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12-11-2024 / 2024-11-12**Hrvoje Mataković**  
**Izidora Marković Vukadin**  
**Jasenka Kranjčević**

# Percepcija utjecaja nezakonitih migracija na turizam pograničnih područja u Hrvatskoj

## The perception of impact of illegal migration on tourism in the border areas of Croatia

Migracije su fenomen koji se pojavljuje još u pretpovijesnim vremenima, a obuhvaća promjenu mjesta stalnoga boravka ljudi. Ako pak migrant tijekom svojega kretanja prelazi međunarodnu granicu, tu migraciju promatramo kao međunarodnu migraciju. Međunarodne migracije mogu biti zakonite i nezakonite, a nezakonite migracije u posljednjih desetak godina utječu na različite sfere života u Hrvatskoj, pa tako i na turizam. Iako je tijekom migrantske krize 2015. godine opća javnost uglavnom pozitivno reagirala na migrante, kasnija su istraživanja pokazala da nezakoniti migranti ipak u određenoj mjeri izazivaju strah i osjećaj nesigurnosti kod stanovništva. Da bi se istražio utjecaj nezakonitih migracija na turizam, provedeno je anketiranje 60 predstavnika turističkih zajednica gradova i općina iz sedam županija u kojima je zabilježen najveći broj nezakonitih prelazaka granice. Ovim istraživanjem utvrđeno je da nezakonite migracije negativno utječu na percepciju sigurnosti turista i lokalne zajednice u pograničnim područjima, što može rezultirati slabljenjem turističkih aktivnosti i povjerenja u destinaciju. Isto je tako utvrđeno da do sada nije došlo do smanjenja turističkoga prometa, ali i da sektor turizma u pograničnim područjima ne pokušava ojačati otpornost destinacija na nezakonite migracije. Da bi se spriječio budući negativni utjecaj nezakonitih migracija na turizam, nužno je provođenje mjera kao što su diversifikacija turističke ponude, poboljšanje sigurnosnih mjera te intenziviranje suradnje između turističkoga sektora i lokalnih vlasti.

**Ključne riječi:** migracije, sigurnost, turizam, Hrvatska, pogranično područje, percepcija

Migration is a phenomenon that has been occurring since prehistoric times in which people change their permanent place of residence. In the modern era, when a migrant cross an international border during migration, it is called international migration. International migration can be legal or illegal. Illegal migration has affected various areas of life in Croatia over the last decade, including tourism. Although the public reaction to migrants during the migrant crisis in 2015 was mostly positive, later research has shown that illegal migrants still cause fear and a sense of insecurity among the population to a certain extent. To explore the impact of illegal migration on tourism, a survey was conducted among 60 representatives of the tourist boards of cities and municipalities from seven counties where the highest number of illegal border crossings was recorded. The research found that illegal migration has a negative impact on the perception of the security of tourists and local communities in border areas, which can lead to a weakening of tourism activities and confidence in the destination. Furthermore, it was found that there has been no decrease in tourism traffic to date, but also that the tourism sector in border areas is not trying to strengthen destinations' resistance to illegal migration. In order to prevent the negative impact of illegal migration on tourism in the future, measures such as diversifying the tourism offer, improving security measures and intensifying cooperation between the tourism sector and local authorities should be taken.

**Key words:** migration, security, tourism, Croatia, border areas, perception

## Uvod

Stanovništvo se od razdoblja pretpovijesti kontinuirano kretalo i selilo, a ta promjena mjesta stalnoga boravka obuhvaćena je općenitim pojmom migracija. Ako se promjena mjesta boravka odvija u okviru jedne države, ta se migracija naziva unutarnjom a ako osoba tijekom svojega kretanja prelazi državnu granicu, u pitanju je vanjska, odnosno međunarodna migracija (Friganović, 1989). Međunarodne migracije mogu se podijeliti na zakonite i nezakonite. Prelazak granice koji je u skladu s propisima zemlje iz koje se izlazi i zemlje u koju se ulazi smatra se zakonitom migracijom (Mijalković i Bošković, 2006). Nezakonitom migracijom, odnosno nezakonitim ulaskom u neku zemlju, kao što je navedeno u čl. 3. Protokola protiv krijumčarenja migranata (2000) smatra se „prelaženje granica bez udovoljenja uvjetima nužnim za zakonit ulazak u državu primateljicu”, a osim nezakonita prelaska državne granice pojam nezakonite migracije obuhvaća i nezakonit boravak u nekoj zemlji (Gregurović, 2011).

