



Usluge od općeg interesa – koncept i njegova primjena u znanstvenim istraživanjima i prostornom razvoju

Services of general interest – the concept and its application in scientific research and spatial development

U znanstvenoj zajednici koncept usluga od općeg interesa relativno je nov iako se njegovi elementi istražuju na različite načine već desetljećima. Sam je naziv usluga od općeg interesa političko-normativni termin koji je u upotrebu uvela Europska unija. Iako ga je teško jednoznačno definirati, uslugama od općeg interesa smatraju se uslužne djelatnosti koje su tijela javne uprave u pojedinoj državi ili regiji označile kao djelatnosti koje doprinose javnom interesu. U geografskim istraživanjima često se analiziraju pojedini elementi toga koncepta poput opremljenosti naselja infrastrukturom i uslugama, organizacije središnjih mjesta ili dostupnosti usluga u određenom prostoru. Svrha je ovoga rada sistematizirati osnovne spoznaje o uslugama općeg interesa dostupne iz znanstvene i stručne literature na način da se analiziraju definicije i klasifikacije usluga od općeg interesa, znanstveni interes za pojedine skupine usluga, prostorna organizacija usluga te njihova dostupnost i transformacija u skladu sa suvremenim društvenim, gospodarskim i tehnološkim promjenama.

Ključne riječi: usluge od općeg interesa, teorija središnjih mjesta, teorije mreža, dostupnost usluga, transformacija usluga

In the scientific community, the concept of services of general interest is relatively new, even though its components have been examined in various ways for several decades. The term "service of general interest" is a political and normative expression introduced by the European Union. While it is challenging to provide a precise definition, services of general interest are generally understood as service activities that public administration bodies in a specific country or region designate as activities contributing to the public welfare. In geographical research, individual elements of this concept are often analysed, such as the provision of infrastructure and services in settlements, the organization of central places, or the accessibility of services in a specific area. This paper aims to organize fundamental knowledge about services of general interest, as found in scientific and professional literature; with the intention of analysing definitions and classifications of these services, exploring the scientific interest in distinct service categories, examining the spatial organization of services, and investigating their accessibility and adaptation in response to modern social, economic, and technological changes.

Key words: services of general interest, central place theory, network theory, accessibility of services, transformation of services

Uvod

Usluga od općeg interesa jest političko-normativni termin za pojam koji je u službenu upotrebu uvela Europska unija, odnosno zajednice koje su joj prethodile, u različitim dokumentima i različitim modalitetima u periodu od svojega osnutka 1957. godine do danas (Humer, 2022). Međutim, kako je pojam mijenjao modalitete ovisno o raznim političkim dokumentima Europske unije i zemalja članica, danas ga je vrlo teško jednoznačno definirati i pronaći univerzalnu definiciju (Costa i dr., 2013; Humer, 2014). U Zelenoj knjizi o uslugama od općeg interesa Europske komisije (članak 1.1, stavak 16, 2004) navodi se da su „usluge od općeg interesa sve tržišne i netržišne usluge koje su tijela javne uprave označila kao sredstva doprinosa općem interesu i podložna su posebnim propisima o obvezi pružanja javne usluge”. Takvo tumačenje zahtjevno je i u pravnom i u operativnom smislu jer otvara mogućnosti za različita tumačenja ovisno o prostornim, vremenskim, društvenim i drugim okolnostima u kojima se upotrebljava. Štoviše, pojam usluga od općeg interesa rijetko je propitivan u literaturi sam za sebe (Breuer i Milbert, 2013). Zelena knjiga (2004) u sažetku navodi četiri osnovne odrednice usluga od općeg interesa:

- širok spektar različitih djelatnosti – javna infrastruktura (energetska, telekomunikacijska, poštanska, prometna), zdravstvo, obrazovanje i ostale socijalne usluge
- različito prostorno mjerilo na kojemu se pružaju usluge – od europske ili globalne do lokalne razine
- različita priroda pojedinih usluga – tržišne i netržišne usluge
- organizacija usluga pod značajnim je utjecajem povijesne, geografske i kulturne tradicije, kao i obilježja samih usluga.

Usprkos takvu širokom i nedovoljno preciznom definiranju pojma usluga od općeg interesa o potrebi za osiguranjem dostupnosti pojedinih usluga široj društvenoj zajednici raspravljalo se tijekom posljednjih dvaju stoljeća. U europskim državama 19. stoljeća koje

Introduction

“Service of general interest” is a politically-normative term that was officially introduced by the European Union, including its predecessor communities, in various documents and in different forms since 1957 (Humer, 2022). Nevertheless, due to the term’s evolving interpretations within the diverse political documents of both the European Union and its member states, it has become increasingly challenging to establish a clear and universally-applicable definition (Costa et al., 2013; Humer, 2014). According to the *Green Paper on Services of General Interest* published by the European Commission (Article 1.1, paragraph 16, 2004), ‘services of general interest cover both market and non-market services which the public authorities class as being of general interest and subject to specific public service obligations’. Such an interpretation poses significant challenges, both in legal and operational aspects, as it allows for varying interpretations depending on the spatial, temporal, social, and other contextual factors in which it is applied. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the concept of services of general interest is seldom critically examined in existing literature (Breuer and Milbert, 2013). In the Green Paper of 2004, four fundamental determinants of services of general interest are succinctly outlined:

- a wide range of different activities – public infrastructure (energy, telecommunications, postal, transport), health, education and other social services;
- different spatial scale on which services are provided – from European or global to local levels;
- the nature of individual services – market and non-market services;
- context – the organization of services is profoundly shaped by historical, geographical and cultural traditions, as well as the characteristics inherent in the services themselves.

Despite the broad and somewhat imprecise nature of the concept of services of general interest, various discussions surrounding the necessity of making certain services accessible to the broader community have persisted for the past two centuries. During the 19th century, in European nations undergoing industrial-

je zahvatila industrijalizacija i s njom povezano promjene u društvenoj hijerarhiji postojale su javne politike kojima se željela izgraditi infrastruktura koja će oblikovati novi smjer gospodarskoga razvoja i društvenoga poretka (Henrich-Franke, 2022). Na pojam (javne) infrastrukture, spomenut u prethodnoj rečenici, često se nailazi u znanstvenoj i stručnoj literaturi, a on u svojem najširem značenju predstavlja usluge od općeg interesa. Prema ARL-ovu Rječniku urbanog i prostornog razvoja pojam infrastrukture „odnosi se na objekte i sustave koji imaju ne samo individualnu već i zajedničku korist i koji utječu na gospodarski razvoj, društveni suživot i ekološki održivi razvoj nekog područja” (Schmidt i Monstadt, 2018, 976). Infrastrukturu čini njezin tehnički dio, odnosno prometni, komunalni i informacijsko-telekomunikacijski sustav, te društveni dio, koji obuhvaća školstvo, zdravstvo, kulturne, upravne, sportsko-rekreacijske i ostale ustanove te prateće usluge. Zajedno sa sustavom socijalne sigurnosti definiranim zakonom o socijalnoj skrbi te dvije sastavnice infrastrukture čine nadređen pojam – pružanje usluga od općeg interesa (Schmidt i Monstadt, 2018). Na njemačkom govornom području za taj se pojam koristi riječ *Daseinsvorsorge*, čiji bi izravniji prijevod označavao brigu države za život stanovnika nekoga prostora, odnosno osiguranje osnovnih preduvjeta i mogućnosti za način života po vlastitoj volji (Bojara-Becker i dr., 2018). Taj se pojam u znanstvenoj zajednici značajnije istaknuo tijekom 1930-ih godina, ponajprije kao odgovor na razvojne izazove weimarske i nacionalsocijalističke Njemačke, te je potaknuo i razvoj teorija prostorne organizacije usluga, pri čemu su važan doprinos dali Christaller i Lössch teorijom središnjih mjesta (Greiving i dr., 2015; Terfrüchte i Flex, 2018). Ti su se konceptualni i teorijski obrasci zadržali u prostornom i regionalnom planiranju poslijeratne Njemačke, a njihovi elementi prisutni su i danas u sustavima prostornoga i regionalnoga planiranja mnogih europskih država.

S druge strane, s procesima koji su se pojavljivali od sredine 20. stoljeća nadalje pojavljuju se i druge teme vezane uz usluge od općeg in-

ization and consequential shifts in social hierarchies, public policies were formulated with the aim of constructing infrastructure that would chart a new course for economic development and societal order (Henrich-Franke, 2022). This concept of (public) infrastructure is often encountered in scientific and professional literature, and in its broadest sense it represents services of general interest. As per ARL's *Compendium of Urban and Spatial Development*, the term “infrastructure” “describes facilities and systems for both individual and collective beneficial use and which influence the economic development, social coexistence and sustainable environmental development of a space” (Schmidt and Monstadt, 2018, 976). Infrastructure comprises both technical aspects, such as transportation, utilities, and information and telecommunications systems, and social components, encompassing education, healthcare, cultural institutions, administration, sports and recreational facilities, as well as various accompanying services. When coupled with a social security system defined by various social welfare acts, these two facets of infrastructure together form an umbrella concept known as the provision of services of general interest (Schmidt and Monstadt, 2018). In the German-speaking world, the term *Daseinsvorsorge* is employed to describe this concept, and a more literal translation of it would signify the state's responsibility for the well-being of its residents. This entails guaranteeing the fundamental conditions and opportunities for an appropriate lifestyle that individuals can choose of their own accord (Bojara-Becker et al., 2018). This term gained increased prominence within the scientific community during the 1930s, particularly in response to the developmental challenges faced by the Weimar Republic and National Socialist Germany. It subsequently spurred the development of theories related to the spatial organization of services, with noteworthy contributions from scholars like Christaller and Lössch to the theory of central places (Greiving et al., 2015; Terfrüchte and Flex, 2018). These conceptual and theoretical frameworks have endured within spatial and regional planning of post-WWII Germany, and their components continue to influence contemporary spatial and regional planning systems in numerous European countries to the time of writing.

Conversely, starting from the mid-20th century, a set of new issues connected to services of general interest have begun to surface. Throughout the 19th

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teresa. U 19. stoljeću i većem dijelu 20. stoljeća usluge od općeg interesa bile su pod kontrolom tijela javne uprave, koja je uglavnom gradila i posjedovala infrastrukturu te upravljala njezinim korištenjem. Čak je dolazilo i do nacionalizacije pojedinih važnih privatnih infrastrukturnih objekata (Hall i Tewdwr-Jones, 2020; Henrich-Franke, 2022). Ekonomska liberalizacija dovela je do suprotnoga procesa te su se javili različiti akteri privatnoga i civilnoga sektora kao pružatelji usluga nasuprot javnom sektoru (OECD, 2010). Opremljenost uslugama postala je važan pokazatelj regionalnoga razvoja te su se stoga pokušavale naći razlike između pojedinih regija i država i uklapalo ih se s drugim konceptima uravnoteženoga prostornog razvoja poput teritorijalne kohezije (Clifton i dr., 2016). Pritom se naglasak nije stavljao samo na ponudu usluga na licu mjesta nego i na potražnju, odnosno odjek među korisnicima. Uz to se veže i pitanje minimalne razine opremljenosti uslugama, tj. propitivanje koja je razina svake pojedine usluge nužna da bi se cijelom stanovništvu nekoga područja osigurala jednaka kvaliteta pristupa toj usluzi (Littke i Rauhut, 2013). U prostornoj organizaciji usluga također se pokušala pronaći nova teorijska podloga koja bi odgovorila na stvarnosti nedovoljno prilagođene elemente teorije središnjih naselja, primjerice teorija mreža (Meijers, 2007). Predmet interesa brojnih recentnih radova o uslugama od općeg interesa bila je dostupnost usluga, pri čemu se koriste napredne mogućnosti geografskih informacijskih sustava (npr. Goliszek, 2022; Higgs i dr., 2022; Neumeier, 2022; Price i dr., 2023; Wiśniewski i dr., 2021). Također, sustavi pružanja usluga od općeg interesa bilježe brojne promjene zbog društvenoga, tehnološkoga i ekonomskoga razvoja, koje postaju sve zanimljiviji predmet znanstvenih istraživanja.

