156.103	-4,53
1931	3.785.455	3.843.272	-57.817	-1,53
1948	3.779.858	3.958.000	-178.142	-4,71
1953	3.936.022	4.001.042	-65.020	-1,65
1961	4.159.696	4.268.378	-108.682	-2,61
1971	4.426.221	4.429.201	-2.980	-0,07
1981	4.601.469	4.633.677	-32.208	-0,70
1991	4.784.265	4.692.013	92.252	1,93

Source: J. Gelo (1997); Popis stanovništva (Censuses) 1981 and 1991.

Considering migration, as the total population changes show, Croatia is a dynamic area. In the period of 111 years, from 1880 to 1991, the population of Croatia increased from 2.5 to 4.8 million inhabitants, or for 91 percent. Accordingly, in that period, the population of the country nearly redoubled.

However, the achieved growth does not correspond to the natural population increase. Namely, the net migration according to the census years, shows that the spatial population movements, except three intercensal periods, were, in the whole, negative. In that period the total negative net migration amounted to 425.775 inhabitants, or 12

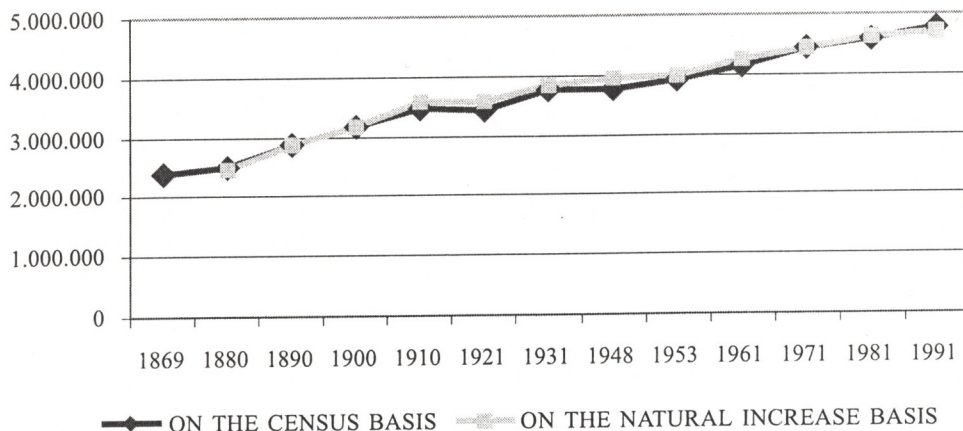


Fig. 1. Net Migration of the Population of Croatia between 1869 and 1991

*Sl. 1. Kretanje migracijskog salda stanovništva Hrvatske 1869–1991.*

percent. It is obvious that a part of the population growth was “poured out” of the state territory, i. e. the effects of the positive intrastate migration (Austria-Hungary and former Yugoslavia), as well as those of a part of the natural increase, were nullified by emigration from Croatia. On the basis of such demographic processes, Croatia, in entirety, can be considered an emigration area.

Emigration in Croatia has lengthily and intensively weakened the population developmental power, and it had an unfavourable retroactive effect on the natural increase of population as well as on its structural characteristics. The negative influence of migrations is also reflected on the population spatial distribution. The internal migration, intensified from the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, has led to the concentration of population in the urban areas, simultaneously emptying the other ones. During a longer period, this, together with the external migration, resulted in depopulation of a large part of the state territory. Those trends brought to the polarization of demographic development of Croatia, and in 1991, 40 percent of its population was “concentrated” within 9 municipalities on only 13 percent of the territory.

The urban areas make the principal poles of population concentration in Croatia (Table 3). During more than one century, the urban population of Croatia increased nearly six times, from 423 thousand to 2.5 million inhabitants (index 584).

The macro-regional centres registered a faster increase. Their number of inhabitants increased tenfold, from 116 thousand to 1.2 million (index 1039). The other urban centres registered a significantly slower increase (index 548), while the nonurban population practically stagnated (index 111). The mentioned data show that, in the observed secular period, with a constantly present emigration from the country, the population migration from the agrarian areas to the urban ones, was strong as well. From those urban areas a considerable part of demographic basis had been poured off together with the total natural increase. The internal population migration, initially directed towards the agrarian areas, then towards the industrial centres and littoral, caused an uneven regional demographic development of Croatia.

The Croatian War of Independence, the third war in the last century, began with persecution of population from the eastern, and later southern and mountainous parts of Croatia, continued with coming of displaced persons and refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Voivodina and Kosovo, as well as with departure of population from the liberated areas of Croatia. According to estimate, the forced movements of population together with the population having died and disappeared in the war, will cause the population total number decrease. So, Croatia will make a stride towards the new millennium with decreased population, weakened demographic basis and polarized spatial distribution of population.

## FORMS OF THE INTERNAL MIGRATION

### *Permanent Removal: Rural Area - Urban Area, Daily Commuting*

In the more recent history a dominant form of population movement has been between the rural and urban areas. This process includes the rural population at large at the time of restructuring society from agricultural to industrial. Dependent on the breadth of the process, i. e. if it has affected only the agricultural labour surplus or the phenomenon became widespread and extended to a part of the demographic basis and so endangered the existence of the rural area, we can talk about emigration or rural exodus (H. Mendras 1986:190). Abandonment of the rural areas happening directly by transition from agriculture to other activities, or indirectly by education of the rural youth and their stay in the urban area (M. Štambuk 1990:214). However, all growth of the urban population can't be ascribed to immigration and natural increase. The process of urbanization has transformed many rural settlements, especially those close to large urban centres, which brought to calming down of the migration streams between the rural and urban areas, and to the appearance of a new migration form, daily commuting from the place of residence to the place of work and inversely.

"The process of urbanization followed by population migration corresponds to the adequate types and directions of the population spatial mobility" (W. Zelinski 1971:219; M. Vresk 1989:39). It is possible to distinguish three dominant stages of urban development, and connected with that, the possible types of the population migration. *The primary stage* (pre-industrial) is characterized by a low level of urbanization, so the migration is more connected with the intrarural movement, out of which colonization has affected the largest number of migrants. In *the secondary stage* (industrial) the main direction of migration is between the rural and urban areas. The employment focus is in industry, where, at the beginning, the agrarian surplus was transferred, which, in some cases, turned into rural exodus. Such uncontrolled migration resulted in fast development of the urban areas and demographic emptying of the rural ones. *The tertiary or metropolitan stage* is characterized by greater employment in tertiary activities, and the migration direction changes. Migration from the rural to urban areas is rarer, while that between the urban centres and their surroundings is more often. This migration stage is characterized by a stronger daily commuting, which brings to growth of the population of the peripheral urban and surrounding settlements, and so to a gradual metropolization of the area.

The population development of Croatia in the passed hundred years considerably reflects the mentioned phenomena, and it is possible to follow the population spatial

mobility through the quoted stages. With regard to the lack of the exact data about the population migration from the rural to urban areas, especially for the earlier observed periods, that type of the spatial mobility can be followed indirectly through the urbanization and deagrarization process analysis and using the retrospective method of the urban development (I. Ginić 1967:39; M. Sić 1976:58; I. Nejašmić 1988:47). An important source of data are censuses. On the basis of the analysis of the quoted processes and sources, it is possible to realize approximately the importance and power of the population migration from the rural to urban areas in the last secular period.

Although the migration from the rural to urban areas started later in relation to the developed European countries (S. Žuljić 1970:102), it represents the dominant form of the spatial population mobility in Croatia. In the period from 1880 to 1991 the urban population growth rate (1.3%) was twice as large as the total Croatia's population growth (0.6%), and for 0.5 percent points larger than the natural increase average rate (0.8). Simultaneously, a fast decrease of the agricultural population was registered, which was, together with the external migration, caused by its migration to the urban areas.

Table 2. Selected Annual Average Increase/Decrease Population Rates in Croatia between 1880 and 1991 (in %)

YEAR	POPULATION			NATURAL INCREASE**
	TOTAL	URBAN	AGRICULTURAL*	
1880-1890	1,3	1,4	-	1,3
1890-1900	1,0	1,2	0,7	1,0
1900-1910	0,9	1,8	0,5	1,3
1910-1921	-0,1	0,2	-0,8	0,5
1921-1931	1,0	2,3	0,6	1,1
1931-1948	-0,2	0,6	-0,3	0,3
<b>1880-1948</b>	<b>0,6</b>	<b>1,3</b>	<b>0,1</b>	<b>0,9</b>
<b>1948-1953</b>	<b>0,8</b>	<b>2,5</b>	<b>-2,4</b>	<b>1,1</b>
<b>1953-1961</b>	<b>0,7</b>	<b>2,8</b>	<b>-2,4</b>	<b>1,0</b>
<b>1961-1971</b>	<b>0,6</b>	<b>2,9</b>	<b>-2,4</b>	<b>0,6</b>
<b>1971-1981</b>	<b>0,3</b>	<b>2,0</b>	<b>-6,7</b>	<b>0,5</b>
<b>1981-1991</b>	<b>0,4</b>	<b>0,9</b>	<b>-3,1</b>	<b>0,2</b>
<b>1948-1991</b>	<b>0,6</b>	<b>2,2</b>	<b>-3,4</b>	<b>0,7</b>
<b>1880-1991</b>	<b>0,6</b>	<b>1,3</b>	<b>-1,3</b>	<b>0,8</b>

Source: Popisi stanovništva (Censuses); \*V. Stipetić, V. Puljiz (1992); \*\*J. Gelo (1987).