Nezakoniti migranti na različite načine dolaze do Europe, a krijumčarenje je najčešći način njihova dolaska (*Migrant smuggling in the EU*, 2016). Protokol protiv krijumčarenja migranata u čl. 3. definira krijumčarenje migranata kao „posredovanje, u svrhu izravnog ili neizravnog stjecanja financijske ili druge materijalne koristi od nezakonitog ulaska osobe u državu stranku koje ta osoba nije državljanin ili u njoj nema trajno boravište” (*Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants*, 2000). Krijumčarenje migranata vrlo je unosan posao (Koser, 2008) koji je zbog visoke profitabilnosti i niska rizika postao najučestaliji javni oblik organiziranoga kriminala (Vurnek i dr., 2020). Krijumčarenje migranata može se podijeliti na organizirano i djelomično organizirano (Achilli, 2016). Organizirano krijumčarenje odvija se u okviru organiziranih kriminalnih skupina, koje primjenjuju organizirani pristup u transportu i prihvatu nezakonitih migranata. Djelomično organizirano krijumčarenje migranata podrazumijeva određenu razinu organiziranosti u procesu krijumčarenja, ali u njemu ne sudjeluju organizirane kriminalne skupine. Postoji također mogućnost da migranti i samostalno krenu na put, bez organizacijske i logističke potpore krijumčara, a

## Introduction

Humans have been constantly on the move and migrating since prehistoric times, and this change of permanent residence is covered by the general term migration. In the modern era, if the change of residence takes place within a country, this migration is called internal migration, and if a person crosses an international border during their migration, it is external migration, i.e. international migration (Friganović, 1989). International migration can be divided into legal and illegal migration: a border crossing that complies with both the regulations of the country of departure and the receiving country is considered legal migration (Mijalković and Bošković, 2006). Illegal migration, i.e. illegal entry into a country, as defined in Art. 3 of the Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants (2000) is ‘crossing borders without complying with the necessary requirements for legal entry into the receiving State’, and in addition to illegal border crossing, the concept of illegal migration also includes illegal stays in a country, i.e. overstaying a visa (Gregurović, 2011).

Illegal migrants arrive in Europe in different ways, and the most common way of arrival is smuggling (*Migrant smuggling in the EU*, 2016). Article 3 of the Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants defines smuggling of migrants as ‘procurement, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit, of the illegal entry of a person into a State Party of which the person is not a national or a permanent resident’ (*Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants*, 2000). Migrant smuggling is a very lucrative business (Koser, 2008), which has become the most common form of organised crime due to its high profitability and low risk (Vurnek et al., 2020). The smuggling of migrants can be divided into organised and partially-organised forms (Achilli, 2016). Organised smuggling takes place within the framework of organised criminal groups that apply an organised approach to the transport and reception of illegal migrants. Partially-organised smuggling of migrants implies a certain degree of organisation in the smuggling process, but organised criminal groups are not involved. It is also possible for migrants to set off on their own, without the organisational and logistical support of smugglers. This form of migration is referred to

takav oblik migracija naziva se neorganizirana nezakonita migracija (Mijalković i Bošković, 2006). Pretpostavlja se da većina migranata ipak koristi organizirani oblik krijumčarenja; primjerice, tijekom 2015. godine više od 90 % migranata koristilo je usluge organiziranih kriminalnih skupina u pokušaju da uđu u Europsku uniju (*Migrant smuggling in the EU*, 2016).