Ruralna područja često su prepoznata kao prostori gdje se sustav pružanja usluga od općeg interesa suočava s brojnim izazovima koji se tiču ponude i potražnje, dostupnosti, organizacije, priuštivosti itd. (Gallent, 2019). Dostupnost, odnosno mogućnost pristupa usluzi u nekom racionalnom doseg, koncept je koji se već desetljećima uglavnom veže uz usluge od općeg

century and much of the 20th century, these services were predominantly overseen by public administration bodies, which were responsible for constructing and owning infrastructure, and managing its utilization. There were even instances of nationalization of significant private infrastructure facilities (Hall and Tewdwr-Jones, 2020; Henrich-Franke, 2022). Economic liberalization has triggered a contrasting trend, giving rise to diverse private and civil sector entities that have assumed roles as service providers, displacing the dominance of the public sector (OECD, 2010). The presence of services has evolved into an important indicator of regional development, prompting efforts to discern disparities among various regions and countries and align them with other principles of equitable spatial development, such as territorial cohesion (Clifton et al., 2016). In pursuing this approach, the focus extended beyond merely providing services at a location; it also encompassed understanding the demand for these services and user responses. Furthermore, it raised questions regarding the minimum threshold of service provision — in essence, assessing the level of each service required to guarantee uniform access quality for the entire population within a given area (Littke and Rauhut, 2013). Within the realm of spatial organization for services, there has been a pursuit of establishing a new theoretical foundation that better aligns with reality, addressing inadequately adapted aspects of central place theory, such as network theory (Meijers, 2007). Recent research on services of general interest has prominently explored service accessibility, leveraging the advanced capabilities of geographic information systems (e.g. Goliszek, 2022; Higgs et al., 2022; Neumeier, 2022; Price et al., 2023; Wiśniewski et al., 2021). Furthermore, the mechanisms for delivering services of general interest have undergone significant transformations driven by social, technological, and economic developments. These changes have increasingly become an interesting focal point within scientific research.

Rural areas are frequently acknowledged as regions where the delivery system of general interest services encounters a number of challenges encompassing issues related to supply and demand, accessibility, organization, affordability, and more (Gallent, 2019). Accessibility, denoting the feasibility of reaching a service within a reasonable distance, has been a concept predominantly linked with services of general interest

interesa u ruralnim područjima (Moseley, 1979). S druge strane, ruralne zajednice doživljavaju različite promjene u okviru modernizacije, gospodarskoga napretka, inovacija u organizaciji poslovanja i s njima povezanim društvenim promjenama na način da dio usluga nestaje u starom obliku pružanja i poprima nove oblike (Moseley, 2000; Woods, 2005). Naumann i Reichert-Schick (2015) saželi su suvremeni istraživački interes vezan uz usluge od općeg interesa u ruralnim područjima u ova četiri pitanja:

- Kako je moguće ne samo osigurati opremljenost uslugama u ruralnim područjima nego ih i prilagoditi promjenjivim potrebama i mogućnostima ili kvalitativno poboljšati?
- Kako povećati učinkovitost i atraktivnost središnjih naselja da bi se u budućnosti ondje mogle osigurati usluge od općeg interesa?
- Koje su mogućnosti tehnološkoga i organizacijskoga povezivanja različitih usluga?
- Kako se upravljanje demografskim razvojem može povezati s održivim razvojem infrastrukturnih sustava?

U hrvatskoj geografskoj bibliografiji bavljenje uslugama od općeg interesa uglavnom je povezano s proučavanjem mreže središnjih naselja, o čemu je napisan velik broj radova od 1960-ih godina nadalje. U radovima se analizirala opremljenost naselja uslugama (centralnim funkcijama) na području cijele Hrvatske (npr. Cvitanović, 1976; Lukić, 2012) ili u pojedinim dijelovima (npr. Malić, 1981; Njegač, 1999). Definiranjem hijerarhije naselja detaljnije se upoznao urbani sustav Hrvatske, u kojemu uslijed industrijalizacije administrativni značaj pojedinoga naselja više nije bio jamstvo opremljenosti uslugama. Pojam usluga od općeg interesa u hrvatskoj geografskoj literaturi dosad nije korišten.

Cilj je ovoga rada prikazati osnovne pristupe i metode istraživanja usluga od općeg interesa u svijetu i Hrvatskoj, ponajprije u posljednjih trideset godina. U preostalim šest cjelina ovoga rada na temelju sveobuhvatne analize znanstvene i stručne literature predstavljeni su pojam usluga od općeg interesa i elemen-

in rural areas for decades (Moseley, 1979). Conversely, rural communities are undergoing diverse transformations within the context of modernization, economic advancement, innovations in business organization, and accompanying social shifts. As a result, some services are evolving, departing from their traditional modes of provision to adopt new forms (Moseley, 2000; Woods, 2005). Naumann and Reichert-Schick (2015) summarised the contemporary research interest related to services of general interest in rural areas into the following four areas:

- How can the equipment of services in rural areas be ensured, while also keeping them adaptable to changing needs and opportunities or qualitative improvements?
- How to increase the efficiency and attractiveness of central settlements so that services of general interest can be provided there in the future?
- What are the possibilities for technological and organizational connectivity of different services?
- How can the management of demographic trends be integrated with the sustainable development of infrastructure systems?

In the Croatian geographical literature, the exploration of services of general interest has predominantly revolved around the examination of central settlement networks, which has been the subject of a substantial body of work dating back to the 1960s. These studies have delved into the provision of services, particularly central functions, across Croatia as a whole (e.g. Cvitanović, 1976; Lukić, 2012) or in specific regions (e.g. Malić, 1981; Njegač, 1999). The delineation of settlement hierarchies offered a more comprehensive understanding of Croatian urban systems. In this system, the administrative significance of a particular settlement ceased to be a guarantee of adequate service provision due to the effects of industrialization. Thus far, the term “service of general interest” has not found usage in Croatian geographical literature.

The aim of this paper is to present the basic approaches and research methods related to services of general interest worldwide and in Croatia, primarily over the past thirty years. Over the subsequent six sections, we will draw upon a comprehensive examination of scholarly and professional literature to expound upon various aspects. This includes the con-

ti sustava pružanja usluga od općeg interesa, teorijski pristupi prostornoj organizaciji pružanja usluga od općeg interesa, metode analize dostupnosti usluga te znanstvene spoznaje o transformaciji usluga uslijed suvremenih društvenih, gospodarskih i ekoloških promjena. Pritom je svrha ovoga rada povezati pojam usluga od općeg interesa s geografskim istraživanjima, posebice onima koja proučavaju pojedine elemente sustava pružanja usluga od općeg interesa i u kojima on katkad nije jasno naznačen. U tu su svrhu pretražene znanstvene baze na temelju ključnih riječi (usluge od općeg interesa, ruralne usluge, središnja mjesta, dostupnost usluga i sl.) te je tako izdvojeno 160 znanstvenih članaka i knjiga s geografskim pristupom koji su poslužili za pripremu ovoga rada. U članku su sustavno navedena i dosadašnja istraživanja vezana uz usluge od općeg interesa u Hrvatskoj.

Usluge od općeg interesa – pojam i teorijski pristup istraživanjima

Kao što je i navedeno u uvodu, jednoznačnu i univerzalnu, na sve prostore i društveno-političke sustave primjenjivu definiciju pojma usluga od općeg interesa teško je pronaći u literaturi. Međutim, pojedini dokumenti koje donose međunarodne organizacije, poput Europske unije i OECD-a, definiraju određen skup usluga i infrastrukture koje se mogu smatrati uslugama od općeg interesa. Pojedine usluge i infrastrukturni sustavi iz tih se klasifikacija koriste u znanstvenim istraživanjima pod nazivom usluge od općeg interesa, ovisno o istraživačkom cilju i metoda-

ma. Europska unija institucija je koja je ukorijenila pojam usluga od općeg interesa u dokumente svojih politika, nazivajući takvim uslugama veći broj usluga i infrastrukture koje su nužne za pojedince i za gospodarstvo. Međutim, budući da je pitanje usluga od općeg interesa prvenstveno normativno pitanje, određivanje toga što je usluga od općeg interesa uglavnom je ostavljeno u nadležnosti država članica iako i tijela Europske

ceptualization of services of general interest and the constituent components of the service delivery system. We will delve into theoretical frameworks concerning the spatial organization of these services and elaborate on techniques for assessing service accessibility. Furthermore, insights into the body of scientific knowledge regarding how services adapt in response to contemporary social, economic, and environmental changes will be provided. The purpose of this paper is to connect the concept of services of general interest with geographical research, especially those studying individual elements of the system providing services of general interest, where this term is sometimes not clearly indicated. For this purpose, scientific databases were searched based on keywords (services of general interest, rural services, central places, service accessibility, etc.), resulting in the identification of 160 scientific articles and books with a geographical approach that served as a basis for preparing this paper. This article systematically compiles existing research related to services of general interest in Croatia.

Services of general interest – concept and theoretical approach to the research

As highlighted in the introduction, it is a challenging task to discover a clear and universally-applicable definition of the concept of services of general interest that can be universally applied across all geographical regions and socio-political systems in the literature. Nevertheless, certain documents established by international organizations, including the European Union and the OECD, provide specific criteria for defining a distinct array of services and infrastructure that can be categorized as services of general interest. The specific services and infrastructure systems outlined in these classifications are employed within scientific research and are collectively referred to as services of general interest, with their usage depending on the research objectives and methodologies employed.

The European Union has firmly embedded the concept of services of general interest within its policy documents, encompassing a broad array of services and infrastructure deemed essential for both individuals and the economy. Nevertheless, as the subject of services of general interest is primarily a normative matter, the determination of what qualifies as a service

unije u okviru svojih ovlasti pokušavaju u tome preuzeti veću inicijativu (Humer i Palma, 2013). Usprkos nadležnosti država članica za usluge od općeg interesa zanimljivo je da se pojam takvih usluga u praksi vrlo rijetko nalazi u nacionalnim dokumentima (Fassmann i dr., 2015). Mogućnosti različitih tumačenja opsega usluga koje se smatraju uslugama od općeg interesa izvan normativnih dokumenata daju vrlo heterogen i širok skup usluga kao rezultat. Zelena knjiga o uslugama od općeg interesa (2004) Europske komisije klasificira usluge od općeg interesa u tri kategorije:

- usluge od općeg ekonomskog interesa (eng. *services of general economic interest*, SGEI) koje se pružaju putem velikih mrežnih sustava: telekomunikacije i informacijske tehnologije, pošta, električna energija, plin, prijevoz
- ostale usluge od općega ekonomskog interesa: gospodarenje otpadom, vodoopskrba, javne radiotelevizijske usluge
- neekonomске usluge od općeg interesa, s manjim utjecajem na trgovinu (Littke i Rauhut, 2013; Ludlow i Rauhut, 2013).

Pojam usluga od općega ekonomskog interesa (SGEI) pojavio se u europskom zakonodavstvu odmah nakon uspostave prvih europskih integracija 1950-ih godina, pri čemu se tu prvenstveno mislilo na linijsku, tehničku infrastrukturu, poput prometne, energetske ili telekomunikacijske mreže (Humer, 2022). Pojam usluga od općeg interesa (eng. *services of general interest*, SGI) javlja se u europskom zakonodavstvu tek 1990-ih, isključivo kao aspekt politike postizanja teritorijalne kohezije, pri čemu se usluge dijele na tržišne i netržišne te ih se u skladu s tim i regulira. Tek u 2000-im godinama u europskom se zakonodavstvu javlja pojam socijalnih usluga od općeg interesa (eng. *social services of general interest*, SSGI), koji obuhvaća djelatnosti poput obrazovanja, zdravstva i ostalih usluga uključenih u socijalne politike (Humer, 2022). Takav vremenski slijed interesa za regulaciju pojedinih vrsta usluga u skladu je s osnovnim principima postojanja i djelovanja Europske unije i njezinih prethodnika u njihovoj tranziciji iz čiste eko-

of general interest is largely within the jurisdiction of the member states. Nonetheless, European Union bodies also endeavour to exert more influence within their respective capacities in this regard (Humer and Palma, 2013). Despite the member states' authority over services of general interest, it's intriguing to note that the practical inclusion of the concept of such services in national documents is quite infrequent (Fassmann et al., 2015). The potential for various interpretations regarding the scope of services classified as services of general interest outside of normative documents results in a diverse and expansive array of services. The *Green Paper on Services of General Interest* (2004) of the European Commission classifies services of general interest into three categories:

- services of general economic interest (SGEI) provided through large network systems: telecommunications and information technology, mail, electricity, gas, transport;
- other services of general economic interest: waste management, water supply, public broadcasting services;
- non-economic services of general interest, with a lower impact on trade (Littke and Rauhut, 2013; Ludlow and Rauhut, 2013).