Although, as a rule, the growth of the urban areas is followed by the rural population decrease, it is necessary to point out that in certain periods, wars, external migration, abandoning of the agricultural activity and urbanization influenced more intensively that decrease than did the migration of the rural population to the urban areas. That's why the mentioned migration should be observed in a broader context of general demographic changes in Croatia, bearing in mind the afore-mentioned factors.

Demographic processes in Croatia from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> (1880) and from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (1900) are characterized by high rates of the natural increase and growth of population, as well as by a small positive net migration (Table 1).

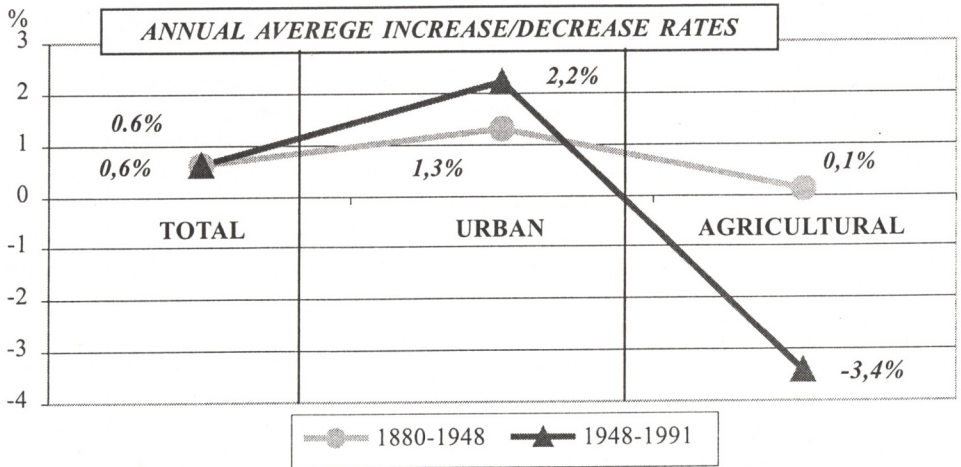


Fig. 2. Selected Annual Average Increase/Decrease Population Rates in Croatia between 1880 and 1991

Sl. 2. Kretanje odabranih prosječnih godišnjih stopa rasta/pada stanovništva Hrvatske 1880–1991.

In that period the urban population growth was somewhat greater than the total population growth. As the urban development was primarily based on the development of the administrative and transport-commercial functions and less on industrial development (S. Žuljić 1976:33), the migration from the rural to urban areas was sporadic. The urban population growth was under a stronger influence of natural increase and immigration of foreigners, while the agrarian migration was chiefly seasonal and concerned the agricultural and forestry workers and pedlars in search for seasonal work (V. Horvat 1942:19).

The intercensal period (1910-1921) was characterized by markedly negative demographic processes. Emigration of population from certain parts of Croatia, especially from the rural areas to the overseas and some European countries increased, which decreased the population mobility inside Croatia (I. Nejašmić 1991:112), while the war, for the first time in the more recent history of Croatia, decreased the total population number. In that period the annual average increase rates of the urban population (0.2%) are lower than the natural increase rates (0.5%), which means that the urban population also suffered in the war, and/or emigrated from the country. In prominent emigration areas such as Lika, Gorski Kotar, Istria, and on the islands the population number of many towns decreased.

Stabilization of demogeographic processes is characteristic for the interwar period from 1921 to 1931. In Croatia, it is the time of essential political changes. The collapse of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and emergence of a new state Yugoslavia established new political and economic-social relations which determined new directions of the population mobility. In that period, the annual average increase rates of the urban population were higher (2.3%) than the natural increase rates (1.1%), out of which we can conclude that the migration to the urban areas increased again. However, it is characteristic that, because of new border changes and intensified emigration, the population number of many towns of Istria, Kvarner and Dalmatia decreased, while si-

multaneously, an intensified immigration from Northern Bosnia and Voivodina, i. e. Serbia, increased the population number of many towns in Central and Eastern Croatia. The most dynamic urban population growth was registered in Zagreb (index 177), and only its smaller part was conditioned by the natural increase (Nejašmić 1991:119). Most of the immigrants to Zagreb originated from the close surroundings, i. e. Hrvatsko Zagorje, and from the villages of Gorski Kotar and Lika, as well as from those near Bjelovar and Križevci. The following intercensal period 1931-1948 was also characterized by total decrease of the Croatia's population (-0.2%), which mainly happened in the rural areas, while a slow growth of the urban population (0.6 %), besides the traditional population "shift" in the Istrian, Kvarner and Dalmatian towns caused by border changes, was mostly realized by the natural increase.

Taken as a whole, the period from 1880 to 1948 can be characterized as the *primary stage* in the Croatian urban development. Migration to the urban areas was of smaller intensity, and at particular stages, the urban population number changes were under a stronger influence of immigration and emigration of foreigners than of the rural population migration. In that period the rural area was the incubator of the Croatia's demographic development in which a greater part (55%) of the total population growth was realized in spite of greater suffering of the rural population in wars and of the external migration higher rate (Table 3). By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, about 17 percent of the total Croatia's population or 423 thousand of them lived in the urban areas, and seven decades later, their number grew to 999 thousand (26%), i. e. for 576 thousand people. According to an estimate, 60 percent of that growth was realized by immigration (I. Nejašmić 1991:118), so, we can calculate that during sixty-eight years, about 345 thousand people or 5 thousand of them per year migrated to the urban areas. Bearing in mind general demographic trends in the rural areas, we can conclude that in the period from 1880 to 1948, the population migration from the rural to urban areas did not get greater proportions. The migration was sporadic and directed towards the close urban settlements.

In the postwar period, between 1948 and 1991, the earlier initiated demographic processes intensified. As a whole, they were characterized by decrease of the annual average rates of the total population growth and of the natural increase, as well as by an increased internal and external migration. In the internal migration the main stream was that from the rural to urban areas, the process which resulted in an uncontrolled growth of particular urban centres, concentration of economic activities in them, and, therefore, in further polarization of the country's demographic development.

In the observed period (Table 2) the urban population grew four times faster (2.2%) than the natural increase (0.7%) and the total Croatia's population growth (0.6%). Simultaneously, the agricultural population decrease (-3.4%) was greater than the growth of urban centres, which means that at particular stages, the external migration, urbanization of the rural areas and transition from the agricultural profession to the others were more intensive than the migration from the rural to urban areas itself.

On the basis of the average annual increase rates of the urban population, it is possible, in the postwar period, to differ the stages of intensive urbanization (1948-1971) followed by an intensified migration of the rural population to the urban areas, and the stages of calming down of that process (1971-1991), in which we noticed a more intensive commuting of the labour from the place of residence to the place of work and inversely.

The first stage including three intercensal years: 1948, 1953 and 1971, represents the *secondary stage* in the urban development of Croatia, where the urban population growth was under the influence of the migrations from the rural to urban areas. In that period, the disproportion between the natural (0.9 %) and urban population increase average rate (2.7 %) was most prominent, which pointed to the immigration power in the total urban population growth.

Excluding the first postwar years in which the urban population growth in the Northern Croatian Littoral was somewhat lower than the state average because of the optant emigration, the urban population of the littoral Croatia was growing more rapidly in comparison with other parts of the country. A faster growth of the urban population in that area, its inherited urban structure, and, generally, a higher level of the area urbanization were under the influence of modern development processes directed towards the littoral regions of Croatia (I. Nejašmić 1988:48). In the littoral the industrial port towns and military centres grew more rapidly, and a population growth, greater than the average one, was registered in larger tourist centres. Different from the littoral part, Central Croatia, where the greatest part of the urban population lived, was not affected by such an intensive urbanization process. The urban population growth was on the level of the state average, and the higher growth rates under the influence of Zagreb were registered in the urban settlements of the Zagreb ring. Zagreb followed the general growth rate of the macro-region population, which was understandable because of its marked role in that area and in the state. On the territory of Mountain Croatia, during the 1960s, there was a certain demographic "recovery" in relation to the earlier periods, which was, however, a short one, and it preceded a renewed external migration of the mountain area population. Eastern Croatia, which was, at certain stages, because of the land agricultural value, the area of an intensified colonization and/or individual immigration, registered a lower urban population growth than the state average.