Vremenski gledajući krijumčarenje migranata može se podijeliti na četiri etape (Mijalković i Bošković, 2006). Prva je etapa „regrutiranje”, i u toj fazi pronalaze se osobe zainteresirane za migraciju. Druga je etapa „transport”, u kojoj nezakoniti migranti napuštaju svoje zemlje podrijetla te putuju do zemlje koja im je cilj putovanja, a pritom na nezakonit način prelaze državne granice. Treća etapa naziva se „odredište”, a u toj etapi nezakoniti migranti dolaze u konačno odredište, odnosno zemlju odredišta gdje se potom sami brinu o sebi ili ih preuzima neka druga kriminalna skupina. Krijumčarenje migranata katkad završava s četvrtom etapom koja se naziva „eliminacija”, a u njoj vlasti zemlje odredišta otkrivaju nezakonite migrante te ih vraćaju u zemlju podrijetla. U ovome radu fokus će biti na drugoj etapi u procesu krijumčarenja migranata, tj. na etapi transporta, koja je vjerojatno vremenski i prostorno najdulja etapa tijekom cijeloga postupka krijumčarenja.

Cilj je ovoga rada utvrditi utjecaj nezakonitih migracija na turizam u pograničnim područjima s intenzivnim kretanjima nezakonitih migranata. Iako je u Hrvatskoj tijekom migrantske krize 2015. godine opća javnost pozitivno reagirala na migrante i podržala pružanje humanitarne pomoći, vjerojatno jednim dijelom i zbog relativno nedavna iskustva s izbjeglicama tijekom Domovinskoga rata (Župarić-Iljić, 2020), kasnije se pokazalo da migranti ipak u određenoj mjeri izazivaju strah i osjećaj nesigurnosti kod stanovništva (Baričević i Koska, 2017). Migranti mogu izazvati slične osjećaje također i kod turista, a s obzirom na to da je turizam, sam po sebi, dobrovoljna aktivnost, potencijalni turisti izbjegavati će destinacije za koje procijene da su nesigurne ili rizične te će se umjesto njih odlučiti za one koje percipiraju sigurnima (Seabra et al., 2013).

Uzimajući u obzir sve navedeno, ovim radom pokušat će se odgovoriti na četiri istraživačka pitanja:

as unorganised illegal migration (Mijalković and Bošković, 2006). It is assumed that the majority of migrants nevertheless make use of an organised form of smuggling; in 2015, more than 90% of migrants used the services of organised criminal groups to attempt to enter the European Union (*Migrant smuggling in the EU*, 2016).

In terms of time, the smuggling of migrants can be divided into four phases (Mijalković and Bošković, 2006): the first phase is the “recruitment” phase, in which people interested in migrating are found. The second phase is the “transport” phase, in which illegal migrants leave their countries of origin and travel to the country of destination, illegally crossing national borders. The third phase is known as the “destination” phase: in this phase, illegal migrants reach their final destination, i.e. the country of destination, where they then make their own way or are taken over by another criminal group. The smuggling of migrants sometimes ends with a fourth phase, known as the “elimination” phase. In this phase, the illegal migrants are caught by the authorities of the destination country and sent back to their country of origin. In this paper, the focus will be on the second phase of the smuggling, i.e. the transport phase, which is probably the longest phase of the entire smuggling process in terms of time and space.

The aim of this paper is to determine the impact of illegal migration on tourism in border areas with intensive movements of illegal migrants. Although in Croatia, during the migrant crisis in 2015, the general public reacted positively to migrants and supported provisions of humanitarian aid, probably in part due to the relatively recent experience with refugees during the Croatian War of Independence (Župarić-Iljić, 2020), it later emerged that migrants caused fear and a sense of insecurity among the population (Baričević and Koska, 2017). Migrants also caused similar feelings in tourists. Since tourism itself is a voluntary activity, potential tourists will try to avoid destinations that they consider unsafe or risky and instead opt for those that they perceive as safe (Seabra et al., 2013).

Taking into account all of the aforementioned, this paper will attempt to answer four research questions:

1. Kako intenzivan priljev nezakonitih migranata utječe na osjećaj sigurnosti turista i lokalne zajednice u pograničnim područjima?
2. Kako nezakonite migracije utječu na turističku infrastrukturu i različite oblike turističkoga proizvoda?
3. Koje su prilagodbe turističke ponude i poslovanja potaknule nezakonite migracije u pograničnim područjima?
4. Kako sektor turizma u pograničnim područjima pokušava ojačati otpornost destinacija na nezakonite migracije?