The term service of general economic interest (SGEI) appeared in European legislation immediately after the establishment of the first European integration in the 1950s, primarily referring to line and technical infrastructure, such as transport, energy or telecommunications networks (Humer, 2022). The concept of services of general interest (SGI) emerged within European legislation only in the 1990s, primarily as a facet of policy aimed at achieving territorial cohesion. This approach involved categorizing services into those that operate within competitive markets and those that do not, with regulations tailored accordingly. It wasn't until the 2000s that the concept of social services of general interest (SSGI) was introduced into European legislation. This category encompasses activities such as education, health-care, and other services related to social policies (Humer, 2022). This chronological pattern of regulatory interest aligns with the fundamental principles that have guided the European Union and its predecessors in their evolution from a focus on purely economic integration toward becoming a more politically

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nomske u političku integraciju. Humer (2022) također navodi da se u različitim normativnim dokumentima Europske unije u proteklim desetljećima vide dva principa kategorizacije usluga: pravni pristup, koji dijeli usluge od općeg interesa na tržišne i netržišne, te predmetni pristup, koji dijeli usluge na gospodarsko-tehničke i socijalne usluge od općeg interesa.

Izazovu definiranja usluga od općeg interesa koje bi bile relevantne za sve države članice Europske unije pristupili su znanstvenici u okviru ESPON primijenjeno-istraživačkog projekta *SeGI – Indicators and Perspectives for Services of General Interest in Territorial Cohesion and Development*, koji se provodio između 2010. i 2013. godine (ESPON SeGI, 2013). Usluge od općeg interesa korištene u istraživanju odabrane su iz Eurostatove NACE klasifikacije (Statističke klasifikacije ekonomskih aktivnosti u Europskoj zajednici) iz 2008. godine. Odabran je velik broj statističkih pokazatelja na NUTS 0 i NUTS 2 razini za pojedine djelatnosti iz klasifikacije koji su se koristili u daljnjim analizama. Usluge od općeg interesa korištene u tom istraživanju bile su dio sljedećih NACE kategorija: D (opskrba električnom energijom, plinom, toplovodnim i klimatizacijskim sustavima), E (vodoopskrba, odvodnja, gospodarenje otpadom i remedijacija), G (trgovina na malo – specijalizirane trgovine, prehrambene trgovine, prodaja goriva, tržnice i sajmovi), H (prijevoz – zračni, vodeni, kopneni, prijevozna infrastruktura, javni prijevoz, poštanske usluge), J (telekomunikacija, dostupnost interneta i širokopoasnoga pristupa), M (konzultantske usluge, veterinarske usluge), N (agencije za zapošljavanje), P (obrazovanje – na svim razinama), Q (zdravstvene usluge), R (kulturni i sportski objekti), a uz to je dodana i kategorija socijalnoga stanovanja izvan NACE klasifikacije.

Jednu od najpotpunijih klasifikacija usluga od općeg interesa na europskoj razini, koja se nadozvezuje na spomenuti ESPON projekt, dao je Humer (2016), predloživši podjelu usluga od općeg interesa na temelju terminološke razlike između usluga od općega ekonomskog interesa (SGEI) i socijalnih usluga od općeg interesa (SSGI) (tab. 1.). Autor tvrdi da takvo strukturiranje usluga

integrated entity. As Humer (2022) points out, the various normative documents of the European Union over the past decades reflect two key principles of service categorization: a legal approach that distinguishes services of general interest as either market or non-market, and subject-based approach that classifies services into economic-technical and social services of general interest.

Addressing the formidable task of formulating a definition of services of general interest that would be applicable across all European Union Member States, researchers tackled this challenge within the framework of the ESPON applied research project *SeGI – Indicators and Perspectives for Services of General Interest in Territorial Cohesion and Development*, carried out from 2010 to 2013 (ESPON SeGI, 2013). The services of general interest included in the study were chosen from Eurostat's NACE classification (statistical classification of economic activities in the European Community) from 2008. A large number of statistical indicators were selected at NUTS 0 and NUTS 2 levels for individual activities from the classification that were used in further analysis. In this study, services of general interest were drawn from the following NACE categories: D (electricity, gas, steam and air conditioning systems), E (water supply, sewerage, waste management, and remediation), G (retail trade, specialized shops, food trade, fuel sales, markets, and fairs), H (transportation, including air, water, land, transport infrastructure, public transport, and postal services), J (telecommunications and the availability of internet and broadband access), M (consulting services and veterinary services), N (employment agencies), P (education at all levels), Q (health services), R (cultural and sports facilities), and additionally, a category of social housing, which falls outside of the NACE classification, was included.

One of the most comprehensive European-level classifications of services of general interest, building upon the ESPON project mentioned earlier, was put forth by Humer (2016). In this classification, Humer proposed a division of services of general interest based on a terminological distinction between services of general economic interest (SGEI) and social services of general interest (SSGI) (see Table 1). The author contends that this categorization is not exhaustive but serves to thematically link instances

Tab. 1. Tematska podjela usluga od općeg interesa
 Tab. 1. Thematic division of services of general interest

Osnovna kategorija usluga / Basic service category	Područje definirano politikama / Policy field	Sektor / Sector
usluge od općega ekonomskog interesa / services of general economic interest (SGEI)	mrežna infrastruktura / network infrastructure	električna energija, plin / electricity, gas
		vodoopskrba i odvodnja / water supply and sewage
		prijevoz / transport
	komunikacijska infrastruktura / communication infrastructure	radiotelevizija / broadcast
		poštanske usluge / postal services
		telekomunikacijske usluge / telecommunication services
socijalne usluge od općeg interesa / social services of general interest (SSGI)	obrazovanje i kultura / education and culture	obrazovanje / education
		tržište rada / labour market
		kultura / culture
	njegovateljstvo / care services	skrb za djecu / child care
		skrb za starije / elderly care
		zdravstvo / health care
	usluge vezane uz stanovanje / housing services	gradnja stanova / housing construction
	sustav socijalnoga osiguranja / social security system	mirovinsko i zdravstveno osiguranje, skrb za nezaposlene / pension and health insurance and care for the unemployed

Izvor: prilagođeno prema Humer (2016)
 Source: adapted according to Humer (2016)

nije iscrpno, ali da tematski povezuje primjere usluga iz različitih dokumenata Europske unije. Za svaku kategoriju usluga (SGEI i SSGI) određena su područja definirana određenim politikama (službenim aktima), koja se dijele u sektore koji obuhvaćaju pojedine tipove usluga, odnosno uslužne djelatnosti ili infrastrukturu kojoj korisnik usluge pristupa.

Organizacija za ekonomsku suradnju i razvoj (OECD) u svojim se strateškim dokumentima dotiče pitanja usluga od općeg interesa i njihove ravnomjerne dostupnosti (OECD, 2010;

of services from various documents of the European Union. Within each category of services (SGEI and SSGI), policy fields are identified and further subdivided into sectors, encompassing distinct types of services or service-related activities and infrastructure accessed by service users.

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) has dedicated sections within its strategy papers to tackle concerns related to services of general interest and their equitable accessibility (OECD, 2010; 2020). More recently, it has also delved into the subject of digitalization of services (OECD,

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2020), kao i digitalizacije usluga u novije vrijeme (OECD, 2022; Welby i Tan, 2022). U razmatranju strategija za poboljšanje pružanja usluga u ruralnim područjima (OECD, 2010) razmatraju se utjecaji različitih sektora pružatelja usluga te je izrađena klasifikacija usluga prema pružateljima usluga na privatne, javne i kolektivne (volonterske, neprofitne). Privatne su usluge one koje pružaju privatne tvrtke i koje na njihovu pružanju ostvaruju profit. Javne su usluge one koje pružaju javne ustanove ili tvrtke ili su snažno regulirane ili subvencionirane pod utjecajem javne uprave. Kolektivne su usluge one koje pružaju organizacije civilnoga društva lokalnoj zajednici. Nema oštrih granica koje bi odjeljivale usluge koje pruža samo određeni sektor iako se ovisno o području (državi, regiji) može pretpostaviti uloga pojedinoga sektora u pružanju usluga (OECD, 2010). OECD (2010) također usluge tih triju sektora dijeli i prema tome od kolike su važnosti za zajednicu na one koje su izrazito važne (npr. hitna medicinska pomoć, osnovno obrazovanje, električna energija, vatrogastvo), one umjerene važnosti za zajednicu (npr. pošta, seoska trgovina ili ugostiteljski objekt, sportska organizacija) i rutinske usluge, one uglavnom privatne važnosti za korisnika (npr. ured za izdavanje pojedinih dozvola, kemijske čistionice, književni klubovi).

Recentno objavljeni njemački priručnik *Handbuch Daseinsvorsorge: Ein Überblick aus Forschung und Praxis* (Neu, 2022) bavi se svim aspektima pružanja usluga od općeg interesa, a u svoja poglavlja uvrstio je članke o osnovnim vrstama usluga. Usluge su podijeljene prema dvama modalitetima pružanja usluga – pružanje usluga u koprodukciji i komunalno pružanje usluga. Izdvojene usluge koje se pružaju u koprodukciji između javnoga, privatnoga i civilnoga sektora su dobrovoljna vatrogasna društva, zadruge, energetska društva, *coworking*-prostori, društveni prostori (mjesto druženja), zajednički vrtovi i komunalni *crowdfunding*. U komunalno pružanje usluga od općeg interesa uključeni su gospodarenje otpadom, energetska tržišta, širokopoljasna infrastruktura, vodoopskrba i odvodnja, komunalno stanovanje, obrazovne ustanove, knjižnice, kazališta, sportske ustanove i objekti, banke, zdravstvena

2022; Welby and Tan, 2022). When formulating strategies to enhance service provision in rural areas (OECD, 2010), the OECD assessed the impacts of various service providers and introduced a classification scheme for services based on their providers, categorizing them as either private, public, or collective (voluntary, non-profit). Private services are those provided by private companies that profit from their provision. Public services are typically offered by public institutions or government-owned companies, and they may be subject to significant regulation or subsidies orchestrated by public administration. On the other hand, collective services are rendered by civil society organizations for the benefit of the local community. While there are no strict demarcations that exclusively allocate services to a particular sector, the extent of a specific sector's involvement in service provision may vary depending on the geographical context, such as the country or region (OECD, 2010). The OECD (2010) further categorizes services within these three sectors into three levels of community significance: services of exceptional importance for the community (e.g. emergency medical care, primary education, electricity, and firefighting), services of moderate community importance (e.g. post offices, rural shops or eateries, and sports organizations), and routine services, primarily of private importance for the user (e.g. licensing offices, dry cleaners, and book clubs).

The recently published German manual, titled *Handbuch Daseinsvorsorge: Ein Überblick aus Forschung und Praxis* (Neu, 2022), comprehensively addresses all facets of services of general interest. This manual incorporates articles that delve into fundamental service categories. These services are categorized based on two modes of provision: services offered via co-production and communal provision of services. Individual services delivered by co-production involving collaboration among the public, private, and civil sectors encompass volunteer fire departments, cooperatives, energy societies, coworking spaces, social spaces (venues for socializing), shared gardens, and communal crowdfunding. The communal provision of services of general interest encompasses a wide spectrum of essential services, including waste management, the energy market, broadband infrastructure, water supply and sanitation, municipal housing, educational institutions, libraries, theatres, sports institutions and facilities, banks, healthcare,

skrb, socijalna skrb i javni prijevoz. Uz ta su područja vezana i dva koncepta – kritična infrastruktura, koja obuhvaća gotovo sve aspekte pružanja usluga u nužnoj mjeri za normalno funkcioniranje društva, te digitalizacija koja iz temelja mijenja načine pružanja i pristupa usluga u suvremenom društvu.