If we observe that period as a whole, it is characterized by a mass population migration, mostly between the rural and urban areas. The migrant share permanently grew in the course of time. In 1948, 23 percent of the Croatia's population, and at the end of the period, in 1971, even 44 percent of it, belonged to the migrant category. The data of the censuses of 1961 and 1971 show that three quarters of the migration contingent (79% in 1961; 76% in 1971) originated from the rural areas, from so called "other settlements".

Analysing that period when the migration from the rural to urban areas reached its climax, it is possible, on the basis of the total urban growth, which amounted to 458 thousand people, and of the estimate that about 71 percent of that growth (I. Nejašmić 1991:217) was conditioned by migration, to calculate that totally 325 thousand people migrated to towns, out of which about three quarters (78%) or 254 thousand originated from the rural areas. Consequently, during one observed decade, about 32 thousand people averagely migrated to the urban areas, 25 thousand of them came from the rural areas.

Although the following decade (1971-81) marked a slower urban population growth (index 1971/81-122; 1981/91-106), the agricultural population decrease rapidly continued. The possibility of going to work abroad during the 1970s weakened the "pressure" of the rural population on the urban areas, and the expansion of the urban centres to their surroundings decreased the "inflow" of the neighbouring rural popula-



Table 3. The Population of Croatia in Urban Centres and Other Settlements by Macro-Regions in 1880,1948 and 1991

MACRO-REGION	NUMBER OF POPULATION			1880-1948			1948-1991			1800-1991
	1880	1948	1991	INCR/DECR.	%	A. RATE	INCR/DECR.	%	A. RATE	A. RATE
<b>CROATIA</b>	<b>2.506.228</b>	<b>3.779.838</b>	<b>4.784.265</b>	<b>1.273.610</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>0,6</b>	<b>1.004.427</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>0,6</b>	<b>0,6</b>
URBAN CENTRES	422.940	999.189	2.470.795	576.249	45,2	1,2	1.471.606	146,5	2,1	1,3
OTHER SETTLEMENTS	2.083.288	2.780.649	2.313.470	697.361	54,8	0,4	-467.179	-46,5	-0,4	0,1
<b>EASTERN</b>	<b>416.374</b>	<b>689.894</b>	<b>892.035</b>	<b>273.520</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>0,7</b>	<b>202.141</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>0,6</b>	<b>0,7</b>
URBAN CENTRES	79.811	180.201	403.666	100.390	36,7	1,1	223.465	110,5	1,9	1,2
OTHER SETTLEMENTS	336.563	509.693	488.369	173.130	63,3	0,6	-21.324	-10,5	-0,1	0,3
<b>CENTRAL</b>	<b>1.103.071</b>	<b>1.843.068</b>	<b>2.282.922</b>	<b>739.997</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>0,6</b>	<b>439.854</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>0,5</b>	<b>0,6</b>
URBAN CENTRES	142.463	500.415	1.216.230	357.952	48,4	1,6	715.815	162,7	2,1	1,4
OTHER SETTLEMENTS	960.608	1.342.653	1.066.692	382.045	51,6	0,5	-275.961	-62,7	-0,6	0,1
<b>MOUNTAIN</b>	<b>236.186</b>	<b>205.224</b>	<b>143.562</b>	<b>-30.962</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>-2,1</b>	<b>-61.662</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>-0,8</b>	<b>-0,4</b>
URBAN CENTRES	17.466	23.804	41.286	6.338	20,5	0,4	17.482	28,4	1,3	0,7
OTHER SETTLEMENTS	218.720	181.420	102.276	-37.300	-120,5	-0,3	-79.144	-128,4	-1,3	-0,7
<b>NORTHERN LITTORAL</b>	<b>312.799</b>	<b>368.719</b>	<b>506.493</b>	<b>55.920</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>0,2</b>	<b>137.774</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>0,7</b>	<b>0,4</b>
URBAN CENTRES	97.750	135.729	321.860	37.979	67,9	0,5	186.131	135,1	2,0	1,0
OTHER SETTLEMENTS	215.049	232.990	184.633	17.941	32,1	0,1	-48.357	-35,1	-0,6	-0,1
<b>SOUTHERN LITTORAL</b>	<b>437.798</b>	<b>672.933</b>	<b>959.253</b>	<b>235.135</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>0,6</b>	<b>286.320</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>0,8</b>	<b>0,7</b>
URBAN CENTRES	85.450	159.040	487.753	73.590	31,3	0,9	328.713	114,8	2,6	1,3
OTHER SETTLEMENTS	352.348	513.893	471.500	161.545	68,7	0,6	-42.393	-14,8	-0,2	0,3
<b>MACRO-REGIONAL CENTRES</b>										
<b>CROATIA</b>	<b>116.461</b>	<b>501.725</b>	<b>1.187.856</b>	<b>385.264</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>1,9</b>	<b>686.131</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>1,9</b>	<b>1,5</b>
EASTERN	20.356	49.810	104.760	29.454	7,6	1,3	54.950	8,0	1,7	1,2
CENTRAL	41.895	314.669	706.770	272.774	70,8	2,3	392.101	57,1	1,8	1,6
MOUNTAIN	2.429	4.204	9.026	1.775	0,5	0,8	4.822	0,7	1,7	1
NORTHERN LITTORAL	29.536	68.780	167.964	39.244	10,2	1,2	99.184	14,5	2	1,3
SOUTHERN LITTORAL	22.245	64.262	199.336	42.017	10,9	1,4	135.074	19,7	2,4	1,4

Source: Popis stanovništva (Censuses) 1948. and 1991.; M. Korenčić (1979)

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URBAN CENTRES	422.940	999.189	2.470.795	576.249	45,2	1,2	1.471.606	146,5	2,1	1,3
OTHER SETTLEMENTS	2.083.288	2.780.649	2.313.470	697.361	54,8	0,4	-467.179	-46,5	-0,4	0,1
<b>EASTERN</b>	<b>416.374</b>	<b>689.894</b>	<b>892.035</b>	<b>273.520</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>0,7</b>	<b>202.141</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>0,6</b>	<b>0,7</b>
URBAN CENTRES	79.811	180.201	403.666	100.390	36,7	1,1	223.465	110,5	1,9	1,2
OTHER SETTLEMENTS	336.563	509.693	488.369	173.130	63,3	0,6	-21.324	-10,5	-0,1	0,3
<b>CENTRAL</b>	<b>1.103.071</b>	<b>1.843.068</b>	<b>2.282.922</b>	<b>739.997</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>0,6</b>	<b>439.854</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>0,5</b>	<b>0,6</b>
URBAN CENTRES	142.463	500.415	1.216.230	357.952	48,4	1,6	715.815	162,7	2,1	1,4
OTHER SETTLEMENTS	960.608	1.342.653	1.066.692	382.045	51,6	0,5	-275.961	-62,7	-0,6	0,1
<b>MOUNTAIN</b>	<b>236.186</b>	<b>205.224</b>	<b>143.562</b>	<b>-30.962</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>-2,1</b>	<b>-61.662</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>-0,8</b>	<b>-0,4</b>
URBAN CENTRES	17.466	23.804	41.286	6.338	20,5	0,4	17.482	28,4	1,3	0,7
OTHER SETTLEMENTS	218.720	181.420	102.276	-37.300	-120,5	-0,3	-79.144	-128,4	-1,3	-0,7
<b>NORTHERN LITTORAL</b>	<b>312.799</b>	<b>368.719</b>	<b>506.493</b>	<b>55.920</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>0,2</b>	<b>137.774</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>0,7</b>	<b>0,4</b>
URBAN CENTRES	97.750	135.729	321.860	37.979	67,9	0,5	186.131	135,1	2,0	1,0
OTHER SETTLEMENTS	215.049	232.990	184.633	17.941	32,1	0,1	-48.357	-35,1	-0,6	-0,1
<b>SOUTHERN LITTORAL</b>	<b>437.798</b>	<b>672.933</b>	<b>959.253</b>	<b>235.135</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>0,6</b>	<b>286.320</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>0,8</b>	<b>0,7</b>
URBAN CENTRES	85.450	159.040	487.753	73.590	31,3	0,9	328.713	114,8	2,6	1,3
OTHER SETTLEMENTS	352.348	513.893	471.500	161.545	68,7	0,6	-42.393	-14,8	-0,2	0,3
<b>MACRO-REGIONAL CENTRES</b>										
<b>CROATIA</b>	<b>116.461</b>	<b>501.725</b>	<b>1.187.856</b>	<b>385.264</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>1,9</b>	<b>686.131</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>1,9</b>	<b>1,5</b>
EASTERN	20.356	49.810	104.760	29.454	7,6	1,3	54.950	8,0	1,7	1,2
CENTRAL	41.895	314.669	706.770	272.774	70,8	2,3	392.101	57,1	1,8	1,6
MOUNTAIN	2.429	4.204	9.026	1.775	0,5	0,8	4.822	0,7	1,7	1
NORTHERN LITTORAL	29.536	68.780	167.964	39.244	10,2	1,2	99.184	14,5	2	1,3
SOUTHERN LITTORAL	22.245	64.262	199.336	42.017	10,9	1,4	135.074	19,7	2,4	1,4