Da bi se odgovorilo na ova istraživačka pitanja, provedeno je istraživanje među predstavnicima turističkih zajednica u županijama kroz koje prolazi najveći broj nezakonitih migranata. Do sada provedena istraživanja međuodnosa nezakonitih migracija i turizma uglavnom su se provodila ispitivanjem turista (Simpson et al., 2016; García-Almeida i Hormiga, 2017; Kyriakaki i dr., 2018; Zenker i dr., 2019), vlasnika hotela ili turističkih poduzeća i njihovih uprava (Krasteva, 2016; 2017; 2018; Pappas i Papatheodorou, 2017; Ivanov i Stavrinoudis, 2018), stručnjaka za turizam (İstanbulu Dinçer et al., 2017), volontera koji pomažu izbjeglicama (Trihas i Tsilimpokos, 2018), predstavnika vlasti i nevladinih organizacija (Tsartas i dr., 2020; Agius, 2021) i općenito građana (Timčák i dr., 2017; Micić i dr., 2019). Koliko je nama poznato, do sada nisu provedena istraživanja stavova destinacijskih menadžmentskih organizacija o nezakonitim migracijama te se u ovome radu prvi put istražuju nezakonite migracije iz te perspektive. Utjecaj migracija na gospodarstvo te na neke njegove segmente kao što je turizam rijetko je istraživano u zemljama koje su na zapadnobalkanskoj migrantskoj ruti (O'Rourke i Koščak, 2017). Dosadašnja istraživanja nezakonitih migracija u Hrvatskoj obrađivala su pravne (Božić, 2015; Božić i dr., 2015; Radionov i Savić, 2019), sigurnosne (Nađ, 1998; Esterajher, 2015; Tadić i dr., 2016; Botić i Boban, 2018; Vurnek i dr., 2020; Vurnek i dr., 2021), političke (Šelo Šabić i Borić, 2016; Barberić, 2017; Medlobi i Čepo, 2018), geografsko-etnološke (Futo i dr., 2005; Mlinarić i Gregurović, 2011; Marelić, 2017) i

1. How does the large influx of illegal migrants affect the sense of security of tourists and local communities in border areas?
2. How does illegal migration affect the tourism infrastructure and the different forms of the tourism product?
3. What adjustments to the tourism offer and business have encouraged illegal migration in border areas?
4. How does the tourism sector in border areas try to strengthen the resistivity of destinations to illegal migrations?

To answer these research questions, a survey was conducted among the representatives of the tourism boards in the counties through which most illegal migrants pass. So far, the relationship between illegal migration and tourism has been analysed mainly using surveys of tourists (Simpson et al., 2016; García-Almeida and Hormiga, 2017; Kyriakaki et al., 2018; Zenker et al., 2019), owners of hotel or tourism businesses and their management staff (Krasteva, 2016; 2017; 2018; Pappas and Papatheodorou, 2017; Ivanov and Stavrinoudis, 2018), tourism experts (İstanbulu Dinçer et al., 2017), volunteers helping refugees (Trihas and Tsilimpokos, 2018), representatives of governmental and non-governmental organisations (Tsartas et al., 2020; Agius, 2021) and citizens in general (Timčák et al., 2017; Micić et al., 2019). As far as we are aware, there have been no previous studies on the views of destination management organisations on illegal migration, and this paper is the first to analyse illegal migration from the perspective of destination management organisations. The impact of migration on the economy and some of its segments, such as tourism, has hardly been studied in the countries of the Western Balkans, which contain prominent migrant routes (O'Rourke and Koščak, 2017). Previous studies on illegal migration in Croatia have focussed on legal (Božić, 2015; Božić et al., 2015; Radionov and Savić, 2019), security-related (Nađ, 1998; Esterajher, 2015; Tadić et al., 2016; Botić i Boban, 2018; Vurnek et al., 2020; Vurnek et al., 2021), political (Šelo Šabić and Borić, 2016; Barberić, 2017; Medlobi and Čepo, 2018), geographical and ethnological (Futo i dr., 2005; Mlinarić i Gre-

medijske (Bagarić i Mandić, 2019; Peran i Raguž, 2019) aspekte nezakonitih migracija, a istraživanja nezakonitih migracija u kontekstu turizma nisu do sada provedena, tako da će se ovim radom popuniti ta praznina u literaturi.

