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SOCIO-SPATIAL PATTERNS OF THE CONTEMPORARY SECOND HOME PHENOMENON IN CROATIA

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Second home use as a specific dwelling practice has a long history in Croatia. The number of second homes has been continuously growing in Croatia for more than 50 years, regardless of the long-term economic crises and regressive socio-historical processes. In this article, based on empirical data collected by a survey and the most recent national Census, we explore the basic features of the second home phenomenon focusing on characteristics of second home users, patterns of second home location and frequency of use. The obtained data shows that Croatian households that own a second home represent a heterogeneous group and that this phenomenon is not associated exclusively with affluent and/or retired households. Furthermore, second homes are more often located in a certain type of settlement – peripheral, rural and small settlements are more desirable locations and more than half of the respondents use their second homes at least on a monthly basis.

Keywords: second homes, temporary inhabitants, social structure, counterurbanisation, Croatia

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INTRODUCTION

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Second home use, or temporary occupancy of an additional property exclusively for leisure and recreation, is a global social phenomenon and has a long tradition particularly on the European continent (Claval, 2013). This practice is most often

associated with spaces that offer attractive landscape, recreational opportunities or some other amenities. The search for such spaces has defined the pattern of second home development – with predominantly a city as its main starting point and rural area as its main destination point. This particular counter-urbanisation character of second home use (Halfacree, 2012) results to a great extent from social changes which contributed to the fact that the city is increasingly becoming a space of necessity and non-city a space of freedom; the city is primarily a work-oriented space aimed at earning income while leisure and free-time enjoyment tend to be searched for in rural spaces outside of cities.

The indicated direction was already present in pre-modern, similar countryside leisure practices but those pre-modern country residences, besides being used as second homes, also had their strongly marked economic function. Contemporary second home use is predominantly focused on pleasure, which corresponds with the strengthening of post-modern tendencies in the use of space (Brubaker, 2001). In parallel with the expansion of second homes, another process is taking place in the Western countries: the traditional function of rural areas to produce food and primary goods is increasingly declining. Specifically, the primary sector of the economy – that is, extractive economic activities (agriculture, fishing and mining) – are becoming more and more infrequent in contemporary society. This post-productivist transition of rural space left enough gaps that became suitable for the expansion of second homes (Kondo, Rivera, & Rullman, 2012).

To a considerable extent, these processes are present also in Croatia. In the first place, second homes are commonly seen in the national landscape and especially in the coastal area (Opačić & Mikačić, 2009). Regardless of the long-term economic crises and regressive socio-historical processes, such as delayed modernisation, communist totalitarianism, the Homeland War and transition to capitalism (Peračković, 2004; Rogić, 2000; Županov, 1995), the number of second homes – properties that are not included in the hierarchy of primary needs and are often viewed as a luxury commodity – has been continuously growing in Croatia for more than 50 years (Miletić, 2011). Moreover, recent research shows that even the last and still continuing economic crisis in Croatia has not reduced interest in second homes (Miletić, 2012, 2013). In Croatia, the trend of increasing numbers of second homes is expected to continue and the opening up of the national property market to EU citizens will definitely contribute to it.

The aforementioned increase in the number of second homes has been occurring along with negative demographic trends in Croatia over the past several decades. Namely, the

number of inhabitants has been decreasing for several decades, and unfavourable changes in the population structure have additionally enhanced the demographic deficit (Nejašmić & Toskić, 2013; Živić, Pokos, & Turk, 2005). These processes are unevenly distributed across the country and depopulation has taken hold more intensely in the rural and peripheral areas of Croatia (Živić, Turk, & Pokos, 2014). This brings us back to the phenomenon of second homes, because during the former periods, the greatest increase in the number of second homes was recorded specifically in the rural and peripheral settlements of Croatia (Miletić, 2011).

The possible overlapping of these two processes becomes interesting because of the new dynamics created in settlements by an increasing presence of second homes. The expansion of second homes is known to change the landscape and affect the local economy, but it is very often ignored that an increase in the number of second homes is likely to initiate a specific social action in a settlement. Differences in lifestyles and value systems of temporary residents are inevitably reflected in the social processes in the local community of their second home locations (Farstad & Rye, 2013; Gallent, 2015).

The developmental potential of second homes in Croatia has been recognised by some recent studies dealing with the expansion of second homes in particular settlements. The results of the analyses show that in certain localities second homes have become one of the principal triggers of local development (Miletić, 2006, 2013; Opačić, 2008). However, in order to get a more detailed insight into the influence of second homes on the transformation of settlements and their local communities, it is necessary to find out the basic features of the phenomenon at the national level.

DEVELOPMENT OF SECOND HOMES IN CROATIA

Second home use as a specific dwelling practice has a long history in the territory of present-day Croatia. Abundantly available material evidence suggests that the Croatian coastal area has been an attractive location for temporary leisure-oriented lifestyle since antiquity. Also, it is a long-held opinion that Diocletian's Palace in Split, a complex structure enlisted among the UNESCO world heritage sites, was initially designed as the emperor's seaside resort (Bužančić, 2009). While what remains today from the practice of temporary dwellings of antiquity are mostly ruins, this cannot be said for the period after the Middle Ages, when this practice became more intensive, leaving significant traces both in the codes of space and culture. This primarily refers to a country-house practice developed during the Renaissance on the territory of the then Republic of Ragusa (Grujić, 2004). In addition to these periods before

and after the Middle Ages, second homes were built in some parts of the Croatian coast in relatively more recent history. This includes numerous villas dating back between the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, used by members of the Austro-Hungarian upper class (Zakošek, 2005).