Usluge od općeg interesa u geografskoj bibliografiji

U geografskoj bibliografiji sintagma usluge od općeg interesa relativno je nov pojam, koji se javio prateći elemente politike Europske unije, ali se pojmovi usluga u naseljima, centralnih funkcija, ruralnih usluga, infrastrukture u naseljima, osnovnih usluga i sličnih koriste desetljećima u velikom broju radova. Analize navedenih ključnih riječi na engleskom jeziku u svjetskim citatnim bazama (Web of Science, Scopus i sl.) daju nekoliko tisuća rezultata u različitim područjima znanosti. U pripremi za pisanje ovoga rada izdvojeno je 160 znanstvenih članaka napisanih tijekom posljednjih 30 godina u kojima se u cijelosti ili dijelom koriste geografske metode i pristupi istraživanju. Iako postoje i stariji radovi o toj temi, zbog formata ovog članka i promjena u istraživačkoj praksi i u samim uslugama, to je vrijeme ograničeno na posljednjih 30 godina. U odabranim se radovima proučava jedna ili više usluga koje se smatraju nužnima za ostvarivanje zadovoljavajuće kvalitete života u pojedinom području, od lokalne do međunarodne razine. Usluge koje su geografima bile relevantne za istraživanje prikazane su u priloženoj tablici (tab. 2.) zajedno s pojedinim referencama radova koji su objavljeni o pojedinačnim uslugama.

Interes geografskih radova vezanih uz navedene usluge usmjeren je na troje: a) opremljenost naselja (regija) uslugama i prostorna organizacija usluga, b) dostupnost usluga te c) promjene u pružanju usluga zbog demografskih, društveno-političkih, gospodarskih ili tehnoloških promjena.

Na temelju analiziranih klasifikacija usluga i istraživačkoga interesa za pojedine usluge, kao i

social welfare, and public transport. These sectors are also closely tied to two critical concepts: critical infrastructure, which encompasses nearly all facets of service provision necessary for the smooth functioning of society; and digitalization, a transformative force that fundamentally alters methods of service delivery and access in modern society.

Services of general interest in geographical bibliography

In geographical literature, the term “services of general interest” is relatively recent, emerging as a result of European Union policy developments. However, related concepts like services in settlements, central functions, rural services, settlement infrastructure, and basic services have been prevalent for decades in a multitude of scholarly works. An analysis of these English keywords in global citation databases such as Web of Science and Scopus yields several thousand results spanning various fields of science. In preparation for this paper, 160 scientific articles spanning the past 30 years that employed geographical methodologies and approaches, either in their entirety or in part, were identified. While there are earlier papers on this subject, the scope of this article, in consideration of evolving research practices and changes in the services themselves, is limited to the past 30 years. The selected papers investigate one or more services deemed essential for attaining a satisfactory quality of life within a specific geographic area, ranging from local to international levels. The services relevant for geographers to research are presented in the Table 2, along with individual references to papers published on specific services.

The interest of geographical studies related to these services is focused in three main directions: a) the provisioning of settlements (regions) with services and spatial organization of services, b) service accessibility, and c) changes in service provision due to demographic, socio-political, economic, or technological changes.

Drawing from the reviewed classifications of services and the research focus on individual services, and recognising the absence of a classification

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Tab. 2. Primjeri usluga od općeg interesa istraženih u geografskim radovima od 2000. godine nadalje
Tab. 2. Examples of services of general interest explored in geographical studies from 2000 onwards

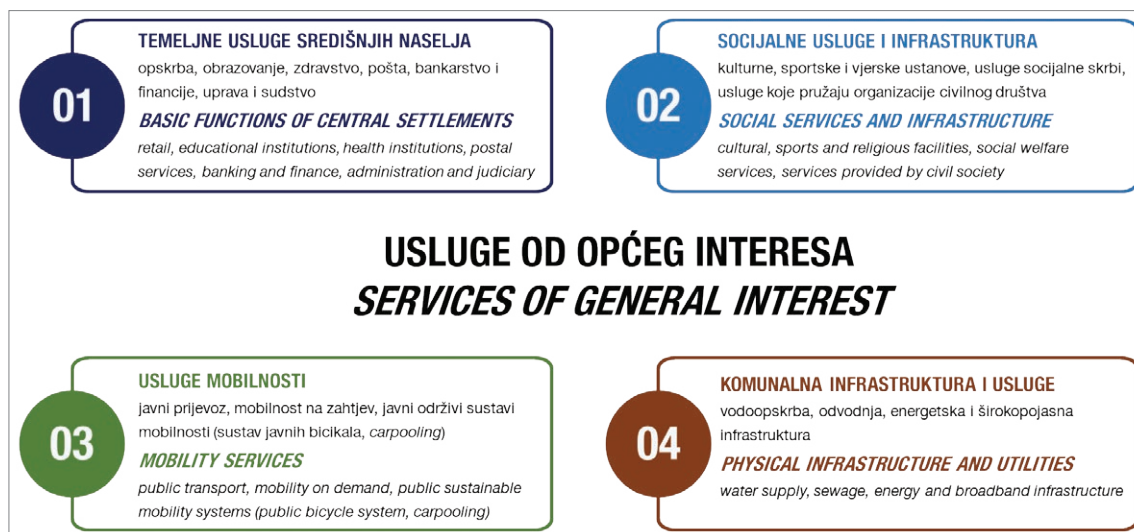
Vrsta usluge od općeg interesa / Type of service of general interest	Primjeri u geografskoj bibliografiji / Examples in the geographic bibliography
obrazovanje / education	Aasland i Søholt (2020); Cedering and Wihlborg (2020); Christiaanse (2020); Lehtonen (2021); Lykke Sørensen i dr. (2021)
trgovina / retail	Amcoff i dr. (2011); Christiaanse (2020); Haartsen i Gieling (2021); Heffner i Twardzik (2015); Kostanjšek i Marot (2021); Neumeier (2015)
zdravstvo / health services	Baudet-Michel i dr. (2021); Best i Myers (2019); Christiaanse (2020); McGrail i Humphreys (2014); Neumeier (2015)
javna mobilnost / public mobility	Ahern i Hine (2012); Bauchinger i dr. (2021); Berg i Ihlström (2019); Gray i dr. (2006); Velaga i dr. (2012)
sudstvo / judiciary	Baudet-Michel i dr. (2021)
socijalna skrb / social welfare	Best i Myers (2019); Sanglhuber i Schneider (2015)
sportska infrastruktura / sports infrastructure	Higgs i dr. (2015)
poštanske usluge / postal services	Langford i Higgs (2010); Mercier i dr. (2021)
ugostiteljstvo / catering	Maye i dr. (2005); Mount i Cabras (2016)
usluge koje pružaju organizacije civilnoga društva / services provided by civil society organizations	Mettenberger i Küpper (2019)
širokopoljaska infrastruktura / broadband infrastructure	Pant i Hambly Odame (2017)
komunalna infrastruktura / utility infrastructure	Huning i dr. (2011)

činjenice da ne postoji klasifikacija usluga koja bi u obzir uzela različite načine pojave usluga u prostoru, ovim se radom predlaže nova klasifikacija usluga od općeg interesa. Ona se temelji na dvama razlikovnim svojstvima: načinu i mjestu na kojemu se neka usluga fizički pruža ili joj se fizički pristupa te na potrebi stanovništva za pristupom usluzi. Usluge su na temelju tih svojstava podijeljene u četiri kategorije (sl. 1).

Prva kategorija izdvojena je na temelju geografske tradicije koju su u svojim analizama koristili i hrvatski i srednjoeuropski geografi, a koja je vezana uz pojam središnjih naselja te način na koji su se ona identificirala. Bez obzira na diskutabilnost korištenja teorije središnjih mjesta u suvremenim geografskim radovima činjenica je da su se usluge koje su se smatrale ključnim da bi neko naselje bilo centralno bile one kojima

that accounts for the various spatial occurrences of services, this paper puts forth a novel classification framework for services of general interest. It hinges on two distinctive attributes: the physical provision or physical access to a service and the population's need to access it. Grounded in these characteristics, services are categorized into four distinct groups (see Fig. 1).

The first category is derived from a geographical tradition employed in the analyses of Croatian and Central European geographers. It is closely tied to the concept of central places and the methodology applied in their identification. Despite the ongoing debate regarding the relevance of the central place theory in contemporary geographical studies, it remains an undeniable fact that the services regarded as pivotal for a settlement to attain centrality are those that the population, depending on their life



Sl. 1. Podjela usluga od općeg interesa prema načinu na koji se usluge pružaju
Fig. 1. Division of services of general interest according to the way services are provided

stanovništvo, ovisno o dobu svojega života, neminovno mora pristupati. U tome se te usluge razlikuju od usluga u drugoj kategoriji (socijalna usluga i infrastruktura), koje obogaćuju i povećavaju kvalitetu života u nekom prostoru, ali njihovo postojanje nije nužno za normalan tijek života u nekom prostoru. Sličnost i prve i druge skupine usluga je ta da se one fizički pružaju na jednoj ili više lokacija u naselju u nekom stacionarnom ili mobilnom objektu u prostoru ili, u novije vrijeme im se može izravno pristupiti digitalnim putem. U geografskom kontekstu može se promatrati prisutnost pojedine usluge toga tipa u naselju (postojanje točne lokacije na kojoj se usluga pruža), broj takvih lokacija i njihova prostorna raspodjela i organizacija. Treću skupinu čine usluge mobilnosti. One se razlikuju od prethodnih kategorija po tome što se u prostoru pružaju linijski, prateći prometnu mrežu. Uz linije na kojima se pružaju usluge može se analizirati frekvencija i dostupnost usluge u pojedinim točkama (stajalištima). Četvrtu skupinu čine komunalna infrastruktura i usluge koje su nužne za osiguranje kvalitete života u nekom prostoru, ali je njihov modalitet pojave površinski jer su rasprostranjene na određenoj površini naselja ili regija koja se može izraziti u apsolutnim i relativnim brojčanim pokazateljima.

stage, must inevitably access. In this regard, these services distinguish themselves from those in the second category (social services and infrastructure), which serve to enhance and improve the quality of life within a region but aren't indispensable for the routine functioning of the community. Both the first and second groups of services share a commonality in that they are physically accessible at one or more locations within the settlement at stationary or mobile facilities, or more recently, they can be accessed directly via digital means. In a geographical context, one can observe the presence of a particular service of this type in a settlement (the existence of a specific location where the service is provided), the number of such locations, and their spatial distribution and organization. The third group consists of mobility services. They differ from the previous categories in that they are provided linearly in space, following the transportation network. Along the lines where services are provided, the frequency and accessibility of the service at individual points (stops) can be analysed. The fourth group encompasses physical municipal infrastructure and services vital for enhancing the quality of life within a given area. However, their mode of presence is predominantly surface-level, as they are distributed across areas of specific regions or settlements. This distribution can be quantified using both absolute and relative numerical indicators.