Source: Popis stanovništva (Censuses) 1948. and 1991.; M. Korenčić (1979)

Table 4. Migrant Population of the Croatia according to the Type of the Original Settlement in 1948, 1953, 1961, 1971 and 1991

YEAR		TOTAL POPULATION	POPULATION MIGRATED FROM*		
			TOTAL	URBAN CENTER	OTHER SETTL.
1948	NO	3.779.858	861.162	-	-
	%	100,0	22,8		
1953	NO	3.936.022	1.440.465	-	-
	%	100,0	36,6		
1961	NO	4.159.696	1.661.015	345.840	1.315.175
	%	100,0	39,9	20,8	79,2
1971	NO	4.426.221	1.927.263	471.608	1.455.655
	%	100,0	43,5	24,5	75,5
1981	NO	4.601.469	1.999.020	-	-
	%	100,0	43,4		
1991	NO	4.784.265	2.274.371	-	-
	%	100,0	47,5		

\*) The number of the immigrated relates to the total immigrated population no matter when and from where it came. Source: Popis stanovništva (Censuses) 1948,53,61,71,81,91.

tion. So, gradually, there was a decrease of the rural population migration to the urban areas, and, simultaneously, an increase of the migration which did not include a permanent resettlement. The migration share in the total urban population in that period is estimated at about 50 percent (I. Nejašmić 1988:49). It is characteristic that the higher increase rates, compared with the leading macro-centres, were registered in particular regional centres where the urbanization process developed later. As the inflow of immigrants to the urban areas decreased, the urban population growth in the observed period was under a stronger influence of the natural trends and urbanization. That's why, the period during the 1980s and 1990s can be considered *the tertiary stage* of the urbanization of Croatia.

At that stage the other forms of the population spatial mobility were more important. They were daily and weakly commuting of the employees, which did not include their final removal to the urban centres. In that period a high level of daily employee mobility was reached. According to the census data from 1971, one third of the employed (31%) worked out of the place of residence, and ten years later, their share jumped to 47 percent. The urbanization process intensification decreased the commuters' share, and, in 1991, it amounted to 37 percent. The daily commuters made the majority of the commuters, while the weakly and temporary ones had only a smaller share in the contingent. As it was possible to foresee, the appearance of daily commuting was especially intensive inside the gravitation areas of large urban centres.

During four decades, from 1961 to 1991, the population migration from the rural to urban areas was a dominant form of the Croatia's population spatial mobility. In that period, the urban population increased from 1 to 2.5 million, i. e. from a quarter (26%) to a half (52%) of the total population. As a greater part of the growth was realized in a mechanical way (about 60%), we can estimate that about 883 thousand people or, averagely, 21 thousand per year, migrated to the urban areas in that period. Evaluating, on the basis of the earlier data that the rural contingent share among migrants was very

Table 5. Daily Commuting of the Employed Population in Croatia in 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1991.

YEAR	TOTAL EMPLOYED	WORKING:	
		OUT OF RESIDENCE	IN RESIDENCE
1961	868.843	218.156	650.687
	%	25,1	74,9
1971	1.024.337	317.169	707.168
	%	31,0	69,0
1981	1.334.756	621.627	713.129
	%	46,6	53,4
1991	1.502.379	549.381	952.998
	%	36,6	63,4

Source: Popisi stanovništva (Censuses) 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1991.

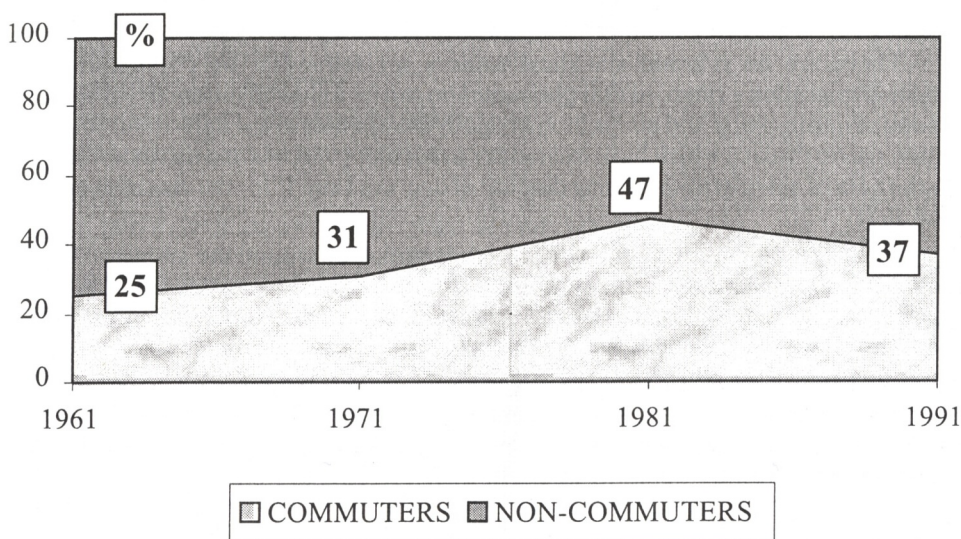


Fig. 3. Daily Commuting of the Employed Population in Croatia in 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1991.

*Sl. 3. Dnevno komutiranje zaposlenog stanovništva Hrvatske 1961, 1971, 1981 i 1991.*

large, about 60 percent, we can estimate that about 530 thousand people totally or about 12 thousand per year averagely migrated from the rural to urban areas.

Migration trends, which intensively and selectively influenced demographic processes during a short period, changed the population structure in Croatia to a large extent and relocated the focus of the economic activity and demographic development from the rural areas of the country to the urban ones. The power of that process is visible out of the facts that between 1953 and 1981, out of totally 6.648 settlements in Croatia, even 82 percent (5.476 settlements), were affected by depopulation process. There were only three urban settlements among them: Raša, Pag and Klis (I. Nejašmić 1991:157). With regard to a long demographic "weakening" of the rural areas caused by emigration, and since 1983 by negative natural trends, we could expect that that kind of

migration would go on decreasing, especially because the economic crisis had slowed down the urban development. That's why it was realistic to assume that the urban population growth would be, in future, under a stronger influence of natural processes and widening of the urban centres into the surrounding area. Such expectations were not realized completely, because in the last ten years the population growth in certain towns was determined by the inflow of the refugees and displaced persons from the regions of Croatia and neighbouring countries devastated by war, which will be statistically visible only in the following census period.

### INTER-REGIONAL POPULATION MIGRATION

As the population migration between the rural and urban areas showed, the population spatial mobility between particular macro-regions in Croatia was caused by natural-geographic features of the region and by differences in its economic valorization during various stages of the country's economic and social development.

There are no relevant statistical sources for following the population inter-regional migration stream, so that phenomenon can be followed indirectly, by determination of immigration and emigration areas, by the analysis of the data about the population native district, which have existed for particular parts of Croatia since 1880, and by the data of net migration among districts of degrees I and II for the census years 1961 and 1971.

The migration inside Croatia began to intensify only around the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in the time of the country's industrialization and slowing down of traditional overseas emigration. The data about the native district of the population in Civil Croatia at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century show (Table 6) that over three quarters of the inhabitants (82% in 1880; 72% in 1910) were born in the same municipality where they were listed, and a similar relation retained on the whole territory of Croatia during several following decades (77% in 1948). If we suppose that the population migration inside the same territorial-administrative unit (municipality, county, district) is connected with a shorter distance and has a character of local migration, from the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, just a small number of the population of Croatia was included in inter-regional migrations. In Civil Croatia the share of the population born in other counties of Croatia and Slavonia ranged from 4.7% (1880) to 5.4% (1910) of the total population, and around the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the share of the population born in other districts of Croatia increased to 17.4% (1948).

Although for the observed period there are no data on the volume and directions of the inter-regional population migration, it is possible, by means of the population natural increase and real average growth rate, to define immigration and emigration regions (Tables 7 and 8), and to determine, by means of various sources, the main directions of the internal migration.