When speaking of the contemporary second home phenomenon in Croatia, its intensified expansion began around the 1960s (Rogić, 2006). The Croatian Bureau of Statistics has been tracking second homes as a separate category since 1971; their first registered number was 22,946. The number of second homes has grown ten-fold since then, and according to the 2011 Census, there are 249,243 second homes in Croatia. During the same period, the total housing stock has increased by about 80% 'only'. The census data show that the highest increase in the number of second homes took place during the seventies and eighties of the 20th century, as well as during the first decade of the 21st century. A significant increase in the number of second homes, noticed between 1971 and 1991, is generally thought to be associated with the country's socialist system reform during the 1960s (Duda, 2005). That was the period when the lives of citizens were under permanent control by the state, and little was possible without a consent by the governing authorities. In this context, the mentioned political reforms allowed a certain degree of pluralism in some aspects of citizens' lives which acted as an impetus to growing individual aspirations for vacation and leisure (Rogić, 2006). Additional stimulation was undoubtedly the non-sanctioning of widely ignored spatial plans and infringement of construction standards, especially common in relation to second homes (Čaldarović, 1989).

The second wave of increase in the number of second homes occurred in the last inter-census period. According to the 2011 Census, the number of second homes exceeded that of the 2001 Census by nearly 65,000, which is an increase of about 36%. Based on the last census, second homes comprise about 11% of the overall national housing stock. At the lower, county level, a tendency toward greater pressure of second home expansion can be noted in certain regions of Croatia. More precisely, in some coastal counties, second homes comprise up to 30% of the overall county housing stock. These figures lead to the conclusion that the coast in Croatia represents a strongly appealing location for second homes (Opačić, 2009). Taking into account that the currently applicable Spatial Development Strategy of the Republic of Croatia recognised the coastal area as an area of special state interest and importance, the expansion of second homes becomes an unavoidable issue in the management of the spatial and regional development of Croatia.

Therefore, the indicated overlapping of the two processes – decrease in the number of permanent residents and increase in the number of temporary residents – opens the question to what extent temporary inhabitants may contribute to the developmental potential of the settlements with greater prevalence of second homes. Starting from this problem, the main aim of this paper is to discover the basic features of the second home phenomenon in Croatia and to get insight into: 1) characteristics of second home users; 2) patterns of second home location and 3) frequency of second home use.

DATA AND METHOD

The paper draws on a combined analysis of data obtained from two different sources. The first source is the official one and includes data from the latest Census conducted in 2011. The Census provides data on second homes, and these will be used to analyse spatial aspects of second home use in Croatia. Since the Census does not collect data on the number of households with a second home and patterns of second home use, to gain an insight into who uses their second homes and how, another source of data was thus needed. The second, complementary source is a face-to-face survey carried out in autumn 2014 by the Institute of Social Sciences Ivo Pilar. The omnibus survey was conducted on a multistage stratified probabilistic sample that included 3,000 respondents with the target population being citizens of Croatia aged 14 and older. The response rate was 56.1%.

The sample design had the following four stages: settlements, street addresses, households, individuals. The primary sampling units were stratified by region (two categories, NUTS-2 level), type of settlement (two categories, local administrative centre or peripheral settlement), and size of settlement (six categories). Furthermore, in order to ensure a nationally representative sample, the obtained data were weighted for the criteria sex, age, education and number of household members.

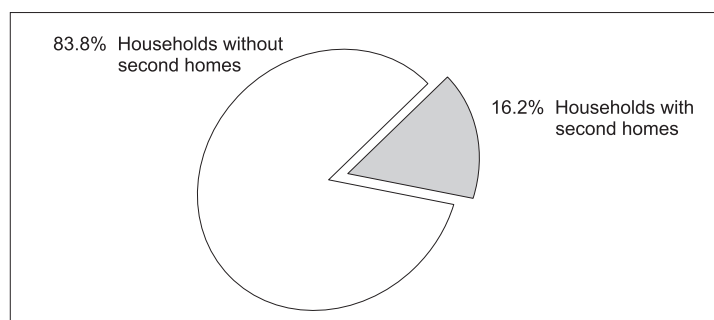
Aiming at the general population, this survey provided insight into differences between households with and without second homes. More precisely, the survey data of interest were those on second home ownership, on the frequency of their use and on the distance between a second home and primary residence, as well as basic information about households (composition of households, average household income, main-residence building type) and finally, about the settlement where the primary residence is located (size, type, region). The analysis was performed using descriptive statistics methods, and statistical significance was tested using a chi-square test.

RESULTS

About second home users

Before analysing the characteristics of second home users, it is useful to estimate the size of the phenomenon in Croatia. As shown in Figure 1, based on the data collected during the 2014 survey, 16% of the overall number of households are second home owners, i.e., every sixth household owns at least one second home.

➔ FIGURE 1
The share of Croatian households with second homes



Source: Survey conducted by the Institute of Social Sciences Ivo Pilar, 2014.