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Prostorna organizacija usluga od općeg interesa

Budući da je pitanje usluga od općeg interesa važna stavka regionalnoga razvoja, različite države i regije u svojim planskim dokumentima pokušavaju pronaći najbolji način prostorne organizacije usluga od općeg interesa. Takva nastojanja imaju uporište u lokacijskim teorijama vezanim uz ekonomsku geografiju, koje su ponajprije usmjerene na razumijevanje lokacije uslužnih djelatnosti u pojedinim dijelovima prostora. Teorija čiji su elementi imali naj snažniju primjenu u praksi, osobito u zemljama njemačkog govornog područja te u zemljama srednje i istočne Europe jest teorija središnjih mjesta. U hrvatskoj se geografskoj bibliografiji obično za nju koristi pojam teorije središnjih naselja, što nije u potpunosti u skladu s originalnom Christallerovom idejom (Terfrüchte i Flex, 2018). Tu je teoriju, utemeljenu na neoklasičnoj lokacijskoj teoriji, ustanovio njemački znanstvenik Walter Christaller 1933. godine, a u sljedećim desetljećima unaprijedili su je August Lösch i drugi znanstvenici s područja geografije, prostornoga planiranja i regionalnih studija (Blotevogel, 1996; Terfrüchte i Flex, 2018). Christaller je teorijom pokušao definirati najbolju lokaciju za smještaj dobara i usluga koji se pružaju korisnicima. Vodio se tezom da različite usluge nisu ravnomjerno dostupne na svim mjestima, nego se koncentriraju u pojedina mjesta stvarajući svojevrzne klastere u kojima se koncentriraju usluge za određeno gravitacijsko područje toga mjesta. Između usluga postoji hijerarhija tako da mjesta s uslugama nižega reda imaju i uže gravitacijsko područje, a mjesta s uslugama višega reda imaju šire gravitacijsko područje (Mulligan i dr., 2012). Gravitacijska područja viših i nižih centara Christaller je definirao s pomoću idealnoga šesterokutnog modela naselja koji u stvarnosti ne postoji. Središnja mjesta ne smiju se nužno izjednačavati s naseljima ili nekim lokalnim zajednicama iako to u stvarnosti često jesu (Terfrüchte i Flex, 2018). Teoriju središnjih mjesta u kasnijim su razdobljima znanstvenici, ponajprije vezani uz regionalnu ekonomiju, pokušali prilagoditi različitim konceptima, poput izbora potrošača, aglomeracije poslovanja i funkcionalne hijerarhije (Mulligan i dr., 2012).

Spatial organization of services of general interest

As the provision of services of general interest plays a pivotal role in regional development, various countries and regions incorporate efforts within their planning documents to determine the optimal spatial organization for these services. These endeavours are founded on location theories within the field of economic geography, primarily concerned with understanding the spatial distribution of service activities. The theory that has found the most significant practical application, notably in German-speaking countries and in Central and Eastern Europe, is the theory of central places. In Croatian geographical literature, it is often referred to as the theory of central settlements, although this nomenclature does not entirely align with the original concept introduced by Christaller (Terfrüchte and Flex, 2018). This theory, based on neoclassical location theory, was established by the German scholar Walter Christaller in 1933. Over the following decades, it was further developed by August Lösch and other scholars in the fields of geography, spatial planning, and regional studies (Blotevogel, 1996; Terfrüchte and Flex, 2018). Christaller's theory aimed to define the optimal locations for the placement of goods and services to serve users. He argued that various services are not uniformly accessible everywhere but tended to concentrate in specific locations, forming clusters that catered to the gravitational area of the place in question. There exists a hierarchy among services, wherein places offering lower-order services have a smaller gravitational reach, while those providing higher-order services have a larger gravitational area (Mulligan et al., 2012). Christaller delineated the gravitational territories of higher and lower centres using an ideal hexagonal model of settlements, although such a model does not exist in reality. It is important to note that central places do not necessarily coincide with settlements or specific local communities, although they often do in practice (Terfrüchte and Flex, 2018). Subsequently, in later periods, scholars, particularly those dealing with regional economics, endeavoured to adapt the theory of central places to various concepts such as consumer preferences, business agglomeration, and functional hierarchies (Mulligan et al., 2012).

U kontekstu prostornoga i regionalnoga planiranja na temelju teorije središnjih mjesta razvio se prostornoplanski koncept središnjih mjesta (Blotevogel, 1996). Iako su pokušaji primjene toga koncepta u njemačkom prostornom razvoju postojali još u 1930-im godinama, prava primjena koncepta zaživjela je tek u zapadnonjemačkom prostornom planiranju u drugoj polovici 1950-ih. Svrha identifikacije središnjih mjesta i njihova uključivanja u prostorno planiranje bila je unaprijediti kvalitetu života u centrima nižega reda (Blotevogel, 1996; Deiters, 1996). U Zapadnoj Njemačkoj koncept je bio popularan posebice u 1960-im i 1970-im, kad se osim primjene u prostornom planiranju radi i na daljnjem znanstvenom razvoju teorije (Blotevogel, 1996). Međutim, već od kraja 1970-ih godina nadalje teorija i koncept središnjih mjesta počeli su upućivati na određene nedostatke. U njemačkim, ali i prostornim planovima drugih država, ponajprije srednje i istočne Europe, koje su implementirale koncept središnjih mjesta, i dalje se ažuriraju središnja naselja i planira se njihovo opremanje uslugama, ali teorija središnjih mjesta u geografiji kao znanosti postaje irelevantna (Gebhardt, 1996). Radovi iz 1990-ih godina navode razloge odustajanja od toga koncepta u znanosti i kontroverze vezane uz prostorno planiranje. Primarni razlozi za gubitak važnosti te teorije u geografiji su pretjerana idealiziranost, neprikladanost suvremenom tržišnom gospodarstvu, nedovoljno razumijevanje potražnje za uslugama u odnosu na ponudu usluga, usmjerenost na jednoga čvrstog regulatora svih usluga (javnu upravu) (Blotevogel, 1996; Deiters, 1996; Gebhardt, 1996). Koncept središnjih mjesta primijenjen u prostornom planiranju kritiziran je zbog nedovoljne učinkovitosti u stvaranju ravnomjernoga regionalnog razvoja, gubitka usluga u ruralnim područjima favoriziranjem manjega broja središnjih naselja, zastarjelosti te nefleksibilnosti u suvremenim uvjetima liberalnoga gospodarstva pri čemu su često zanemarene privatne usluge (Blotevogel, 1996). Međutim, problem je što se u to doba nije razvio ni jedan sličan koncept koji bi mogao zamijeniti koncept središnjih mjesta u prostornom planiranju (Giese, 1996), a koncept središnjih mjesta prilagođen suvremenim uvje-

In the context of spatial and regional planning, the spatial-planning concept of central places emerged as an extension of the theory of central places (Blotevogel, 1996). While attempts to apply this concept in German spatial development date back to the 1930s, its full-scale implementation began in West German spatial planning in the latter half of the 1950s. The primary goal of identifying central places and integrating them into spatial planning was to enhance the quality of life in lower-order centres (Blotevogel, 1996; Deiters, 1996). In West Germany, this concept gained significant traction, particularly during the 1960s and 1970s, not only as a practical tool in spatial planning but also as a subject of ongoing scientific development (Blotevogel, 1996). However, starting from the late 1970s and onwards, the theory and concept of central places began to show certain limitations. In spatial planning of both German-speaking and other Central and Eastern European countries, which had embraced the central places concept, central settlements still continued to be updated, and plans for equipping them with services were made. Nonetheless, the theory of central places in the field of geography gradually lost its relevance (Gebhardt, 1996). Publications from the 1990s list various reasons for the abandonment of this concept in scientific research and the controversies surrounding spatial planning. The primary factors contributing to the diminishing importance of this theory in geography include its excessive idealization, inability to adapt to modern market-driven economies, limited understanding of service demand in relation to service supply, and the concentration of authority over all services in a single regulator (public administration) (Blotevogel, 1996; Deiters, 1996; Gebhardt, 1996). The concept of central places, as applied in spatial planning, has faced criticism for its perceived inefficiency in fostering balanced regional development. It has been accused of leading to the loss of services in rural areas by favouring a limited number of central settlements. Moreover, it has been labelled as outdated and inflexible in the context of modern liberal economies, as it often overlooks the role of private services (Blotevogel, 1996). However, the challenge at that time was the absence of any alternative concept capable of replacing the central places concept in spatial planning (Giese, 1996). The development of an adapted central places concept that aligns with contemporary conditions could still

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tima još uvijek se može smatrati vrijednim doprinosom budućem prostornom razvoju (ARL, 2002). Ipak, iako se u 1990-im godinama činilo da je tema središnjih mjesta zastarjela za znanstveno proučavanje, u okviru nove ekonomske geografije i regionalne ekonomije pojavio se prostor za promjenu paradigme oko koncepta središnjih mjesta (Deiters, 2006). Noviji radovi (Mulligan i dr., 2012; Greiving i dr., 2015; Terfrüchte i dr., 2017) o toj tematici upućuju na empirijsko istraživanje utemeljenosti koncepta središnjih mjesta iz dosadašnje prostorno-planske prakse i njenih rezultata, te pokušavaju razviti metodologiju za to (Terfrüchte i dr., 2017) vodeći se pritom trima principima – strukturom naselja i naseljenosti, prometom koji omogućava dostupnost usluga i pružanjem usluga od općeg interesa (Greiving i Flex, 2016).

S druge strane, na nedorečenosti teorije središnjih mjesta i posebice na njezinu neprilagođenost stvarnosti pokušalo se odgovoriti novom teorijskom podlogom. Posebno problematična bila je hijerarhija naselja u urbanom sustavu koja je podrazumijevala jasno ograničena gravitacijska područja pojedinih centara, a nije uzimala u obzir suvremene društveno-ekonomske pojave, poput želje potrošača za raznolikošću i specijalizacije pojedinih malih centara za uslužne djelatnosti koje nisu bile prisutne u centrima višega reda (Camagni, 1993). U 1990-im godinama pojavila se tako teorija mreža. Prvi radovi o teoriji mreža u kontekstu prostornoga razvoja (npr. Batten, 1995; Camagni, 1993; Priebs, 1996) u obzir uzimaju mrežno povezivanje naselja unutar urbanoga sustava svojim gospodarskim djelatnostima, kao i protokom ljudi i dobara. Batten (1995) objašnjava da mrežni grad (naselje u urbanom sustavu) nastaje kada se dva naselja, po mogućnosti komplementarna u svojim funkcijama, odlučuju na zajedničku suradnju i pritom žele ostvariti ekonomiju obujma povezivanjem brzim i pouzdanim prometnim i komunikacijskim koridorima. Kretanje između tih naselja postaje dvosmjerno, nema kretanja iz centra nižega reda u centar višega reda kao što je to bio slučaj u teoriji središnjih mjesta, a funkcije centara postaju jednako vrijedne. Također, Batten (1995) jasno

offer a valuable contribution to future spatial development (ARL, 2002). Certainly, even though it seemed in the 1990s that the concept of central places had become outdated for scientific inquiry, within the realm of new economic geography and regional economics there emerged an opportunity for a paradigm shift concerning the central places concept (Deiters, 2006). More recent studies on this topic (Mulligan et al., 2012; Greiving et al., 2015; Terfrüchte et al., 2017) indicate a shift towards empirical research aimed at evaluating the relevance of the central places concept based on previous spatial planning practices and their outcomes. These studies also tried to develop a methodology for such assessments (Terfrüchte et al., 2017). They are guided by three key principles: settlement structure and population distribution, transportation facilitating service accessibility, and the provision of services of general interest (Greiving and Flex, 2016).