## Pregled literature

Stanovnici nerazvijenih zemalja ili onih koje su opterećene ratom i sličnim sukobima pokušavaju migrirati u zemlje koje im mogu omogućiti bolje uvjete za život, bilo da su bogatije bilo sigurnije od zemalja podrijetla (Tadić i dr., 2016), pa tako kod osoba uključenih u nezakonite migracije možemo razlikovati dvije kategorije migranta: izbjeglice i ekonomske migrante. Izbjeglice su „osobe koje bježe od ratnog sukoba ili proganjanja” (Barberić, 2017, 86), a njihov status reguliran je međunarodnim pravom i nacionalnim pravnim regulativama te oni imaju pravo na azil i trajno zbrinjavanje. Ekonomski migranti, odnosno osobe koje su svoje zemlje podrijetla napustile isključivo iz ekonomskih razloga, ne uživaju takva prava (Warin i Svaton, 2008). Razlikovanje izbjeglica i ekonomskih migranata može biti složeno na terenu s obzirom na to da se izbjeglicama često pridružuju i ekonomski migranti te na taj način pokušavaju ostvariti interese koji nisu pravno utemeljeni (Tatalović i Malnar, 2015).

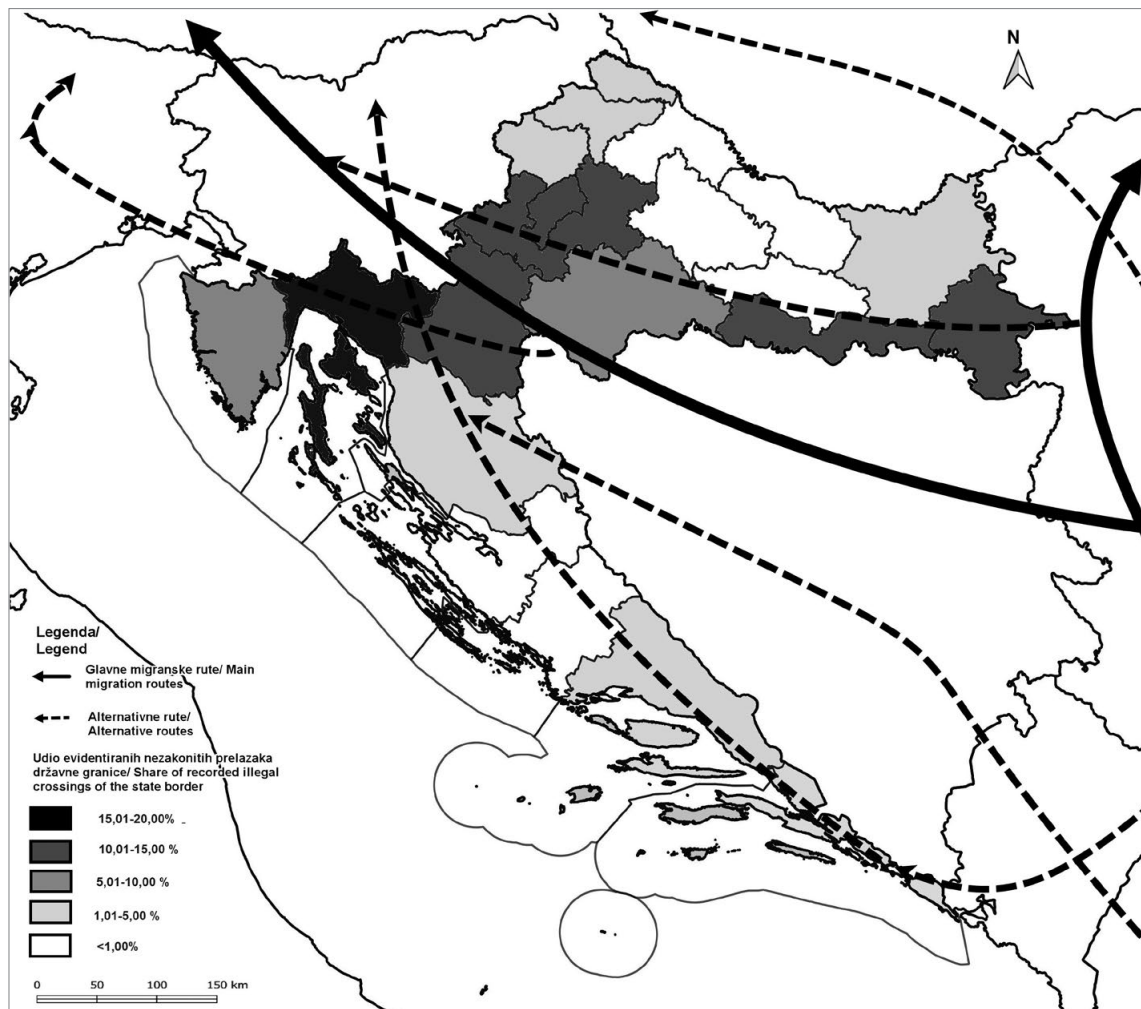
Nezakonite migracije postoje u različitim dijelovima svijeta, kao što npr. Sjedinjene Američke Države (vidi npr. Simpson i dr., 2016) ili Australija (Mikac i dr., 2016), ali najveći je pritisak nezakonitih migranata na Europu, a njihovo su konačno odredište bogatije europske države poput Njemačke, Švedske i Velike Britanije (*Migrant smuggling in the EU*, 2016). Osobe koje pokušavaju nezakonito migrirati u Europu uglavnom su državljani zemalja Azije i Afrike (Idemudia i Boehnke, 2020). Nezakoniti migranti dolaze do Europe rutama preko Mediterana te kopnenim rutama preko Rusije i Norveške (sjeverna ruta) i preko baltičkih država i Poljske (istočna ruta) (*Migrant smuggling in the EU*, 2016). U literaturi se navode četiri glavne migrantske rute koje prolaze Mediteranom: zapadnomediterranska, srednjomediterranska, istočnomediterranska i zapadnobalkanska. Zapadnomediterranska i srednjomediterranska ruta povezuju zemlje Afrike s