In order to determine how second home ownership is related to characteristics of the household, several features of the surveyed households were selected and analysed. Table 1 shows the proportions of households with second homes by average monthly household income per member, type of household and building type of permanent residence. The analysis of household income showed that for the majority of households with second homes, about 51%, the average monthly household income per member ranged between HRK 1,500-4,000. For a considerable proportion of the households, the average monthly income exceeded HRK 4,000 whereas the lowest number of households had an average monthly income of lower than HRK 1,500, that is, about 39% and 10% respectively. Concerning household composition, most households with a second home consisted of two or more adult members. The number of multi-person households with children under 18 years of age is lower and accounts for 34%, whereas the proportion of single-person households accounts for about 16% of the overall number of households with second homes. In relation to the type of building which is the primary residence, the majority of households, about 44% of them, live in a single-dwelling house. About 38% of households with a second home reported their main home to be a flat in a building with three or more flats, and 18% of households live in buildings with two flats.

		%
Average monthly income per household member	< HRK 1,500	10.0
	HRK 1,500-4,000	51.1
	> HRK 4,000	38.9
Type of household	Single-person households	15.7
	Multi-person households with children aged under 18	34.4
	Multi-person households without children aged under 18	49.9
Type of building of permanent residence	One flat	44.0
	With two flats	18.2
	With three or more flats	37.8

Source: Survey conducted by the Institute of Social Sciences Ivo Pilar, 2014.

TABLE 1
Structure of households with a second home in relation to the average monthly income, type of household and type of building of permanent residence

A more detailed analysis of the relationship between households with second homes and average monthly income, household type and type of building of permanent residence, indicated statistically significant differences in all analysed variables. As shown in Figure 2, the greatest difference is seen for the average monthly income of a household. As expected, the increase in household income increases the likelihood of owning a second home, resulting in the finding that 30% of households with an income above HRK 4,000 per member had a second home, whereas among households with an income below HRK 1,500, the proportion of households with a second home is as low as about 7%. In other words, households from the highest income category are four and a half times more likely to own a second home than those from the category with the lowest income. The difference is less pronounced in relation to middle-income category; households with the highest income are two and a half times more likely to own a second home than those from the middle-income category. The differences were also noted in relation to household composition; the lowest number of households owning a second home (about 11%) were found among households consisting of only one person. The differences in the incidence of second home ownership were minimal between the multi-person households with children under 18 years of age and those without children under 18 years of age (in both categories, the proportion of households with a second home was about 18%). According to the analysis, the incidence of second home ownership is related to the household's main residence building type. Households from multi-flat buildings own a second homes considerably more frequently than households living in a single-dwelling house, about 21% and 14%, respectively. When the odds ratio was calculated, it was

noted that households living in buildings with three or more flats are 50% more likely to own a second home than households living in a single-dwelling house.

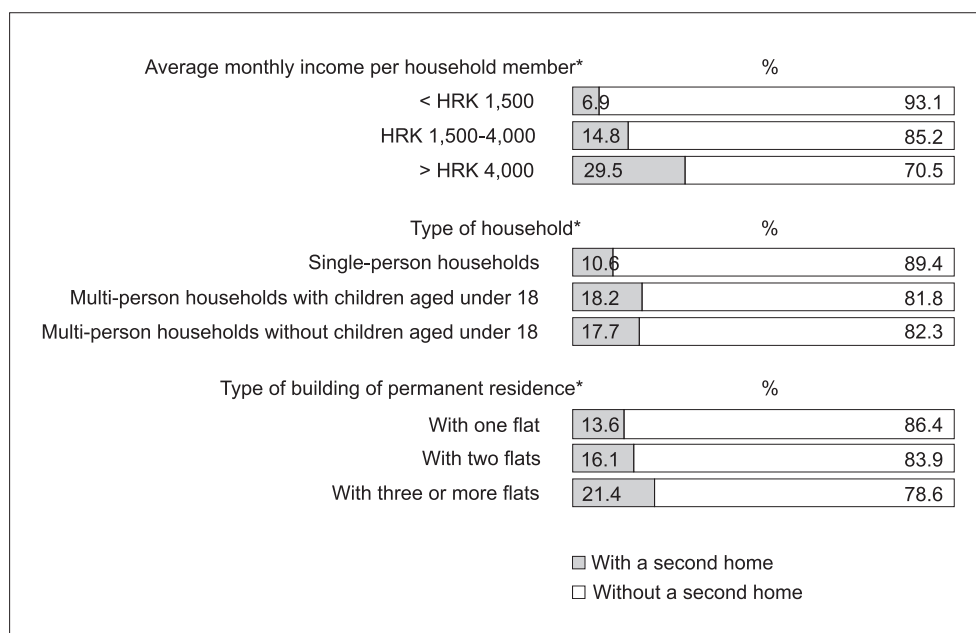


FIGURE 2
 Proportion of households with a second home by categories with regard to average monthly income, type of household and type of building of primary residence

Source: Survey conducted by the Institute of Social Sciences Ivo Pilar, 2014.