On the other hand, in response to the shortcomings of the central place theory and especially its disharmony with reality, attempts were made to establish a new theoretical foundation. One of the key issues was the hierarchy of settlements in the urban system, which assumed clearly-defined gravitational areas for each centre and did not consider contemporary socio-economic phenomena, such as consumers' desire for diversity and the specialization of certain small centres in services not available in higher-order centres (Camagni, 1993). In the 1990s, the network theory emerged as a response to these challenges. The early works on network theory in the context of spatial development (e.g. Batten, 1995; Camagni, 1993; Priebs, 1996) considered the interconnection of settlements within an urban system in terms of their economic activities, as well as the flow of people and goods. Batten (1995) explained that a networked city (a settlement within an urban system) emerges when two settlements, ideally complementary in their functions, decide to collaborate. In doing so, they aim to achieve economies of scale by establishing fast and reliable transportation and communication corridors. Movement between these settlements becomes bidirectional, eliminating the one-way flow from lower-order centres to higher-order centres, as was the case in central place theory. Additionally, the functions of centres become equally significant in this networked model. Furthermore, Batten (1995) clear-

navodi osnovne razlike između sustava središnjih mjesta i mrežnoga sustava temeljenih na pripadajućim teorijama. Tako umjesto koncepta centralnosti sustava središnjih mjesta navodi nodalnost mrežnoga sustava, umjesto ovisnosti o veličini navodi neutralnost veličine, umjesto tendencije prema hijerarhiji navodi tendenciju prema fleksibilnosti i komplementarnosti, umjesto homogenosti dobara i usluga stavlja njihovu heterogenost, umjesto vertikalne dostupnosti stavlja horizontalnu, umjesto jednosmjernoga kretanja postoji dvosmjerno, a umjesto prijevoznih troškova značajniji postaju troškovi informacija. Također, teorije mreža mogu se usko vezati i uz koncept policentričnosti, koji je sastavni dio planskih dokumenata urbanoga i prostornoga razvoja (Meijers, 2005). Usprkos znatnom napretku u razumijevanju stvarnosti putem teorije mreža u odnosu na teoriju središnjih mjesta broj primjenjivih radova vezanih uz primjenu teorije mreža u razumijevanju prostorne organizacije usluga od općeg interesa ostao je razmjerno malen. Među njima se ističu radovi koji uglavnom analiziraju mrežu jedne skupine usluga, npr. trgovine (Verhetsel i dr., 2022), socijalne infrastrukture (Raagmaa i Kroon, 2005), obrazovnih i zdravstvenih ustanova (Meijers, 2007). Analize temeljene na teoriji mreža zahtijevaju znatno veći broj podataka od analiza središnjih mjesta, kao i analitičkih metoda i pokazatelja. Uz katalogiziranje usluga koje postoje u pojedinim mjestima trebaju se uzeti u obzir dvosmjerna kretanja zbog usluga zajedno sa svim brojčanim podacima koji o njima postoje te komplementarnost naselja u tipovima usluga.

Dostupnost usluga od općeg interesa

Da bi usluge od općeg interesa ostvarile svrhu svojeg postojanja, nužno je da budu lako dostupne što široj skupini stanovništva na području koje je zamišljeno kao njihovo gravitacijsko područje. Dostupnost se može definirati kao mogućnost pristupa željenim dobrima, uslugama ili destinacijama (Litman, 2003). Dostupnost se može i mjeriti. Pritom se mjeri kapacitet pojedine lokacije da joj se pristupi s drugih lokacija, odnosno da se iz nje može

ly outlined the fundamental differences between the central place system and the networked system based on their respective theories. Instead of the concept of centrality in central place theory, he introduced the idea of nodality in the networked system. Instead of being dependent on size, he emphasized size neutrality. Rather than a tendency toward hierarchy, he highlighted the tendency toward flexibility and complementarity. In place of homogeneity of goods and services, he acknowledged their heterogeneity. Horizontal accessibility is favoured over vertical accessibility, and bidirectional movement replaces unidirectional movement. Information costs become more significant than transportation costs. Additionally, network theory can be closely related to the concept of polycentricity, which is an integral part of urban and spatial development planning documents (Meijers, 2005). Despite significant progress in understanding reality via network theory compared to central place theory, the number of applied studies related to the application of network theory in understanding the spatial organization of services of general interest remains relatively small. Among these, there are works that primarily analyse the network of a specific group of services, such as trade (Verhetsel et al., 2022), social infrastructure (Raagmaa and Kroon, 2005), or educational and healthcare institutions (Meijers, 2007). Analyses rooted in network theory demand a substantially larger dataset in comparison to central place analyses. In addition to documenting the range of services existing in individual locations, these analyses necessitate the consideration of bidirectional service movement, comprehensive numerical data related to said movement, and the complementarity of different settlements in terms of the types of services they offer.

Accessibility of services of general interest

In order for general interest services to fulfil their purpose, it is essential for them to be easily accessible to a broad segment of the population within the envisioned gravitational area. Accessibility can be defined as the ability to reach desired goods, services, or destinations (Litman, 2003). Accessibility can also be quantified, measuring the capacity of a particular location to be accessed from other locations, or conversely, the ability to reach other

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pristupiti drugim lokacijama (Rodrigue, 2020). Osim ovih definicija koncepta dostupnosti, u literaturi se može naići na velik broj različitih definicija dostupnosti, čija se konceptualizacija često veže uz pokazatelje koji su odabrani za njezino mjerenje (van Wee, 2016). Interes za koncept dostupnosti u geografskoj bibliografiji izrazito je velik, ponajprije u kontekstu prometne geografije, te su se u skladu s time i razvile brojne metode za analizu i mjerenje dostupnosti (Geurs i van Wee, 2004). U kontekstu usluga od općeg interesa analize dostupnosti uglavnom su usmjerene na identificiranje prostora sa slabijom ili jačom razinom dostupnosti (npr. Langford i Higgs, 2010; Stępniać i Rosik, 2013; McGrail i Humphreys, 2014; Neumeier, 2016; Sá Marques i dr., 2020; Neumeier i Kokorsch, 2021; Wiśniewski i dr., 2021; Ortega-Reig i dr., 2023) te na davanje preporuka za uravnoteženje dostupnosti usluga. U takvim se analizama uglavnom koriste napredne mogućnosti GIS-a. Dostupnost se također u nekim radovima veže uz temu policentričnosti pa se analizom dostupnosti pojedinih centara/gradova nastoji doći do razumijevanja odnosa u urbanom sustavu (npr. Sá Marques i dr., 2020; Bertram i Chilla, 2022).

Metode izračuna dostupnosti brojne su i njihova detaljnija analiza uvelike bi premašila duljinu ovoga članka. Međutim, potrebno se osvrnuti na osnovne principe na temelju kojih su te metode zamišljene. Geurs i van Wee (2004) u svojem su radu izložili vrlo jasnu podjelu sastavnica i mjera dostupnosti. Dostupnost tako sadržava četiri sastavnice: sadržajnu (što postoji na nekoj lokaciji, kolika je potražnja za tim i otkud, odnos ponude i potražnje), prometnu (prostorna i vremenska udaljenost, kvaliteta putovanja), vremensku (vrijeme u kojem je nešto dostupno) i individualnu (obilježja i stavovi pojedinca koji pristupa nekoj lokaciji). Razvijene metode mjerenja dostupnosti također se mogu podijeliti na četiri vrste: mjere temeljene na infrastrukturi (učinkovitost prometne infrastrukture), mjere temeljene na lokaciji (dostupnost pojedinih aktivnosti u odnosu na određenu lokaciju), mjere temeljene na osobnoj perspektivi (aktivnosti u kojima pojedinac može sudjelovati u određenom vremenu) te mjere temeljene na koristima (ekonomska korist od pristupa uslugama u prostoru).

locations from it (Rodrigue, 2020). In addition to these definitions of the accessibility concept, the literature presents a plethora of various definitions of accessibility, often linked to the indicators chosen for its measurement (van Wee, 2016). Interest in the accessibility concept in geographical literature is notably significant, primarily in the context of transportation geography, and as a result, numerous methods for analysing and measuring accessibility have been developed (Geurs and van Wee, 2004). In the context of general interest services, accessibility analyses are generally focused on identifying areas with varying levels of accessibility (e.g. Langford i Higgs, 2010; Stępniać i Rosik, 2013; McGrail i Humphreys, 2014; Neumeier, 2016; Sá Marques i dr., 2020; Neumeier i Kokorsch, 2021; Wiśniewski i dr., 2021; Ortega-Reig i dr., 2023) and providing recommendations for balancing service accessibility. In such analyses, advanced GIS capabilities are commonly employed. Moreover, accessibility is linked to the theme of polycentricity in some papers, where the analysis of the accessibility of individual centres or cities aims to shed light on the relationships within the urban system (e.g. Sá Marques et al., 2020; Bertram and Chilla, 2022).

The methods for calculating accessibility are numerous, and a detailed analysis of them is outside the scope of this article. However, it is essential to touch upon the fundamental principles upon which these methods are conceived. Geurs and van Wee (2004) provided a clear framework for the components and measures of accessibility. Accessibility encompasses four main components: content-related (what exists at a particular location, the demand for it, and where it originates, i.e. the supply and demand relationship), transport-related (spatial and temporal distance, travel quality), temporal (the time when something is available), and individual (the characteristics and attitudes of the person accessing a location). The developed methods for measuring accessibility can also be divided into four types: infrastructure-based measures (efficiency of transportation infrastructure), location-based measures (accessibility of specific activities concerning a particular location), personal perspective-based measures (activities in which an individual can participate at a given time), and utility-based measures (economic benefit derived from accessing services in given space).

Od navedenih mjera dostupnosti u kontekstu usluga od općeg interesa često se rabe mjere temeljene na lokaciji. Wiśniewski i dr. (2021) u svojem istraživanju navode četiri konkretne metode izračuna dostupnosti temeljene na lokaciji. To su prostorna dostupnost, kumulativne prilike, potencijalna dostupnost i dostupnost s kompeticijom. Za svaku navedenu vrstu postoje određeni matematički modeli izračuna. Prostorna odnosno geografska dostupnost označava potencijalnu priliku stanovnika nekoga područja da se koriste određenim uslugama, pri čemu se udaljenost između mjesta stanovanja ili bilo kojega drugog mjesta s kojeg osoba želi pristupiti usluzi do mjesta na kojemu se nalazi usluga smatra barijerom za dostupnost usluge. Uz prostornu dostupnost vežu se i kumulativne prilike koje upućuju na broj pružatelja pojedine usluge u nekom prostornom ili vremenskom opsegu koji je omeđen maksimalnom udaljenosti ili vremenom putovanja. Ta se udaljenost može ograničiti prostorno ili vremenski, putem pokazatelja bliskosti. Izračuni prostorne dostupnosti i kumulativnih prilika obrađuju se u GIS-u analizom uslužnoga područja omeđenog određenom udaljenosti ili izokronama (Escalona-Orcao i Díez-Cornago, 2007; Goliszek, 2017; Christiaanse, 2020; Bertram i Chilla, 2022), odnosno administrativnim granicama (Talen i Anselin, 1998) ili rasterski baziranim modeliranjem (Stępniać i Rosik, 2013; Neumeier, 2015; 2016; 2022; Kompil i dr., 2019). Potencijalna dostupnost označava sve dostupne pružatelje usluga u nekom prostoru, pri čemu se pružateljima na temelju njihove atraktivnosti (veliĉine ili vaŹnosti) ili udaljenosti poveća-va ili smanjuje vaŹnost (npr. Haynes i dr., 2003; Stępniać i Rosik, 2015; Beria i dr., 2017). Mjera dostupnosti s kompeticijom, u literaturi poznatija pod nazivom *Two-Step Floating Catchment Area* (2SFCA), sloŹen je pokazatelj koji u obzir uzima sve stanovništvo koje gravitira određenom pruŹatelju usluge u određenom području te zatim te pokazatelje stavlja u zajedniĉki omjer uzimajući u obzir vrijednosti za sve pruŹatelje usluga. Taj je oblik izračuna dostupnosti često korišten posljednjih godina (npr. Luo, 2004; McGrail, 2012; Fransen i dr., 2015; Bauer i dr., 2018; Tao i dr., 2020; Higgs i dr., 2022). Dostupnost usluga od općeg interesa na nekom području može se računati navedenim