At the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries Civil Croatia was transformed from the immigration to the emigration area. In other words, in the census periods from 1880-1890 and 1890-1900, out of totally eight counties, five registered a total population growth higher than the population natural increase, which shows that those regions accepted more inhabitants than they lost. On the basis of that disproportion the following counties could be considered immigrational in those days: the County of

Table 6. The Population of Croatia according to the Native District in 1880, 1900, 1910, 1931, 1948

	(in %)				
CROATIA	1880	1900	1910	1931	1948
<i>CIVILIC CROATIA</i>					
BORN IN THE SAME MUNICIPALITY	81,7	72,2	71,5		
BORN IN THE SAME DISTRICT	4,6	9,5	9,4		
BORN IN THE SAME COUNTY	1,8	5,2	5,8		
BORN IN THE OTHER COUNTY	4,7	4,8	5,4		
BORN OUT OF CIVILIC CROATIA	7,3	8,3	8,0		
<i>AUTONOMOUS BANOVINA OF CROATIA</i>					
BORN IN THE SAME MUNICIPALITY				76,0	
BORN IN THE OTHER CROATIAN BANOVINA				2,3	
BORN IN THE OTHER YUGOSLAV BANOVINA				13,5	
BORN ABROAD				8,2	
<i>THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA</i>					
BORN IN THE SAME DISTRICT					77,1
BORN IN THE OTHER CROATIAN DISTRICT					14,4
BORN IN OTHER REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA					4,0
BORN ABROAD					1,5

Source: V. Horvat (1942); Popis stanovništva (Censuses) 1931 and 1948.

Bjelovar-Križevci, the County of Požega, the County of Srijem, the County of Virovitica and the County of Zagreb. The County of Lika-Krbava, the County of Modruš-Rijeka and the County of Varaždin had a greater population outflow than inflow.

The following intercensal period, 1900-1910, was marked by beginning of a more intensive emigration overseas, which broadened the emigration area in Croatia. If we except the urban centres Varaždin, Osijek and Zagreb as the immigration enclaves of the counties having the same name, then all the counties, except the County of Požega, had a lower rate of the real population growth than that of the natural population increase.

In Dalmatia the difference between the natural population increase and real population growth was even less favourable. The population emigration from that region started earlier than from Civil Croatia and, towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Dalmatia became the emigration focus in the former Austria. Different from the most of Croatian regions in the observed period Istria was an immigration region, although the differences between the real population growth and natural increase were not very prominent.

On the basis of the presented indicators, it is possible to conclude that in Croatia, towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, there were already broad emigration and limited immigration areas, which would, in the following decades, be reflected on the differentiated demographic and economic development and on the uneven spatial distribution of the country's population. As there are no relevant statistical indicators of the internal inter-regional population migration directions for the observed period, they will be approximately evaluated on the basis of the archival materials and literature.

Table 7. The Annual Average Population Rates of the Real and Natural Increase by Counties between 1880-1890, 1890-1900 and 1900-1910

(in ‰)

ŽUPANIJE	CHANGE 1880-1890		CHANGE 1890-1900		CHANGE 1900-1910	
	REAL	NATURAL	REAL	NATURAL	REAL	NATURAL
BJELOVAR-KRIŽEVCI	21,6	13,0	12,9	10,2	9,6	12,3
LIKA-KRBAVA	9,6	19,0	9,1	15,7	2,2	14,1
MODRUŠ-RIJEKA	8,5	16,3	3,4	11,6	1,4	13,7
POŽEGA	21,8	12,6	12,7	8,8	15,7	14,9
SRIJEM	16,9	12,2	8,6	8,8	8,3	10,8
- City of ZEMUN	..	..	14,8	2,0	13,6	2,4
VARAŽDIN	12,6	15,9	8,4	14,2	10,1	17,8
- Town of VARAŽDIN			7,6	2,2	3,6	1,1
VIROVITICA	11,8	10,6	10,7	10,0	10,5	14,9
- Town of OSIJEK	..	..	16,0	-3,0	25,9	-2,7
ZAGREB	14,1	16,3	7,2	10,3	7,2	14,6
City of ZAGREB	32,2	..	47,0	50,5	29,6	4,7
<b>CIVILIC CROATIA</b>	<b>15,5</b>	<b>14,5</b>	<b>9,7</b>	<b>10,4</b>	<b>8,9</b>	<b>13,4</b>

Source: V. Horvat (1942).

Table 8. The Annual Average Population Rates of the Real and Natural Increase in Dalmatia and Istria between 1880-1890, 1890-1900 and 1900-1910

(in ‰)

	CHANGE 1880-1890		CHANGE 1890-1900		CHANGE 1900-1910	
	REAL	NATURAL	REAL	NATURAL	REAL	NATURAL
DALMACIJA	10,8	13,7	12,5	15,0	8,7	14,1
ISTRA	9,8	8,3	10,4	10,4	19,3	13,5

Source: J. Gelo (1987).

According to findings of certain authors (V. Horvat 1942:104), at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, i. e. during the period between 1880 and 1910, on the territory of five counties of Civil Croatia, there were no intensive migration streams. The major part of internal migrations took place at short distances. The population of the overpopulated regions Hrvatsko Zagorje and Međimurje, from which there were no emigration overseas at that time, migrated to the neighbouring less populated regions of Bjelovar-Križevci and Moslavina, and the city of Zagreb "was more and more becoming an assembly point of the overpopulated counties of Civil Croatia" (V. Horvat 1942:104). At that time the mentioned regions of Central Croatia became destinations for a wider surroundings immigrants. In Eastern Croatia there were different migration streams. At the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, the most intensive population growth was registered in the Counties of Virovitica, Požega and Srijem. It was under a stronger influence of the foreigner immigration than that of the native population, at first of the Germans and Hungarians, and after the establishment of Yugoslavia the immigration of Serbs was more intensive (M. Lorković 1939; V. Horvat 1942). Simultaneously, there was no stronger emigration from those regions of Croatia to other regions of the country or abroad.

Demographic processes in the Karst and mountain regions of Dalmatia, Gorski Kotar and Lika essentially differed from those in the observed two macro-regions. Their population grew more slowly (in spite of very high natural increase rates) because

of a strong emigration overseas, while the internal migrations were of a smaller volume, and took place at longer distances. So, the population from the areas of Gorski Kotar, Lika and Modruš migrated to Zagreb in greater number, while a weaker colonization stream was directed from Dalmatia towards the fertile counties of Eastern Croatia. Because of frequent political changes, Istria was the area of immigration on the one hand, and of emigration on the other. Besides emigration to Italy and overseas, some regions of Central Croatia, especially Zagreb, were the destinations of a larger number of the Istrian emigrants.

The internal migration of the population in the observed period initiated a more intensive immigration into the urban areas, the process which, in the following decades, would become a dominant form of the internal population migration. V. Horvat (1942:127) points out that in the period of fifty years, from 1880 to 1931, besides the population migration to other parts of Croatia "Zagreb attracts the Croatian elements from various regions to such a degree that the harmful process of the spatial decrease and overcrowding of the west-Croatian ethnic nucleus continues... which contributes to the dilution of the Croatian ethnic territory."

Since the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the internal migration of the population of Croatia has assumed intensive proportions. A greater population mobility was influenced not only by current political and territorial changes, but also by economic and social ones, among which a dominant role was played by the agrarian reform at the beginning, and later by the industrial and littoral development together with a spontaneous employment of the rural population in urban centres. In that period it was possible to observe the internal migration of the Croatia's population indirectly: determining the net migration, i. e. establishing the immigration and emigration areas, and for the census years of 1961 and 1971, analysing the immigrated and emigrated population between the demographic regions of degree I and II.

The spatial mobility of the inhabitants of Croatia was intensified in the last four decades, which is indicated by an abrupt increase of the migrant population towards the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century from 1.4 million (37%) to 2.2 million, or somewhat less than half of the total Croatia's population (48%) at the end of the same century.

Table 9. Migrant Population of Croatia according to the Type of Migration in 1953, 1961, 1971, 1981. and 1991 (in 1000)

POPULATION	1953	1961	1971	1981	1991
<b>TOTAL POPULATION OF CROATIA</b>	<b>3.919</b>	<b>4.160</b>	<b>4.426</b>	<b>4.601</b>	<b>4.784</b>
MIGRANTS	1.441	1.661	1.927	1.999	2.274
% OF THE TOTAL POPULATION	36,8	39,9	43,5	43,4	47,5
<b>MIGRANTS INSIDE CROATIA</b>	<b>1.151</b>	<b>1.367</b>	<b>1.411</b>	<b>1.582</b>	<b>1.812</b>
% OF THE TOTAL MIGRANTS	79,9	82,3	73,2	79,1	79,7
<b>STRUCTURE OF MIGRANTS - in %</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>
- MIGRATIONS INSIDE MUNICIPALIES	29,4	25,1	34,9	30,1	35,1
- INTERMUNICIPAL MIGRATIONS	50,5	57,2	38,3	49,0	44,6
- INTERSTATE MIGRATIONS *	16,8	15,1	17,0	18,4	18,3
- FOREIGN AND UNKNOWN MIGRATIONS	3,3	2,6	9,8	2,5	2,0

\* Migration between the republics of the former Yugoslavia

Spurce: Popisi stanovništva (Censuses) 1953, 1961, 1971, 1981. and 1991.