* $p < 0.01$

The results of the analysis of characteristics of settlements where households owning a second home permanently live (Table 2) showed that the highest proportion of households comes from the continental part of Croatia (about 80%) and only 20% from the coastal, Adriatic region. When differentiating settlements by their administrative role – whether they were administrative centres or not, about 73% of all the households with a second home were found to have their main residence in central administrative settlements, and about 27% were from peripheral settlements. Classification of settlements into rural and urban ones reveals that about 67% of households with a second home permanently live in urban settlements and the remaining 33% in rural settlements. The distinction based on the population size of settlements showed that the majority of households with a second home, about 38%, have their primary residence in settlements with more than 75,000 inhabitants, and other households are distributed among the remaining five categories of settlements, ranging from 8% to 14%.

		%
NUTS-2 regions	Continental Croatia	79.3
	Adriatic Croatia	20.7
Type of settlement: administrative role	Local administrative centres	73.1
	Peripheral settlements	26.9
Type of settlement: rural-urban dichotomy*	Urban settlements	67.2
	Rural settlements	32.8
Size of settlements	<501 inhabitants	14.4
	501-1,500 inhabitants	11.8
	1,501-5,000 inhabitants	13.1
	5,001-20,000 inhabitants	8.2
	20,001-75,000 inhabitants	14.4
	>75,000 inhabitants	38.1

TABLE 2
Structure of households with a second home with regard to NUTS-2 regions, type of settlement and settlement size

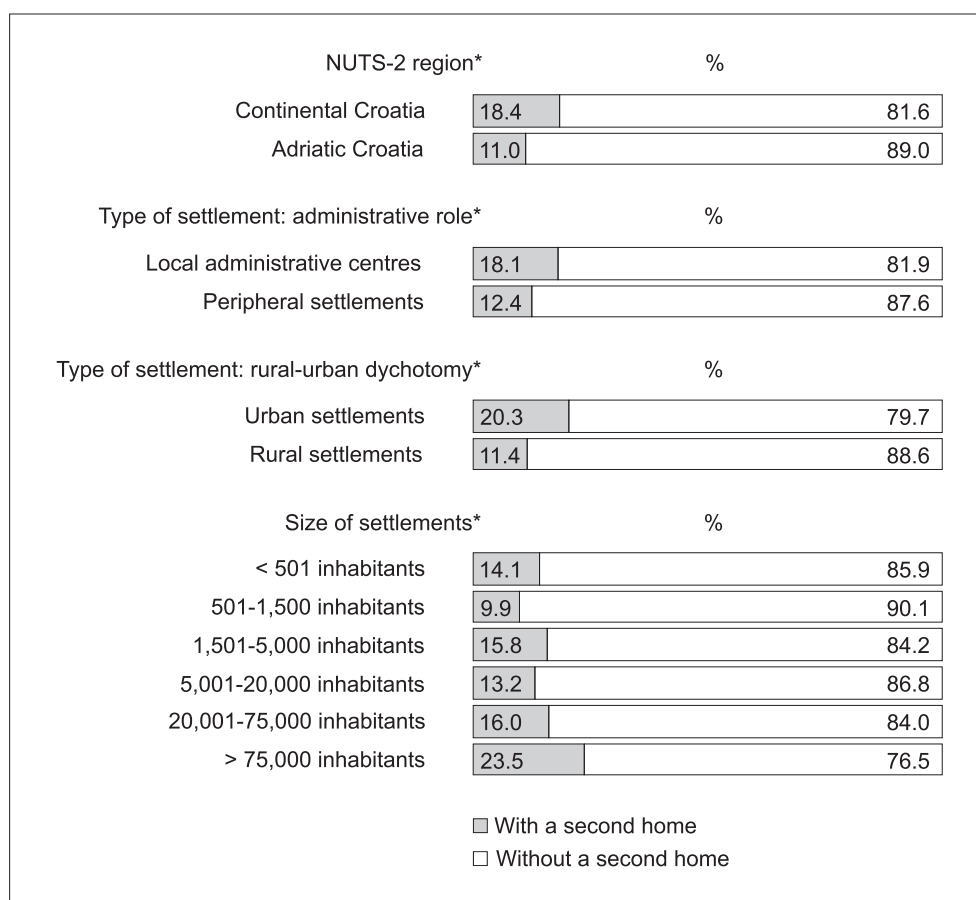
*This typology was based on the administrative division of the country. According to that criterion, only the central settlements of local government units with city status were categorized as urban while all other settlements were categorized as rural.

Source: Survey conducted by the Institute of Social Sciences Ivo Pilar, 2014.

As presented in Figure 3, data analysis using chi-square test indicated statistically significant differences in second home ownership between categories of households relating to the characteristics of settlement of primary residence (NUTS-2 regions, type and size of settlement). The proportion of households with a second home in Continental Croatia was about 18% versus 11% of their proportion in Adriatic Croatia. Translated to the odds ratio, households from Continental Croatia are about 70% more likely to own a second home than those from the Adriatic region. Furthermore, among households from the local administrative centres, the proportion of households with a second home amounts to 18% versus 12% among households from peripheral settlements; in other words, the households from local administrative centres are about 50% more likely to own a second home than households from peripheral settlements. Additionally, the proportion of households with second homes in urban settlements was about 20%, whereas in rural settlements their proportion was about 11%; thus, households from urban settlements are about 80% more likely to own a second home than those from rural settlements. The analysis of differences with regard to the size of settlement showed a proportion of households with a second home considerably greater than the national average only in settlements with more than 75,000 inhabitants. In this category of settlements, about 24% of households have a second home.