Among the mentioned accessibility measures, location-based measures are often used in the context of general interest services. Wiśniewski et al. (2021) in their research outline four specific location-based accessibility calculation methods. These methods are spatial accessibility, cumulative opportunities, potential accessibility, and accessibility with competition. Each of these types has specific mathematical models for calculation. Spatial or geographic accessibility refers to the potential opportunity for residents of a certain area to use specific services, considering the distance between the place of residence or any other location from which a person wishes to access the service to the location where the service is available, which is regarded as a barrier to service accessibility. Cumulative opportunities are also associated with spatial accessibility, indicating the number of service providers within a certain spatial or temporal range, which is bounded by a maximum distance or travel time. This distance can be spatially or temporally restricted using proximity indicators. Calculations of spatial accessibility and cumulative opportunities in GIS are processed by analysis of service areas bounded by a specific distance or isochrones (Escalona-Orcao and Díez-Cornago, 2007; Goliszek, 2017; Christiaanse, 2020; Bertram and Chilla, 2022), administrative boundaries (Talen and Anselin, 1998), or raster-based modelling (Stępniać and Rosik, 2013; Neumeier, 2015; 2016; 2022; Kompil et al., 2019;). Potential accessibility encompasses all available service providers in a given area, with the attractiveness (size or importance) or distance to providers increasing or decreasing their significance (e.g. Haynes et al., 2003; Stępniać and Rosik, 2015; Beria et al., 2017) based on their attractiveness (size or importance) or distance. The measure of accessibility with competition, more commonly known in the literature as the Two-Step Floating Catchment Area (2SFCA), is a complex indicator that considers all residents who gravitate to a specific service provider in a given area. It then combines these indicators into a common ratio, taking into account values for all service providers. This method of calculating accessibility has been widely utilised in recent years (e.g. Luo, 2004; McGrail, 2012; Fransen et al., 2015; Bauer et al., 2018; Tao et al., 2020; Higgs et al., 2022). The accessibility of general interest services in a particular area can be calculated using

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metodama i za različite vrste prometa (npr. automobilski, pješački, biciklistički, javni prijevoz), što je posljednjih godina također bio predmet interesa pojedinih geografskih radova (Goliszek, 2022; Larsson i dr., 2022; Neumeier, 2022; Price i dr., 2023). Javni prijevoz posebno je zanimljiv u kontekstu usluga od općeg interesa, bilo da se radi o dostupnosti usluga bilo o transformaciji usluga jer je on istovremeno usluga od općeg interesa sam za sebe, a s druge je strane i medij kojim se ostvaruje pristup drugim kategorijama usluga.

Transformacija usluga od općeg interesa

U geografskoj bibliografiji usluge od općeg interesa vrlo često se promatraju u okviru pojedinih promjena, manje ili više vezanih uz bit samih usluga, koje bitno mijenjaju oblik i način njihova pružanja. Broj radova o promjenama u pružanju usluga također je velik i obuhvaća širok skup kvantitativnih i kvalitativnih istraživačkih metoda prilagođenih cilju i području istraživanja. Heterogenost radova toliko je široka da ih je teško svrstati u jednu fiksnu skupinu. Većina radova o transformaciji usluga zasniva se na pojedinim studijama slučaja, u kojima se nastoji istražiti promjena u pružanju jedne ili više usluga od općeg interesa do koje je došlo zbog nekoga vanjskog čimbenika te se na temelju toga izvode zaključci o uspješnosti prilagodbe usluge promjeni, izazovima koji su se pojavili u tom razdoblju, potencijalima do kojih je određena promjena dovela te eventualnim odjecima promjena na druga područja. Nedostaje sustavnih istraživanja koja bi obuhvatila transformacije analizirane na većem broju usluga od općeg interesa. Prijedlozi za budući razvoj usluga, kojima se katkad zaključuju znanstveni radovi ove tematike, vrlo se rijetko koriste planerskim metodama predviđanja i prognoziranja (v. Fürst i Scholles, 2008) i ne daju širu sliku kako će usluge izgledati u nekom budućem razdoblju.

Na temelju tema obrađenih u znanstvenim radovima mogu se izdvojiti tri skupine čimbenika koji utječu na promjene u obliku pružanja, dostupnosti i prostorne organizacije usluga. Ti su procesi posebno izraženi u ruralnim područjima,

the aforementioned methods for various modes of transportation (e.g. automobile, pedestrian, bicycle, public transport), which has also been the subject of interest in some geographical studies in recent years (Goliszek, 2022; Larsson et al., 2022; Neumeier, 2022; Price et al., 2023). Public transport is especially interesting in the context of general interest services, whether it is related to service accessibility or service transformation, as it is both a service of general interest and a means to access other categories of services.

Transformation of services of general interest

In geographical literature, general interest services are often observed within the context of various changes, more or less related to the essence of the services themselves, which significantly alter their form and the way they are provided. There is also a substantial number of studies on changes in service delivery, encompassing a wide range of quantitative and qualitative research methods tailored to the research objective and area of study. The heterogeneity of these studies is so vast that it is challenging to categorize them into a single fixed group. Most studies on the transformation of services are based on individual case studies, aiming to explore changes in the provision of one or more services of general interest resulting from external factors. Based on these case studies, conclusions are drawn regarding the adaptability of the service to change, the challenges that emerged during that period, the potentials unlocked by specific changes, and the potential repercussions of these changes on other areas. Systematic research covering transformations analysed across a broader spectrum of services of general interest is lacking. Suggestions for future service development, which sometimes conclude scientific studies on this topic, seldom employ planning methods for prediction and forecasting (see Fürst and Scholles, 2008), and they do not provide a comprehensive picture of how services will look in a future period.

Based on the topics covered in scientific papers, three groups of factors influencing changes in the form of service provision, accessibility, and spatial organization can be identified. These processes are particularly pronounced in rural areas, which are predom-

koja su prostori koji pretežito gube stanovništvo i usluge i gdje se gubitak usluge teže nadoknađuje nego u gradu. Prvu skupinu čimbenika čine demografski i socijalni procesi. Među demografskim procesima posebice se ističe starenje stanovništva. Vezano uz to otvaraju se teme poput mobilnosti starijega stanovništva i sprječavanja njegove socijalne isključenosti (Ahern i Hine, 2012; Shergold i Parkhurst, 2012), prihvatanja digitalnih tehnologija u pružanju usluga kod starijega stanovništva (Hodge i dr., 2017), zdravstvene i socijalne skrbi za starije (Noack i Bergmann, 2011; Sanglhuber i Schneider, 2015), koncentracija usluga u tzv. ruralne *hubove* i razvoj novih mjesta druženja za stanovnike ruralnih područja (Goodwin-Hawkins, 2020) itd. S druge strane, znanstvenici proučavaju i promjene u uslugama kojima se koristi mlado stanovništvo, posebice u ruralnim područjima, primjerice zatvaranje škola (Aasland i Søholt, 2020; Cedering i Wihlborg, 2020; Lehtonen, 2021) te pristup uslugama u gradovima putem javnoga prijevoza (Delclòs-Alió i Miralles-Guasch, 2019). Mnoge javne funkcije mijenjaju svoj oblik pružanja zbog različitih političkih odluka te primjerice poprimaju novu prostornu organizaciju usluga po administrativnom ključu (Baudet-Michel i dr., 2021).

Drugu skupinu čimbenika čine ekonomski čimbenici. U posljednjim desetljećima u uvjetima snažnoga tržišnog gospodarstva došlo je do deregulacije pojedinih djelatnosti, posebice onih koje su bile snažno regulirane u javnoj domeni (npr. javni prijevoz), kao i do zatvaranja pojedinih objekata gdje su se pružale usluge zbog ekonomske neodrživosti (npr. zatvaranje malih seoskih trgovina u korist većih trgovačkih lanaca, zatvaranje poštanskih ureda u selima) (Moseley, 2000; Brake i Nelson, 2007; Christiaanse i Haartsen, 2017).

Treću skupinu čimbenika čini tehnološki i društveni napredak. Digitalna tranzicija i održivi razvoj postaju sve popularnije teme u ovoj kategoriji. U okviru znanstvenoga pristupa digitalnoj tranziciji pokušavaju se istražiti mogućnosti prilagodbe manjih lokalnih zajednica pružanju usluga digitalnim putem (Hodge i dr., 2017; Roberts i dr., 2017; Mettenberger i dr., 2021). U kontekstu održivosti u znanstvenim se radovima raspravlja o pojedinim

inantly experiencing population and service decline, and where the loss of services is more challenging to compensate for compared to urban areas. The first group of factors consists of demographic and social processes. Among demographic processes, population aging stands out in particular. In relation to population aging, topics such as the mobility of the elderly population and preventing their social exclusion (Ahern and Hine, 2012; Shergold and Parkhurst, 2012), the acceptance of digital technologies in service delivery for the elderly (Hodge et al., 2017), healthcare and social care for the elderly (Noack and Bergmann, 2011; Sanglhuber and Schneider, 2015), the concentration of services in so-called rural hubs, and the development of new social gathering places for residents of rural areas (Goodwin-Hawkins, 2020), among others, are discussed. On the other hand, scientists also study changes in services used by the younger population, especially in rural areas, such as school closures (Aasland and Søholt, 2020; Cedering and Wihlborg, 2020; Lehtonen, 2021), and access to services in cities through public transportation (Delclòs-Alió and Miralles-Guasch, 2019). Many public functions are changing their service delivery format due to various policy decisions and, for example, are adopting a new spatial organization of services based on administrative criteria (Baudet-Michel et al., 2021).

The second group of factors consists of economic factors. In recent decades, in the context of a strong market economy, there has been deregulation of certain activities, especially those that were heavily regulated in the public domain (e.g. public transportation), as well as the closure of certain service facilities due to economic unsustainability (e.g. closure of small rural stores in favour of larger retail chains, closure of post offices in villages) (Moseley, 2000; Brake and Nelson, 2007; Christiaanse and Haartsen, 2017).

The third group of factors consists of technological and social progress. Two topics that are becoming increasingly popular within this category are digital transition and sustainable development. In the scientific approach to the digital transition, efforts are made to explore the possibilities for smaller local communities to provide services digitally (Hodge et al., 2017; Roberts et al., 2017; Mettenberger et al., 2021). In the context of sustainability,

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rješenjima u pružanju usluga koje bi mogle pridonijeti održivosti. Veći broj radova s tematikom održivoga razvoja posljednjih godina bavi se unaprjeđenjem usluga mobilnosti, posebice u ruralnim područjima (Bulteau i dr., 2018; Soder i Peer, 2018; Vitale Brovarone i Cotella, 2020; Bauchinger i dr., 2021).

Usluge od općeg interesa u hrvatskoj geografskoj bibliografiji

Pojam usluga od općeg interesa ne spominje se u hrvatskim geografskim radovima, ali proučavanje takvih usluga ima višedecentnu tradiciju u hrvatskoj geografiji, posebice u okviru proučavanja središnjih naselja. Teorija središnjih mjesta prisutna je u hrvatskoj literaturi od 1960-ih godina. Sa sve jačom urbanizacijom postojala je potreba da se dublje upozna urbani sustav Hrvatske i tadašnje Jugoslavije jer poznavanje administrativnoga ustroja više nije bilo dovoljno za određivanje značaja koje pojedino mjesto ima (Žuljić, 1983). Prva cjelovita analiza središnjih naselja za područje cijele Hrvatske izrađena je 1976., kada je identificirano 498 središnjih naselja podijeljenih prema centralitetu u pet redova (Cvitanović, 1976). U razdoblju do kraja 20. stoljeća objavljeni su različiti radovi koji se bave analizom mreže središnjih naselja pojedinih regija ili subregija, primjerice Središnje Hrvatske (Malić, 1981), otoka Krka (Novosel-Žic, 1986), unutrašnje Istre (Malić, 1981) ili Hrvatskog zagorja (Njegač, 1999). Analiza opremljenosti naselja središnjim funkcijama ostala je relativno popularna tema i u prvim dvama desetljećima 21. stoljeća, a u geografskoj bibliografiji i bibliografiji srodnih društvenih znanosti nalaze se radovi o centralnim funkcijama u Dalmaciji (Radeljak Kaufmann, 2015), hrvatskim otocima (Marinković, 2018), novogradiškom kraju (Dragić i dr., 2018) itd. Cjelovitu analizu središnjih naselja u Republici Hrvatskoj na temelju podataka iz 2008. godine napravio je Lukić (2012), koji je u šest kategorija centraliteta izdvojio 721 središnje naselje u Hrvatskoj i 232 funkcionalno jače opremljena naselja. Također je izračunat broj središnjih naselja dostupan iz svakoga naselja u

scientific papers discuss specific solutions in service delivery that could contribute to sustainability. A significant number of recent papers on sustainable development focus on improving mobility services, especially in rural areas (Bulteau et al., 2018; Soder and Peer, 2018; Vitale Brovarone and Cotella, 2020; Bauchinger et al., 2021).