In that period the internal migration of the population proceeded at a greater distance. The migration among municipalities, which includes, to a great extent, the inter-regional migration, was, in the postwar period, the most dynamic form of the Croatia's population spatial mobility, which included about a half of the migrant population. The migrations inside municipalities, i. e. at a shorter distance, in which about one third of the migrants took part, were somewhat less intensive, while the interstate migrant contingent ranged between 16 and 19 percent of the total migrant population.

The population migration inside Croatia in the observed period was utterly selective (Table 10). The internal positive net migration for 1961 and 1971 registered only 6 out of totally 16 Croatia's demographic regions of degree II. The Zagreb region was the most powerful immigration area of Croatia.

Table 10. Net Migration of the Population of Croatia among Districts of Degree II in 1961 and 1971

DISTRICTS OF DEGREE II	NET MIGRATION 1961	NET MIGRATION 1971
<b>SLAVONIJA II</b>	<b>47.885</b>	<b>27.680</b>
- North-eastern	35.952	59.851
- South-eastern	19.555	4.368
- Drava-basin	-5.876	-23.336
- Sava basin	-1.746	-13.203
<b>CENTRAL CROATIA II</b>	<b>36.098</b>	<b>70.585</b>
- Bilogora	-2.736	-12.909
- Medimurje and Varaždin Region	-28.819	-27.221
- Hrvatsko Zagorje	-72.550	-74.800
- Upper Posavina	4.655	2.674
- Zagreb	159.230	212.634
- Pokuplje and Banija	-23.682	-29.793
<b>LIKA AND NORTHERN LITTIRAL II</b>	<b>-36.289</b>	<b>-33.845</b>
- Gorski kotar and Lika	-57.975	-67.017
- Northern Littoral	22.263	34.924
- Istria	-577	-1.752
<b>DALMATIA II</b>	<b>-47.334</b>	<b>-47.104</b>
- Dalmatinska Zagora	-44.304	-57.380
- Northern Dalmatia	-8.427	-10.700
- Southern Dalmatia	5.397	20.976
<b>CROATIA</b>	<b>360</b>	<b>17.316</b>

Source: Dokumentacija SZS (without numeral) 1961. and 1971.

According to the data from 1971 (Table 11) for which one can follow immigration and emigration by regions of degree I, it is obvious that the Zagreb region had a positive net migration with all regions in Croatia, while, in absolute amounts, it received the largest number of immigrants from Hrvatsko Zagorje, Gorski Kotar, Lika and the Bilogora region. Besides that region, on the territory of Central Croatia, only Upper Posavina had a positive net migration, although of only several thousand people. All other areas of Central Croatia were characterized by an intensive emigration directed pri-

marily towards the Zagreb region. Slavonia in entirety registered a positive net migration owing to the growth of the regional centres Osijek (north-eastern region) and Vukovar (south-eastern region), while the areas of Podravina and of the Sava River basin were caught by emigration. The net migration data according to the regions of degree I showed that the migration of population proceeded largely inside Slavonia, and from the less developed regions of Podravina and Posavina towards the north-eastern region, while a more intensive emigration stream out of Slavonia was directed towards the Zagreb region, and a weaker one towards the Littoral and Dalmatia. The Croatian Littoral region was an immigration area which registered the total positive net migration. It had a positive net migration on the level of degree I in 1971 with all regions except the Zagreb one. Most of the immigrants to that area originated from the neighbouring regions of Northern Dalmatia, Istria, Gorski Kotar and Lika, while the emigration stream from the Littoral was directed chiefly towards Zagreb. Northern Dalmatia and Dalmatinska Zagora were emigrational regions from which the main emigration stream was directed towards the Croatian Littoral and Zagreb, while the region of Southern Dalmatia was an immigration area of neighbouring Zagora and Northern Dalmatia.

On the basis of the presented data it is possible to conclude that during the fifties and sixties preceding the census years of 1961 and 1971, the internal migration in Croatia was directed towards the areas where there were macro-regional or powerful regional centres, while the areas without powerful urban centres had the greatest demographic losses. Besides migration at a shorter distance inside the same region during the observed period, the inter-regional migration became more intensive, and the concentration poles were the north-east of Central Croatia, Slavonia, Littoral and Dalmatia, i. e. their macro-regional and regional centres. That was also the time when, together with an increasingly intensive migration out of the country, the territory of Croatia became polarized to emigration and immigration regions with their specific demographic processes.

Towards the end of the 1970s and 1980s (Table 12) the internal migration weakened because of a slow economic increase, more intensive migration of the family members of the workers employed abroad and because of weakening of the rural area vitality. In Mountain and Eastern Croatia, and in the large part of Central Croatia the population number continued to decrease because of emigration, and in particular regions because of the natural decrease. So, besides Mountain Croatia, Eastern Croatia was also transformed in entirety to an emigration area, while on the territory of Central Croatia there were only two immigration regions: those of Zagreb and Varaždin. On the other hand, positive economic effects of the tourist development caused the decrease of the population outflow from the littoral area of Croatia. In that way Istria, a powerful emigration focus for decades, had a positive net migration, while in Dalmatia, the coastal settlement population grew more rapidly than the natural increase with a simultaneous emptying of Zagora and a larger part of the insular area.

The data for the period 1981-1991 point to the emigration intensity decrease (Table 13), because that phenomenon was the result of the natural decrease in the traditional emigration areas of Central and Mountain Croatia, and so of the "exhaustion of demographic reserves" for further emigration. Demographic revitalization in terms of the emigration intensity decrease and/or immigration increase, was visible only in the

Table 11. Net Migration of the Population of Croatia among Districts of Degree I in 1971

REGION OF DEGREE I	SE Slavonia	NE Slavonia	Drava-basin Slavonia	Sava-basin Slavonia	Bilogora	Medimurje Varaždin	Hrvatsko Zagorje	Upper Sava-basin
SE Slavonia	0	6.236	-987	-1.060	-145	-1.244	-1.762	127
NE Slavonia	-6.236	0	-12.685	-3.531	-707	-3.325	-2.768	-964
Drava-basin Slavonia	987	12.685	0	1.048	534	-745	-3.308	849
Sava-basin Slavonia	1.060	3.531	-1.048	0	-7	-178	-738	1.854
Bilogora	145	707	-534	7	0	-3.879	-7.504	1.567
Medimurje and Varaždin	1.244	3.325	745	178	3.879	0	-4.699	807
Hrvatsko Zagorje	1.762	2.768	3.308	738	7.504	4.699	0	5.333
Gornja Posavina	-127	963	-849	-1.854	-1.567	-807	-5.333	0
Zagreb	-9.100	-6.534	-14.045	-4.696	-24.967	-20.397	-47.823	-18.988
Pokuplje and Banija	3.116	2.883	885	1.362	723	29	-278	8.228
Gorski Kotar and Lika	7.086	3.873	3.269	5.591	3.331	440	123	3.808
Northern Littoral	-1.825	-1.048	-2.314	-1.278	-1.527	-991	-384	-351
Istria	-665	-548	-848	-537	-528	-589	-208	-157
Dalmatinska Zagora	7.653	4.077	1.952	1.392	766	103	59	464
N Dalmatia	292	259	271	-74	-37	-152	-55	104
S Dalmatia	-1.024	-820	-456	-489	-161	-185	-123	-7
<b>CROATIA</b>	<b>4.368</b>	<b>32.357</b>	<b>-23.336</b>	<b>-3.203</b>	<b>-12.909</b>	<b>-27.221</b>	<b>-74.801</b>	<b>2.674</b>

REGION OF DEGREE I	Zagreb	Pokuplje and Banija	Gor. Kotar and Lika	N Littoral	Istria	Dalmatin. Zagora	N Dalmatia	S Dalmatia
SE Slavonia	9.100	-3.116	-7.086	1.825	665	-7.653	-292	1.024
NE Slavonia	6.534	-2.883	-3.873	1.048	548	-4.077	-259	820
Drava-basin Slavonia	14.045	-885	-3.269	2.314	848	-1.952	-271	456
Sava-basin Slavonia	4.696	-1.362	-5.591	1.278	537	-1.392	74	489
Bilogora	24.967	-723	-3.331	1.527	528	-766	37	161
Medimurje and Varaždin	20.397	-29	-440	991	589	-103	152	185
Hrvatsko Zagorje	47.823	277	-123	384	208	-59	55	123
Gornja Posavina	18.988	-8.228	-3.808	351	157	-464	-104	7
Zagreb	0	-15.690	-24.089	2.350	-954	-8.783	-6.197	-8.021
Pokuplje and Banija	15.690	0	-4.555	1.411	302	-190	24	162
Gorski Kotar and Lika	24.089	4.555	0	8.924	686	-216	633	825
Northern Littoral	2.350	-1.411	-8.924	0	-6.107	-2.524	-6.916	-1.674
Istria	954	-302	-686	6.107	0	-729	-627	935
Dalmatinska Zagora	8.783	190	216	2.524	729	0	6.998	21.474
N Dalmatia	6.197	-24	-633	6.916	627	-6.998	0	4.007
S Dalmatia	8.021	-162	-825	1.674	-935	-21.474	-4.007	0
<b>CROATIA</b>	<b>212.634</b>	<b>-29.793</b>	<b>-67.017</b>	<b>39.624</b>	<b>-1.572</b>	<b>-57.380</b>	<b>-10.700</b>	<b>20.973</b>