FIGURE 3
Proportion of households with a second home by categories with regard to NUTS-2 regions, type of settlement and settlement size

The smallest proportion of households with a second home was reported in settlements with a population from 501 to 1,500 inhabitants – 10%. When comparing these two categories, it can be concluded that the households from settlements with more than 75,000 inhabitants are about two and a half times more likely to own a second home than households from settlements with a population between 501 and 1,500 inhabitants.



Source: Survey conducted by the Institute of Social Sciences Ivo Pilar, 2014.

* $p < 0.01$

Patterns of second home location

The preceding analysis showed where the primary residences of households with second homes are. In the next step, we will analyse the features of settlements of second home locations using data collected by the 2011 Census. The table below shows data on the number of second homes by selected settlement categories.

		Total number of second homes	Share of all second homes (%)	Share in housing stock (%)
NUTS-2 region	Continental Croatia	72,640	29.1	5.5
	Adriatic Croatia	176,603	70.9	19.2
Type of settlement: administrative role	Local administrative centres	97,327	39.1	7.0
	Peripheral settlements	151,916	60.9	17.7
Type of settlement: rural-urban dichotomy	Urban settlements	38,582	15.5	3.5
	Rural settlements	210,661	84.5	18.3
Size of settlements	<501 inhabitants	109,106	43.7	21.6
	501-1,500 inhabitants	58,221	23.4	15.8
	1,501-5,000 inhabitants	60,124	24.1	17.7
	5,001-20,000 inhabitants	15,701	6.3	6.2
	20,001-75,000 inhabitants	3,872	1.6	1.5
	>75,000 inhabitants	2,219	0.9	0.4

Source: Croatian Bureau of Statistics; *Census of Population, Households and Dwellings in 2011*.

TABLE 3
Number of second
homes by NUTS-2
regions, type of
settlement and
settlement size (2011)

Even a quick look at Table 3 makes it clear that some types of Croatian settlements are more desirable second home locations than others. Analysing the spatial dimension, the data show that the vast majority of second homes, comprising about 71%, are located in the region along the Adriatic coast. Second homes are also considerably more represented in the total housing stock of the Adriatic compared to Continental Croatia, 19.2% and 5.5% respectively. A significant difference in the number of second homes is also seen when comparing settlements that are local administrative centres and peripheral settlements. The majority of second homes, more precisely 60.9% of the total number, are located in peripheral settlements. Also, the share of second homes in the settlement's total housing stock is greater for peripheral than local administrative centres, 17.7% and 7% respectively. The difference is even more pronounced with regard to the rural-urban dichotomy. Nearly 85% of all second homes in Croatia are located in rural settlements, and their proportion in the total housing stock of rural settlements is considerably higher than that of urban settlements, 18.3% and 3.5% respectively. The size of settlements also played an important role in the selection of second home locations, and larger settlements were considered less desirable locations for second homes. The highest prevalence of second homes was found in settlements with less than 501 inhabitants, accounting for 43.7% of the total number of second homes and for 21.6% in the total housing stock of these settlements. On the other hand, only 0.9% of all second homes are located in settlements with more than 75,000 inhabitants comprising only 0.4% of their total housing stock.

The presented data indicate a rather remarkable tendency toward the concentration of second homes within certain types of settlements, but nevertheless, there are some indications of their clustering in certain spaces. For a more precise analysis of spatial distribution of second homes, it was necessary to identify the settlements with an increased number of second homes. Therefore, a typology of settlements was developed for this purpose, differentiating the three categories of settlement across Croatia: 1) settlements without second homes; 2) settlements with a number of second homes below the national average; 3) settlements with a number of second homes above the national average. A settlement was categorised based on two indicators of the second homes prevalence at the national level. One was the proportion of second homes in the total national housing stock that amounts to 11%, and the other, obtained by dividing the total number of second homes (249,243) with the total number of settlements in Croatia (6,756), showed the average number of 37 second homes per settlement. Combining these two criteria all 6,756 settlements were classified into the three mentioned categories. Settlements with more than 37 second homes and accounting for more than 11% of the total housing stock, were classified into category 3 – the one which includes settlements with the above national average number of second homes. The distribution of settlements by categories is shown in the table below.

TABLE 4
Three categories of
settlements by prevalence of second
homes (2011)