Services of general interest in the Croatian geographical bibliography

The term “services of general interest” is notably absent in Croatian geographical literature. However, the study of such services has a longstanding tradition within Croatian geography, particularly in the context of central settlements. The theory of central places has been a part of Croatian scientific literature since the 1960s. As urbanization intensified, there arose a necessity for a more profound understanding of the urban system in Croatia and the former Yugoslavia. Mere knowledge of administrative structures was no longer sufficient for assessing the importance of individual locations (Žuljić, 1983). The first comprehensive analysis of central settlements for the entire territory of Croatia took place in 1976, during which 498 central settlements were identified and classified into five groups based on their level of centrality (Cvitanović, 1976). During the period leading up to the end of the 20th century, various studies were published that focused on the analysis of central settlement networks in specific regions or sub-regions, such as Central Croatia (Malić, 1981), the island of Krk (Novosel-Žic, 1986), the interior of Istria (Malić, 1981), or Zagorje (Njegač, 1999). The analysis of settlement provisioning with central functions remained a relatively popular topic in the first two decades of the 21st century as well. In the geographical bibliography and related social sciences literature, one can find works on central functions in Dalmatia (Radeljak Kaufmann, 2015), Croatian islands (Marinković, 2018), the Nova Gradiška region (Dragić et al., 2018), and so on. A comprehensive analysis of central settlements in the Republic of Croatia based on data from 2008 was conducted by Lukić (2012), who categorized 721 central settlements and 232 more functionally-equipped settlements into six centrality categories. The number of central settlements accessible from each settlement

vremenu od 30 minuta putovanja. Vrlo obuhvaatan pregled dostupne infrastrukture po naseljima dao je Župančić (2005), koji je u seoskim naseljima izuzev temeljnih funkcija središnjih naselja analizirao opremljenost naselja ostalim socijalnim uslugama i infrastrukturom, komunalnom infrastrukturom i uslugama mobilnosti. Velik broj spomenutih autora u svojim člancima naglašava povezanost opremljenosti naselja uslugama s demografskim procesima, ističući da je kvalitetan život u ruralnim područjima uvjetovan odgovarajućom opremljenošću i dostupnošću usluga, što je ključno i za demografski razvoj. Autori identificiraju područja s neujednačenom opremljenošću uslugama i dostupnošću središnjih naselja, pri čemu su posebno izraženi nedostaci usluga u ruralnoj periferiji. Ruralna periferija obuhvaća mnoga manja naselja u gorsko-planinskim područjima, pograničnim regijama, obalnom zaleđu i unutrašnjosti otoka, gdje često nema središnjih naselja, a pristup drugim centrima izrazito je ograničen (Lukić, 2012). Pojedini autori naglašavaju nužnost postizanja uravnoteženoga pružanja usluga te to povezuju s politikom ostvarivanja policentričnoga razvoja, što je prepoznato i u ključnom dokumentu politike prostornoga planiranja na nacionalnoj razini *Strategiji prostornog razvoja Republike Hrvatske* (2017). S druge strane, u politici regionalnoga razvoja u Hrvatskoj pristup uslugama od općeg interesa često se fokusira na zaseban razvoj pojedinačnih usluga, ne uzimajući u obzir širu sliku. Iako je tema transformacije usluga od općeg interesa zajedno sa svojim aspektima predstavljeno u prethodnom poglavlju vrlo relevantna za prostor Hrvatske, dosad o njoj nije bilo opsežnih znanstvenih istraživanja u okviru geografije.

Zaključak

Pristup uslugama od općeg interesa nužnost je suvremenoga života i uvjet uključenosti pojedinaca koji žive u nekom naselju u širu društvenu zajednicu. To je prepoznala Europska unija koja je u svojim dokumentima raširila pojam usluga od općeg interesa. Teško je definirati što je to opći interes i, dapače, može li on za sve lokacije i

within a 30-minute travel time was also calculated. A very comprehensive review of available infrastructure in settlements was provided by Župančić (2005). In rural settlements, apart from the basic functions of central settlements, Župančić analysed the provision of other social services, infrastructure, municipal infrastructure, and mobility services. A significant number of the aforementioned authors emphasize the connection between the provision of services in settlements and demographic processes in their papers, highlighting that the quality of life in rural areas is conditioned by adequate infrastructure and service accessibility. This connection is considered crucial for demographic development. Authors identified areas with uneven service provision and accessibility of central settlements, with particular deficiencies noted in the so-called rural periphery. The rural periphery encompasses numerous smaller settlements in mountainous areas, border regions, coastal hinterlands, and the interiors of islands, where central settlements are often absent, and access to other centres is severely limited (Lukić, 2012). Some authors underscore the necessity of achieving balanced service provision, linking it to the policy of achieving polycentric development, as recognized in the key document of spatial planning policy at the national level, the *Spatial Development Strategy of the Republic of Croatia* (2017). On the other hand, in the regional development policy of Croatia, the approach to services of general interest often focuses on the separate development of individual services, without considering the broader picture. Although the topic of the transformation of services of general interest, along with its aspects presented in the previous chapter, is highly relevant to the Croatian context, there have been no extensive scientific studies in the field of geography addressing these issues so far.

Conclusion

Access to services of general interest is a necessity of modern life and a condition for the inclusion of individuals living in a particular settlement into the broader societal community. This has been recognised by the European Union, which has extended the concept of services of general interest in its documents. It is difficult to define what constitutes the general in-

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stanovnike biti isti, stoga ne postoji niti dovoljno precizna definicija što su usluge od općeg interesa niti koje usluge se smatraju takvima. Znanstvena zajednica mogla bi dati veći doprinos u otkrivanju usluga koje su važne lokalnim akterima i običnom stanovništvu nekoga područja. U tom smislu postoji potreba za detaljnijim istraživanjem usluga okupljenih u zajednički sustav. Iako su znanstveni rezultati dobiveni o pojedinim uslugama vrijedan znanstveni doprinos, njihovo snažnije zajedničko sagledavanje i razumijevanje otvorilo bi nove mogućnosti za unaprjeđenje sustava pružanja usluga u stvarnosti. Predložena podjela usluga od općeg interesa na četiri kategorije ovisno o pojavnosti usluge u prostoru (temeljne usluge središnjih naselja, socijalna infrastruktura i usluge, usluge mobilnosti, komunalna infrastruktura i usluge) može biti dobar temelj za pomak u tom smjeru.

S teorijskoga stajališta mnoge procese vezane uz usluge od općeg interesa moguće je povezati s različitim društvenim i ekonomskim teorijama, što je učinjeno u velikom broju znanstvenih radova. Zbog opširnosti ove tematike sve teorije na temelju kojih su provedena različita istraživanja citirana u ovome radu nisu bile navedene, nego je naglasak bio na teorijama prostorne organizacije usluga, koje se izravno tiču problematike usluga od općeg interesa. Teorijska podloga za prostornu organizaciju usluga, bilo da se radi o teoriji i konceptu središnjih mjesta ili teorijama mreža, važna je jer omogućuje sagledavanje međudjelovanja više skupina usluga na jednom području te veze koje se zbog usluga javljaju između različitih mjesta. Na taj se način dublje upoznaje urbani sustav i obrasci mobilnosti stanovništva zbog različitih potreba. Pritom je nužno prikupiti značajnu količinu podataka o opremljenosti naselja uslugama i kretanju koje stanovnici poduzimaju da bi pristupili pojedinoj usluzi. Naravno, u skladu s novim znanstvenim spoznajama i prikupljenim podacima potrebno je raditi na modifikaciji trenutnih teorija prostorne organizacije usluga kako bi one davale rezultate što sličnije stvarnosti.

Mobilnost stanovništva, bilo fizička bilo virtualna, nuždan je preduvjet pristupa uslugama. Vođeci se tim aspektom, potrebno je detaljnije istra-

terest, and whether it can be the same for all locations and residents. Therefore, there is no sufficiently precise definition of what services of general interest are, nor which services qualify as such. The scientific community could make a greater contribution to identifying services that are important to local stakeholders and the general population of a given area. In this regard, there is a need for more in-depth research on services that are part of a common system. While scientific results obtained about individual services are a valuable contribution, a stronger collective understanding and examination of these services could open up new possibilities for improving the service delivery system in reality. The proposed categorization of services of general interest into four categories based on their spatial presence (basic services of central settlements, social infrastructure and services, mobility services, physical infrastructure and utilities) could serve as a good foundation for progress in this direction.

From a theoretical perspective, many processes related to services of general interest can be linked to various social and economic theories, as has been done in numerous scientific studies. Due to the breadth of this topic, not all the theories upon which various research studies have been conducted are listed in this paper. Instead, the focus has been on theories of spatial organization of services, which directly relate to the issues of services of general interest. The theoretical foundation for the spatial organization of services, be it the theory and concept of central places or network theories, is important because it allows for an understanding of the interactions among multiple groups of services in one area and the connections that arise between different places due to these services. In this manner, a more profound comprehension of the urban system and the mobility patterns of the population due to diverse needs can be attained. To achieve this, it is imperative to accumulate a substantial volume of data concerning the accessibility of services within settlements and the movements undertaken by residents to access specific services. Naturally, in alignment with emerging scientific insights and the amassed data, there is a necessity to refine existing theories of spatial service organization, ensuring that they yield results that closely resemble reality.

The mobility of the population, whether physical or virtual, is a necessary prerequisite for access-

žiti koje su prepreke i potencijali u ostvarivanju kvalitetne dostupnosti usluga na svim prostornim razinama. Razumijevajući potrebe stanovnika vezane uz pristup uslugama, moguće je predlagati različite mjere koje bi doprinijele univerzalnoj dostupnosti usluga. Identificiranje i analiziranje utjecaja čimbenika transformacije usluga u društveno-političkom, ekonomskom ili tehnološkom okruženju omogućuje kvalitetnije predviđanje i planiranje budućih okolnosti razvoja usluga od općeg interesa.

Ovaj rad nastoji prikazati kako je tematika usluga od općeg interesa vrlo široka i sastoji se od velikoga broja elemenata, koji sami mogu biti zaseban predmet znanstvenoga istraživanja, čineći se katkad međusobno slabo povezanim. Međutim, uzimajući u obzir kompleksnost društva u kojemu živimo, a i geografije kao znanosti, opravdano je objedinjavanje četiriju osnovnih elemenata koji se tiču usluga od općeg interesa – njihove svrhe, prostorne organizacije, dostupnosti i transformacije kako bi se znanstvena promišljanja mogla usmjeriti u sveobuhvatnu analizu usluga u regijama i državama. Na taj bi se način izravno doprinijelo planiranju budućega razvoja odabranog područja i ostvarivanju teritorijalne kohezije.

ing services. Guided by this aspect, it is essential to delve deeper into the barriers and potentials involved in achieving quality service accessibility at all spatial levels. By understanding the residents' needs related to service access, it becomes possible to propose various measures that contribute to universal service accessibility. Identifying and analysing the impacts of factors influencing service transformation in the socio-political, economic, or technological environment allows for more accurate forecasting and planning of future developments in services of general interest.

This paper seeks to illustrate the broad scope of the public services topic, comprising numerous elements that could individually serve as distinct subjects of scientific inquiry, which sometimes appear loosely interconnected. However, given the complexity of contemporary society and the field of geography as a science, the consolidation of the four fundamental aspects concerning public services – their purposes, spatial organization, accessibility, and transformations – justifies redirecting scholarly contemplation towards a comprehensive analysis of services within regions and countries. In doing so, it can significantly contribute to the planning of future development within a given area and the realization of territorial cohesion.

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Usluge od općeg interesa – koncept i njegova primjena u znanstvenim istraživanjima i prostornom razvoju

Services of general interest – the concept and its application in scientific research and spatial development

**Izvori
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