Source: *Popis stanovništva 1971. Dokumentacija SZS (without numeral), SZS.*

Table 12. Net Migration of the Population of Croatia according to Regions Between 1971-1981

MACRO-REGION/ REGION	CENSUS 1971	CENSUS 1981	DIFFERENCE 1981/71	NATURAL INCREASE	NET MIGRATION	% OF POP. FROM 1971	MIGR. TYPE
<b><i>EASTERN CROATIA</i></b>	<b><i>858.136</i></b>	<b><i>867.646</i></b>	<b><i>9.510</i></b>	<b><i>43.088</i></b>	<b><i>-33.578</i></b>	<b><i>-3,9</i></b>	<b><i>E 2</i></b>
North-east	307.566	325.211	17.645	17.356	289	0,1	I 1
South-east	194.853	195.595	742	12.959	-12.217	-6,3	E 2
South-west	237.136	238.953	1.817	11.245	-9.428	-4,0	E 2
North-west	118.581	107.887	-10.694	1.528	-12.222	-10,3	E 3
<b><i>CENTRAL CROATIA</i></b>	<b><i>2.132.620</i></b>	<b><i>2.220.952</i></b>	<b><i>88.332</i></b>	<b><i>73.399</i></b>	<b><i>14.933</i></b>	<b><i>0,7</i></b>	<b><i>I 1</i></b>
Zagreb Region	803.385	924.049	120.664	51.430	69.234	8,6	I 2
Hrvatsko Zagorje	242.630	230.942	-11.688	3.077	-14.765	-6,1	E 2
Varaždin Region	83.601	90.729	7.128	5.627	1.501	1,8	I 1
Medimurje	138.000	139.196	1.196	7.360	-6.164	-4,5	E 2
Lonjska-ilovačka R.	260.784	248.338	-12.446	-4.556	-7.890	-3,0	E 2
Podravina	159.935	152.239	-7.696	-1.006	-6.690	-4,2	E 2
Sisak Sava-basin	169.134	172.811	3.677	5.048	-1.371	-0,8	E 1
Banovina	94.627	90.504	-4.123	1.522	-5.645	-6,0	E 2
Karlovac Kupa-basin	123.563	122.663	-900	3.786	-4.686	-3,8	E 2
Kordun	56.961	49.481	-7.480	1.111	-8.591	-15,1	E 3
<b><i>MOUNTAIN CROATIA</i></b>	<b><i>176.722</i></b>	<b><i>153.104</i></b>	<b><i>-23.618</i></b>	<b><i>409</i></b>	<b><i>-24027</i></b>	<b><i>-13,6</i></b>	<b><i>E 3</i></b>
Gorski Kotar	69.695	62.768	-6.927	372	-7299,0	-10,5	E 3
Lika	107.027	90.336	-16.691	37	-16728,0	-15,6	E 3
<b><i>NORTHERN LITTORAL</i></b>	<b><i>421.256</i></b>	<b><i>470.641</i></b>	<b><i>49.385</i></b>	<b><i>24.651</i></b>	<b><i>24.734</i></b>	<b><i>5,9</i></b>	<b><i>I 2</i></b>
Istria	175.199	188.332	13.133	8.962	4.171	2,4	I 1
Kvarner	246.057	282.309	36.252	15.689	20.563	8,4	I 2
<b><i>SOUTHERN LITTORAL</i></b>	<b><i>837.487</i></b>	<b><i>889.126</i></b>	<b><i>51.639</i></b>	<b><i>65.909</i></b>	<b><i>-14.270</i></b>	<b><i>-1,7</i></b>	<b><i>E 1</i></b>
Northern Dalmatia	340.079	336.763	-3.316	23.653	-26.969	-7,9	E 2
Central Dalmatia	416.953	466.871	49.918	38.501	11.417	2,7	I 1
Southern Dalmatia	80.455	85.492	5.037	3.755	1.282	1,6	I 2
<b>CROATIA</b>	<b>4.426.221</b>	<b>4.601.469</b>	<b>175.248</b>	<b>207.456</b>	<b>-32.208</b>	<b>-0,7</b>	<b>E 1</b>

Izvor: Popisi stanovništva (Censuses) 1971 and 1981

narrow littoral region of Croatia in Northern and Southern Littoral. During the observed century, those macro-regions were transformed from the emigration to immigration area with positive natural and migration rates of increase. The growth of Croatia's population of 3.9% registered by the census of 1991 was apparent, and conditioned by application of the "permanent population" methodology, which included the population living abroad. That contributed to the "revitalization" effect. On the other hand, the process of intensive migration from the less developed to better developed regions and from the rural areas to the urban ones was of weak intensity, and we can assume that those processes will go on weakening in future.

Table 13. Net Migration of the Population of Croatia according to Regions between 1981-1991

MACRO-REGION/ REGION	CENSUS 1981	CENSUS 1991	DIFFERENCE 1991/81	NATURAL INCREASE	NET MIGRATION	% OF POP. FROM 1981	MIGR. TYPE
<b><i>EASTERN CROATIA</i></b>	<b><i>867.646</i></b>	<b><i>892.035</i></b>	<b><i>24.389</i></b>	<b><i>25.339</i></b>	<b><i>-950</i></b>	<b><i>-0,1</i></b>	<b><i>E 1</i></b>
North-east	325.211	336.815	11.604	9.293	2.311	0,7	I 1
South-east	195.595	200.425	4.830	8.467	-3.637	-1,9	E 1
South-west	238.953	246.743	7.790	7.935	-145	-0,1	E 1
North-west	107.887	108.052	165	-356	521	0,5	I 1
<b><i>CENTRAL CROATIA</i></b>	<b><i>2.220.952</i></b>	<b><i>2.282.922</i></b>	<b><i>61.970</i></b>	<b><i>12.467</i></b>	<b><i>49.503</i></b>	<b><i>2,2</i></b>	<b><i>I 1</i></b>
Zagreb Region	924.049	1.003.181	79.132	26.290	52.842	5,7	I 2
Hrvatsko Zagorje	230.942	223.532	-7.410	-3.706	-3.704	-1,6	E 1
Varaždin Region	90.729	94.373	3.644	2.969	675	0,7	I 1
Međimurje	139.196	141.714	2.518	3.360	-842	-0,6	E 1
Lonjska-ilovačka R.	248.338	238.953	-9.385	-8.489	-896	-0,4	E 1
Podravina	152.239	148.614	-3.625	-3.932	307	0,2	I 1
Sisak Sava-basin	172.811	174.156	1.345	572	773	0,4	I 1
Banovina	90.504	88.011	-2.493	-2.087	-406	-0,4	E 1
Karlovac Kupa-basin	122.663	126.591	3.928	-961	4.889	4,0	I 2
Kordun	49.481	43.797	-5.684	-1.549	-4.135	-8,4	E 2
<b><i>MOUNTAIN CROATIA</i></b>	<b><i>153.104</i></b>	<b><i>143.562</i></b>	<b><i>-9.542</i></b>	<b><i>-4.555</i></b>	<b><i>-4.987</i></b>	<b><i>-3,3</i></b>	<b><i>E 2</i></b>
Gorski Kotar	62.768	59.640	-3.128	-1.455	-1.673	-2,7	E 1
Lika	90.336	83.922	-6.414	-3.100	-3.314	-3,7	E 2
<b><i>NORTHERN LITTORAL</i></b>	<b><i>470.641</i></b>	<b><i>506.493</i></b>	<b><i>35.852</i></b>	<b><i>14.164</i></b>	<b><i>21.688</i></b>	<b><i>4,6</i></b>	<b><i>I 2</i></b>
Istria	188.332	204.346	16.014	6.041	9.973	5,3	I 2
Kvarner	282.309	302.147	19.838	8.123	11.715	4,1	I 2
<b><i>SOUTHERN LITTORAL</i></b>	<b><i>889.126</i></b>	<b><i>959.253</i></b>	<b><i>70.127</i></b>	<b><i>43.129</i></b>	<b><i>26.998</i></b>	<b><i>3,0</i></b>	<b><i>I 2</i></b>
Northern Dalmatia	336.763	358.905	22.142	13.330	8.812	2,6	I 1
Central Dalmatia	466.871	508.050	41.179	27.747	13.432	2,9	I 1
Southern Dalmatia	85.492	92.298	6.806	2.052	4.754	5,6	I 2
<b>CROATIA</b>	<b>4.601.469</b>	<b>4.784.265</b>	<b>182.796</b>	<b>90.544</b>	<b>92.252</b>	<b>2,0</b>	<b>I 1</b>

Izvor: Popisi stanovništva (Censuses) 1981 and 1991

The process which started earlier, and was strengthened by intensification of the administrative-political functions of the capital city of the newly established state, and, a decade ago, by immigration of the refugees and displaced persons, is metropolization of Zagreb. That process will, without appropriate socio-political measures and economic decentralization, contribute to further negative polarization of demographic and economic development of Croatia.