gurović, 2011; Marelić, 2017) and media (Bagarić and Mandić, 2019; Peran and Raguž, 2019) aspects of illegal migrations. Research on illegal migration in the context of tourism has not yet been conducted, so this paper will fill this gap in the literature.

## Literature review

Inhabitants of underdeveloped countries or those burdened by war and similar conflicts try to migrate to countries that can offer them better living conditions as they are richer or safer than their countries of origin (Tadić et al., 2016). Therefore, we can distinguish two categories of migrants involved in irregular migrations: refugees and economic migrants. Refugees are ‘persons fleeing armed conflict or persecution’ (Barberić, 2017, 86). Their status is regulated by international law and national legal norms, and they have the right to asylum and long-term care. Economic migrants, i.e. people who have left their countries of origin solely for economic reasons, do not enjoy these rights (Warin and Svaton, 2008). The distinction between refugees and economic migrants can be complicated on the ground, as economic migrants often join refugees and thus attempt to realise interests for which there is no legal basis (Tatalović and Malnar, 2015).

Illegal migration occurs in different parts of the world, such as the United States of America (see e.g. Simpson et al., 2016) or Australia (Mikac et al., 2016), but the strongest pressure of illegal migrants is on Europe, and their final destinations are richer European countries such as Germany, Sweden, and the United Kingdom (*Migrant smuggling in the EU*, 2016). The people trying to migrate illegally to Europe are mainly citizens of Asian and African countries (Idemudia and Boehnke, 2020). Illegal migrants reach Europe via Mediterranean routes and by land via Russia and Norway (northern route) and the Baltic States and Poland (eastern route) (*Migrant smuggling in the EU*, 2016). The literature identifies four main migration routes that pass through the Mediterranean: the Western Mediterranean, the Central Mediterranean, the Eastern Mediterranean and the Western Balkans. The Western Mediterranean route and the Central Mediterranean routes connect the countries of Africa



Sl. 1. Nezakonite migracije u Hrvatskoj  
 Fig. 1 Illegal migration in Croatia

Izvor: Autori prema Statistika MUP-a (n. d.) i Javno izvješće 2020./21. (2021)

Source: Authors, according to Statistics of the Ministry of Interior (n. d.) and Public report 2020/21 (2021).