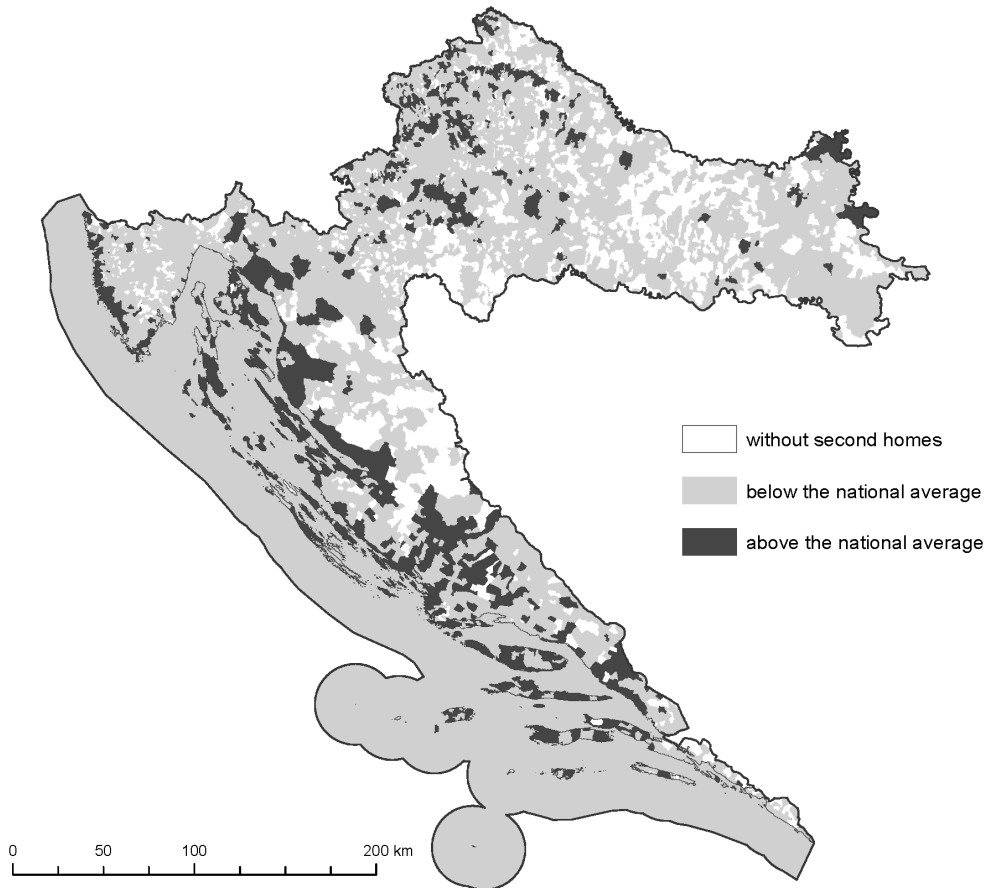
	Settlements		Second homes	
	N	%	N	%
1 Settlements without second homes	1,611	23.8	0	0
2 Settlements with a number of second homes below the national average	4,177	61.8	50,792	20.4
3 Settlements with a number of second homes above the national average	968	14.3	198,451	79.6

Source: Croatian Bureau of Statistics; *Census of Population, Households and Dwellings in 2011*.

Based on this typology, the distribution of second homes in Croatia revealed an obvious tendency toward clustering. Using the criteria mentioned above, 968 settlements were identified with more than 37 second homes, participating in the settlement housing stock in a proportion higher than 11%. These 968 settlements, comprising 14.3% of the total number of settlements, include 79.6% of all second homes in Croatia. Figure 4 illustrates spatial distribution of these three settlement categories and clearly shows two distinctive zones with increased grouping of the settlements with the above national average number of second homes. One of the zones is the

FIGURE 4
Settlements in the
Republic of Croatia by
criteria of the
prevalence of second
homes (2011)

coastal belt including islands, the other is the wider area of the region of Zagreb. Cartographic representation reveals that settlements with the above national average number of second homes are also found in the eastern part of Croatia, but their number is relatively small.



Source: Croatian Bureau of Statistics; *Census of Population, Households and Dwellings in 2011*.

Frequency of second home use

The following table shows data on the frequency of use of second homes. Distribution of answers to the question asking how often they used a second home during the past year, shows that about 25% of respondents used their second homes once a week or more, whereas about 29% of respondents reported that they were using their second home on a monthly basis (one to three times per month). Additionally, about 40% of respondents said that they used their second home only several times a year, whereas about 6% of respondents had not used their second home over the past year.

The frequency of using a second home depends to a great extent on their accessibility from a primary residence, which is mostly associated with a spatial distance between them. Table 6 shows the distances between the surveyed households and their second homes. About 41% of households have their second homes within a 25 km radius from the primary residence, about 25% at a distance between 25 and 100 km, and for about 6% of the households the distance between their primary residence and second home is between 101 and 200 km. For about 21% of households, second homes are located at a distance between 201 and 400 km from their primary residence and 7% of households have their second homes at a distance greater than 400 km.

➔ TABLE 5
Frequency of second home use

	%
On a weekly basis	24.9
On a monthly basis	29.2
Several times a year	40.4
Never during the past year	5.5

Source: Survey conducted by the Institute of Social Sciences Ivo Pilar, 2014.

➔ TABLE 6
Distance of second home from primary residence

	%
<25 km	40.6
25-100 km	25.2
101-200 km	5.8
201-400 km	21.4
>400 km	7.0

Source: Survey conducted by the Institute of Social Sciences Ivo Pilar, 2014.

⊕ TABLE 7
Frequency of second home use in relation to the distance of second home from primary residence*

As previously mentioned, the pattern of second home use and in particular the frequency of its use are generally closely related to the distance between a second home and a primary residence. The distribution shown in the following table, confirms that for Croatia as well.