## CONCLUSION

In the last century, the internal migration of the population of Croatia was pushed by numerous socio-political and economic changes, however, without a systematic care about an even demographic development of the country. In sum, its activity was negative, because during a long period it encouraged the demographic polarization of Croatia, and the emptying of the extensive agrarian areas with a simultaneous "overcrowding" of the macro-regional centres. In that way the emigration area widened, and the immigration one narrowed, and in 1991, 40 percent of the population of Croatia lived in 9 municipalities on only 13 percent of the area. A weakened biological base and disrupted sex and work structure of the population will not be able to ensure a necessary demographic recovery of many emigration regions. That's why the regional economic development of the country in the context of the even demographic development and "mastering" of the whole national territory is the most viable development alternative.

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## SAŽETAK

## Prostorna pokretljivost stanovništva Hrvatske - unutarnja migracija

Vesna Mikačić

Prostorna pokretljivost jedna je od temeljnih odrednica ukupnog kretanja stanovništva. Prostor Hrvatske u pogledu migracije dinamično je područje koje, uz vanjsku migraciju, karakterizira i intenzivno unutarnje promještanje stanovništva. U stojedanaestogodišnjem razdoblju, od 1880. do 1991. godine, stanovništvo Hrvatske poraslo je od 2,5 na 4,8 milijuna stanovnika, ili za 91%. Prema tome, u tom razdoblju stanovništvo države gotovo se dvostručilo. Postignuti porast, međutim, ne odgovara i prirodnom porastu stanovništva. Migracijski saldo po popisnim godinama pokazuje da je prostorno kretanje stanovništva, izuzev triju međupopisnih razdoblja, u cjelini bilo negativno (Tablica 1). U tom razdoblju ukupan neto migracijski manjak iznosio je 425.775 stanovnika ili 12% stanovništva Hrvatske. Očito je da se dio porasta "prelio" izvan teritorija države, tj. da su emigracijom iz Hrvatske poništeni efekti pozitivne unutardržavne migracije (Austroougarska i bivša Jugoslavija) kao i dijela prirodnog rasta. Na temelju takvih demografskih kretanja Hrvatska se može u cjelini smatrati emigracijskim područjem.

Emigracija je u Hrvatskoj dugotrajno i snažno slabila razvojnu snagu stanovništva i povratno nepovoljno djelovala na prirodnu komponentu demografskih kretanja kao i na strukturalna obilježja populacije. Negativan utjecaj migracija ogleda se i u prostornom rasporedu stanovništva. Unutarnje premještanje pojačano od sredine 20. stoljeća, dovelo je do koncentracije stanovništva u urbanim središtima uvjetujući istovremeno pražnjenje ostalih područja. Glavni polovi okupljanja stanovništva Hrvatske jesu gradovi (Tablica 3). Tijekom nešto više od jednog stoljeća gradsko stanovništvo Hrvatske uvećano je gotovo šest puta, od 423 tisuća na 2,5 milijuna stanovnika ili za 584%, dok je negradsko stanovništvo poraslo samo 11%. Najbrži porast bilježe makroregionalna središta čiji se broj stanovnika udesetostručio, porastavši od 116 tisuća na 1,2 milijuna ili za 1039%, dok je rast ostalih gradova bio je znatno sporiji (548%). Navedena kretanja pokazuju da je u promatranom sekularnom razdoblju, uz stalno prisutnu emigraciju iz zemlje, jako i premještanje stanovništva iz agrarnih u urbana područja iz kojih je odliven, uz ukupan prirodni prirast, i znatan dio demografske osnovice. Smirivanjem migracije na relaciji selo grad sve veću važnost dobiva dnevna i tjedna migracija zaposlenog osoblja koja ne uključuje i njihovo konačno preseljenje u grad (Tablica 5). Prema popisnim podacima iz 1971. godine jedna trećina zaposlenih radnika (31%) radila je izvan mjesta stalnog boravka, da bi se njihov udio deset godina poslije popeo na 47%. Jačanjem procesa urbanizacije udio komutanata se smanjuje te njihov udio 1991. godine iznosi 37%. Većinu komutanata (88%) čine dnevni migranti. Kao što je moguće i predvidjeti, pojava dnevnog komutiranja naročito je intenzivna unutar gravitacijskih područja velikih gradskih središta.

Prostorna pokretljivost stanovništva Hrvatske intenzivirana je u posljednja četiri desetljeća na što upućuje nagao porast alohotnog stanovništva od 1,4 milijuna (37%) sredinom 20. stoljeća, na 2,2 milijuna ili nešto manje od polovice ukupnog stanovništva Hrvatske (48%) krajem stoljeća (Tabela 9). Uz nastale političke i teritorijalne promjene na veću pokretljivost stanovništva u zemlji utjecale su gospodarske i društvene promjene, među kojima dominantnu važnost ima u početku agrarna reforma a poslije industrijski i litoralni razvoj. Uz selenje na kraću udaljenost unutar iste općine /kotara/ rajona tijekom 1950-ih i 60-ih godina jača međuregionalna migracija stanovništva a polovi okupljanja jesu sjeveroistok Središnje Hrvatske, Slavonija, Primorje i Dalmacija, odnosno njihova makroregionalna i regionalna središta (Tablica 10. i 11). To je ujedno i vrijeme kada se, uz sve jaču vanjsku emigraciju, prostor Hrvatske polarizira na emigracijska i imigracijska područja s njima specifičnim demografskim procesima.

Unutrašnje premještanje stanovništva slabi krajem 1980-ih godina uslijed usporenog gospodarskog rasta i pojačanog iseljavanja članova obitelji ranije zaposlenih radnika u inozemstvu. U Gorskoj i Istočnoj Hrvatskoj te velikom dijelu Središnje Hrvatske nastavlja se smanjivanje broja stanovnika uvjetovano emigracijom, a u pojedinim krajevima i negativnim prirodnim prirastom. Tako se, uz Gorsku, i Istočna Hrvatska transformirala u cjelini u emigracijski prostor dok su na području Središnje Hrvatske useljeničke samo regije Zagreba i Varaždina (Tablica 12). S druge strane, pozitivni gospodarski efekti razvoja turizma utječu na smanjenje odljeva stanovništva iz litoralnog područja Hrvatske. Tako Istra, desetljećima jako emigracijsko žarište, bilježi pozitivan migracijski saldo, dok na uskom litoralnom dijelu Primorja i Dalmacije stanovništvo obalnih naselja raste brže od prirodnog prirasta, uz istovremeno pražnjenje Zagore i većeg dijela otočnog prostora.

Stihijsko premještanje stanovništva tijekom duljeg vremenskog razdoblja rezultiralo je depopulacijom velikog dijela državnog teritorija čemu je pridonijela i vanjska migracija koja je u pojedinim desetljećima bila vrlo intenzivna. Uslijed takvih kretanja došlo je do polarizacije demografskog razvoja Hrvatske te je 1991. godine 40% stanovništva države bilo "zgusnuto" unutar 9 općina na svega 13% površine. Premda demografska

kretanja u popisnom razdoblju 1981.-1991. godine upućuju na slabljenje intenziteta emigracije ne može se govoriti o procesu revitalizacije, budući da je ta pojava rezultat negativnog prirodnog prirasta u tradicionalnim emigracijskim prostorima Središnje, Istočne i Gorske Hrvatske i time "iscrpljenosti demografskih rezervi" za daljnju emigraciju. S druge strane proces intenzivne migracije iz slabije razvijenih u jače razvijena područja i sa sela u gradove slabog je intenziteta, te se može pretpostaviti da će ti procesi u budućnosti i dalje slabiti. Proces koji je već ranije započeo, a osnažen je jačanjem administrativno-političkih funkcija glavnog grada novo nastale države te, unazad zadnjeg desetljeća, doseljavanjem izbjeglica i raseljenih osoba jest metropolizacija Zagreba. Taj proces će, ako se ne poduzmu odgovarajuće mjere decentralizacije gospodarskih i društveno-političkih funkcija, pridonijeti daljnjoj negativnoj polarizaciji demografskog i gospodarskog razvitka Hrvatske. Stoga je regionalni gospodarski razvitak zemlje u kontekstu ravnomjernog demografskog razvoja i time "ovladavanja" čitavim nacionalnim teritorijem jedina ispravna i razumna razvojna alternativa.

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