Europom, a istočnomediteranska i zapadnobalkanska povezuju zemlje Bliskoga istoka, Azije i istočne Afrike s Europom. U posljednjih su desetak godina posebno intenzivne istočnomediteranska i zapadnobalkanska ruta kojima prolazi najveći broj nezakonitih migranata (İçduygu, 2021). Za Hrvatsku je posebno značajna zapadnobalkanska ruta s obzirom na to da se Hrvatska nalazi pri kraju te rute. Zapadnobalkanska ruta počinje na tursko-grčkoj granici te preko Makedonije i Srbije vodi do Hrvatske i dalje do Slovenije (Šelo Šabić i Borić, 2016). U ovome trenutku većina nezakonitih migranata u Hrvatsku pokušava ući iz Bosne i Hercegovine,

with Europe, while the Eastern Mediterranean route and the Western Balkan route connect the countries of the Middle East, Asia and East Africa with Europe. In the last ten years, the Eastern Mediterranean route and the Western Balkans route, through which most illegal migrants enter, have developed particularly intensively (İçduygu, 2021). The Western Balkans route is particularly important for Croatia, as Croatia is located near the end of this route. The Western Balkans route begins at the Turkish-Greek border and leads through North Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Serbia to Croatia and on to Slovenia (Šelo Šabić and Borić, 2016). Currently, the

a na broj migranata utječe i činjenica da Bosna i Hercegovina te Srbija, koja migrante propušta u Bosnu i Hercegovinu, imaju bezvizni režim s većim brojem zemalja, od kojih su najmnogoljudnije Turska, Rusija i Kina (Vlada RH, 2023). Nakon što uđu u Hrvatsku, migranti svoj put nastavljaju kroz posavski koridor, koji je prikladan za kretanje jer u njemu nema reljefnih prepreka osim rijeka, a također je dobro povezan prometnom infrastrukturom (Vurnek i dr., 2021). Kod većine nezakonitih migranata ne postoji interes za dužim zadržavanjem u Hrvatskoj te je ona za njih samo tranzitna zemlja na putu do zemlje odredišta (vidi Hammond, 2015), a to je vidljivo i iz podatka da su u 2023. godini od 68 114 osoba nezakonito zatečenih u Hrvatskoj njih tek 1783 podnijele zahtjev za međunarodnu zaštitu (Brežnjak Jelušić, 2024).

Uzroci i posljedice migracija ne mogu se u potpunosti precizno objasniti s obzirom na to da su migracije kompleksan fenomen koji se teško može odvojiti od širih društvenih, kulturnih i političkih procesa (de Haas, 2023). Postoji veći broj istraživanja odnosa migracija i turizma, međutim, ona su uglavnom proučavala učinke dobrovoljnih migracija na turizam, dok su istraživanja učinaka nezakonitih migracija na turizam puno rjeđa (İstanbulu Dinçer i dr., 2017). Najveći broj radova u kojima se istraživao utjecaj nezakonitih migracija na turizam na Mediteranu odnosi se na Grčku, što je i očekivano s obzirom na činjenicu da je tijekom 2015. i 2016. godine Grčka bila na migrantskoj ruti kojom je prolazio velik broj migranata. Istraživanja ovoga fenomena provodila su se u manjoj mjeri i u drugim mediteranskim zemljama kao što su Italija (Agius, 2021) i Turska (İstanbulu Dinçer i dr., 2017).

Nezakonite migracije predstavljaju svojevrsan oblik nezakonite aktivnosti, odnosno kriminala (Baldwin-Edwards, 2008) jer ih, s jedne strane, uglavnom provode organizirane kriminalne skupine koje se bave krijumčarenjem ljudi, a s druge strane, nezakoniti migranti, bez obzira na sasvim razumljive i opravdane motive njihova putovanja kao što su bijeg od ratnih prilika, političkoga progona ili teških materijalnih uvjeta u zemljama podrijetla, nezakonitim prelaskom granice ipak krše zakone zemalja kojima prolaze. S obzirom na ovu, u širem smislu, kriminogenu pozadinu nezakonitih migra-

majority of illegal migrants attempt to enter Croatia from Bosnia and Herzegovina. The number of migrants is also related to the fact that Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia, which allow migrants to enter, have visa-free arrangements with a larger number of countries, of which Turkey, Russia and China are the most populous (Government of the Republic of Croatia, 2023). After entering Croatia, migrants continue their journey through the Posavina corridor, which is suitable for movement as it has no relief obstacles other than rivers and is also well-connected by transport infrastructure (Vurnek et al., 2021). The majority of illegal migrants have no interest in staying in Croatia. For them, it is only a transit country on the way to their destination country (see Hammond, 2015). This is also evident from the data that in 2023, only 1,783 of 68,114 people who were apprehended for being in Croatia illegally applied for international protection (Brežnjak Jelušić, 2024).