Frequency of second home use	Distance between a second home and a primary residence				
	<25 km	25-100 km	101-200 km	201-400 km	>400 km
On a weekly basis (%)	46.2	20.9	3.7	1.0	3.0
On a monthly basis (%)	37.6	40.9	11.3	11.3	3.0
Several times a year (%)	11.8	30.4	84.5	84.5	84.8
Never during the past year (%)	4.3	7.8	3.1	3.1	9.1

Source: Survey conducted by the Institute of Social Sciences Ivo Pilar, 2014.

* $p < 0.01$

The data shown in Table 7 indicate a statistically significant difference between the frequency of second home use and their distance from the primary residence. About 46% of respondents among those with a second home within a radius of 25 km from the primary residence, reported that they used their second homes on a weekly basis. For the second homes located between 25 and 100 km from the primary residence, the proportion of respondents using their second homes on a weekly basis declined to about 21%. Finally, the use of second homes on a weekly basis becomes almost negligible when they are located more than 100 km from the primary residence.

A decrease in the frequency of second home use with an increased distance from the permanent home is even more notable when summarily analysing proportions of respondents who reported the use of second homes on a weekly basis and those who use them on a monthly basis. Among those with a second home up to 25 km from the primary residence, the proportion of respondents that use the second home once or more a month was 84%, among those with a second home at the distance of 25-100 km was 62%, followed by 15% for the distance of 101-200 km, 12% for 201-400 km, and only 6% among households with a second home at a distance of 400 km and more from the primary residence.

DISCUSSION

The results of analysis of the census and survey data have offered several interesting insights into the second home phenomenon in Croatia. In the first place, the fact that on average every sixth household in Croatia owns a second home, indicates that a relatively small portion of Croatian households can afford it. Comparison between Croatia and other European countries reveals great differences relating to second homes ownership. In Europe, the largest proportions of households with a second home were recorded in Nordic countries. More specifically, about 26% of Danish households own a second home (Bloze & Skak, 2014), and in Finland their proportion amounts to 37% (Adamiak et al., 2015).

In the Mediterranean region of Europe, proportions of households with a second home are somewhat lower than in the northern part of Europe. For illustration, in Italy their share is 15% (Brunetti & Torricelli, 2015), and in Greece about 20% (Tzamourani, 2012). However, it should not be overlooked that a part of the phenomenon has been imported in the Mediterranean countries; a considerable proportion of second homes in Spain, Greece and Italy are owned by foreign citizens (Barke, 2007; Breuer, 2005; Gallent, 2015). Second home use has been recognised as a strong factor in socio-spatial transformation even in countries with a smaller proportion of house-

holds with second homes, such as the United Kingdom and Ireland, where it comprises below 10% (Gallent, 2014; Norris & Winston, 2010). Overall, the comparison between Croatia and other European countries reveals that in Croatia, second home ownership levels fall within the European average and are comparable to the mentioned Mediterranean countries.

Second, the analysis of selected basic characteristics of Croatian households with second homes showed that these households represent a heterogeneous group. A more detailed analysis of the economic status of households with a second home revealed that second homes are more prevalent among wealthier households. It should be noted, however, that second home ownership does not have an exclusive character in Croatia. More specifically, their use is not a privilege that only the wealthier can afford. This is confirmed by the fact that about a half of the surveyed households with a second home fall into the middle-income category, as well as by the fact that second homes are owned also by households whose average monthly income per household member ranges around or even below the national poverty line. In other words, in Croatia, households' lower standard of living is not incompatible with second home ownership, and similar experiences can be seen also in other countries with a tradition of second homes (Adamiak et al., 2015; Norris & Winston, 2010).

Analysis of the pattern of second home ownership by household type has shown that the majority of households with a second home (about half of those surveyed) were multi-person households without children who are minors. By adding to this number an additional 16% of single-person households, it can be concluded that the majority of second homes are used by households that are in an advanced stage of the family life cycle (families with children moving out of the family, families whose children have already left, and families in the retirement phase). However, the fact that every third household with a second home has at least one child under the age of 18 shows that second home use in Croatia is still not an exclusively pre-retirement or retirement phenomenon. Besides, the analysis revealed that among households with a second home the majority had their main home in a single-dwelling house, followed by households with their primary residence in buildings with three or more flats; their proportions are 44% and about 38% respectively. Though, detailed analysis by type of building has shown that households with their primary residence in multi-flat buildings are more likely to have a second home than households living in a single-dwelling house.

Thirdly, the second home origin-destination matrix points to a specific pattern of this practice in Croatia. More precisely, the analysis showed that households with their main

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homes in certain regions of Croatia and in certain types of settlements, more often reach for second homes – among the households with a second home the most prevalent are those from the continental part of Croatia (about 80%), from local administrative centres (about 73%) and from urban settlements (about 67%). Furthermore, the analysis showed that second homes are more often located in a certain type of settlement – more desirable are peripheral (about 61% of all second homes), rural (about 85%) and settlements with less than 501 inhabitants (about 44%). In addition, analysis of second home destinations showed a tendency of spatial concentration of second homes in Croatia. About 80% of second homes are located across 938 settlements, which is about 14% of the total number of settlements in Croatia. This clustering occurs in two zones, the first zone covers the coastal area (about 70% of all second homes are located in Adriatic Croatia), while the other zone with a significant incidence of second homes includes the wider region around the city of Zagreb.

The last, fourth, analysis of data relating to the distances between the main and second home has indicated that about two-thirds of households have their second homes at a distance of about 100 km, or, translated into commuting distance, they can reach the second home within less than 90 minutes. This circumstance is reflected on the frequency of second home use, and about 54% of respondents said that they used their second homes at least once a month. In other words, more than a half of the respondents use their second homes occasionally throughout the whole year. This finding is important because more frequent use of the second home opens up more opportunities for connections with other places and communities, which subsequently encourages transformation of the second dwelling into a genuine second home (Mišetić, 2006). Furthermore, the analysis of distances between the main and second residence reveals a certain irregularity of second home distribution in Croatia. In particular, the proportion of second homes at a distance between 101 and 200 km is significantly smaller than of those at a distance between 201 and 400 km from the primary residence, 7% vs. 21% respectively. This difference results from the specific geographical configuration of Croatia. Due to the spatial position of the main emitting and receiving centres, the Croatian coastline, as the most attractive area for second home locations, is at a distance of 200 to 400 km from Zagreb, which is the largest emitting centre of second homes in Croatia (Miletić, 2011; Opačić, 2013). This finding concerning a somewhat disturbed pattern of second home location is in accordance with the view of Hall and Müller (2004) that "the geography of the amenity-rich areas greatly influences the geography of second homes" (p. 10). In

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the European context, second homes at great distances from the permanent residence are not common for domestic second home use. For example, in Finland only about 6% of second homes are located at a distance greater than 500 km from the permanent residence (Adamiak et al., 2015). Obviously, second home usage pattern is determined by the temporal and spatial distance, and there is a limit that is only rarely ignored in search of a second home. This is also supported by our analysis; the results pointed to the relation between the frequency of second home use and the distance between the primary residence and second home in Croatia. The use of second homes decreases with the increasing distance, and for the majority of households in Croatia, the second home at a distance greater than 400 km is not an acceptable option.

CONCLUSION

The analysis presented in this paper attempted to identify the basic characteristics of second home use in Croatia. Specifically, our main objectives were to find out who uses second homes in Croatia and where and how they are used. To answer these questions, a combination of empirical data collected by a survey and the most recent national Census were used. Our analysis offers several useful insights.

Starting with the first question – who uses second homes in Croatia – the finding of heterogeneity of households with a second home is particularly interesting. According to our findings, the second home phenomenon in Croatia is not associated exclusively with affluent and/or retired households and this fact could, at least in theory, reduce social distance and facilitate social interaction between temporary and permanent residents. Although the dynamics of social integration depend mainly on the social structure of temporary and permanent residents of a certain settlement, our aforementioned finding of heterogeneity of the phenomenon on the national level supports the hypothesis that second home users have the potential for sociability.

As for the second question regarding spatial distribution of second homes in Croatia – we found that the main origins of the practice of second home use are large urban settlements as well as local administrative centres, whereas the main destinations are small, rural and peripheral settlements. This opposition between locations of primary and secondary residence is another important element for evaluating the role of second homes in local development. Namely, the orientation of second home use toward those settlements in Croatia that are generally characterised by a lack of fundamental development potential, including demographic deficit, offers them an alternative source of social and other types of capital.

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And this brings us to our third question – the one about second home usage in Croatia. Temporary residents who often use their second homes are more "useful" in terms of human capital compensation, and as confirmed by our analysis, there is indeed a large proportion of them in Croatia. Additionally, the analysis confirmed that in Croatia second home use is associated with space-time accessibility.

Taking into consideration that greater physical density increases social interaction, future research should focus on the micro-level analysis of local social dynamics within a settlement with a large number of second homes. Such an approach could help understand the influence of stronger pressure of second home use on social integration and social relationships between temporary and permanent residents and also provide a more precise insight into the contribution of the second home phenomenon to the balanced development of local community.

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Socioprostorni obrasci suvremenoga sekundarnog stanovanja u Hrvatskoj

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Sekundarno stanovanje kao specifična stambena praksa ima dugu povijest na prostoru današnje Hrvatske. Broj sekundarnih stanova u Hrvatskoj stalno raste u zadnjih pet desetljeća, bez obzira na iskustva dugih gospodarskih kriza i regresivnih sociopovijesnih procesa. U radu se na temelju podataka Popisa stanovništva iz 2011. godine i anketnog istraživanja donose osnovna obilježja sekundarnoga stanovanja kroz analizu: a) obilježja aktera sekundarnoga stanovanja u Hrvatskoj, b) odredišta sekundarnoga stanovanja i c) učestalosti upotrebe stanova za odmor. Dobiveni podaci upućuju na zaključak kako se u kućanstvima koja imaju stan za odmor radi o poprilično raznorodnoj skupini te kako sekundarno stanovanje nije povezano isključivo s imućnijim i/ili umirovljeničkim kućanstvima. Nadalje, stanovi za odmor znatno su češće smješteni u određenom tipu naselja – poželjnija su ona periferna, ruralna i naselja s manje od 500 stanovnika, a više od polovice ispitanika rabi stanove za odmor na mjesečnoj bazi.

Ključne riječi: sekundarno stanovanje, povremeni stanovnici, socijalna struktura, kontraurbanizacija, Hrvatska



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