The causes and consequences of migration cannot be fully and precisely explained, as migration is a complex phenomenon that can hardly be separated from broader social, cultural and political processes (de Haas, 2023). There are many studies on the relationship between migration and tourism; however, they have mostly studied the impact of voluntary migration on tourism, while studies on the effects of illegal migration on tourism are much rarer (İstanbulu Dinçer et al., 2017). Most of the papers analysing the impact of illegal migration on tourism in the Mediterranean refer to Greece, which is to be expected as Greece is the main chokepoint on a migration route, by which numerous migrants arrived in 2015 and 2016. Research on this phenomenon has been conducted to a smaller extent in other Mediterranean countries such as Italy (Agius, 2021) and Turkey (İstanbulu Dinçer et al., 2017).

Illegal migration is a form of illegal activity, i.e. criminality (Baldwin-Edwards, 2008), as, on the one hand, it is mainly enabled by organised criminal groups engaged in people smuggling. On the other hand, despite the completely understandable and justifiable motives for their journey, such as escaping from war circumstances, political persecution, or difficult material conditions in their countries of origin, illegal migrants still violate the laws of the countries they are travelling through by crossing the borders

cija može se pretpostaviti da nezakonite migracije, barem u određenoj mjeri, negativno utječu na turističke aktivnosti zemalja kroz koje prolaze migrant-ske rute (Cirer-Costa, 2017) imajući u vidu da je sigurnost jedan od temeljnih preduvjeta za razvoj turizma (Pizam i Mansfeld, 2006).

Utjecaj nezakonitih migracija na turizam svakako je složen i višestruk (Kassar i Dourgnon, 2014), a varirat će ovisno o različitim faktorima kao što su obilježja destinacije, razina migracijskoga pritiska, medijska pokrivenost i politički kontekst. Iako turisti i izbjeglice imaju mnogo sličnosti, koje možda nisu uočljive na prvi pogled (Russell, 2003), istraživanja povezanosti nezakonitih migracija i turizma pokazala su da nezakonite migracije, općenito gledajući, uglavnom negativno utječu na turizam (Jahn i Straubhaar, 2014; Ryo, 2013) tako što smanjuju potražnju, posebice u destinacijama koje su u blizini nezakonitih migranata i izbjeglica, a pad broja turista može rezultirati smanjenim prihodima od turizma (Simpson i dr., 2016), što će u konačnici imati negativan utjecaj na lokalnu ekonomiju i zaposlenost u turističkom sektoru (Tanrikulu, 2021). Osim toga, nezakonite migracije mogu negativno utjecati na investicije u turizam te poticati nezakonita zapošljavanja u turizmu i srodnim djelatnostima (İstanbulu Dinçer i dr., 2017). Nezakonite migracije također mogu dovesti i do promjena u potražnji; naime, u određenim destinacijama koje su bliže nezakonitim migrantima i izbjeglicama dolazi do pada potražnje, a u drugim destinacijama koje se percipiraju sigurnijima dolazi do porasta (Pappas, 2018). Isto tako u nekim destinacijama, kao izravna posljedica nezakonitih migracija, dolazi do povećanja broja turista koje Paraskevaidis i Andriotis (2024) nazivaju „slučajnim turistima”. Primjeri su tih destinacija grčki otok Lezbos i talijanska Lampeduza (Agius, 2021), koji su tradicionalno svojim gostima uglavnom nudili 3S (sea, sun, sand) te je ovakav oblik ponude bio ograničen uglavnom na ljetne mjeseci, odnosno na razdoblje od svibnja do listopada. Uslijed dolaska nezakonitih migranata na ove otoke povećao se i broj osoba koje ih u drugim okolnostima vjerojatno ne bi posjetile, kao što su pravni stručnjaci za ljudska prava, liječnici, volonteri i slično, koji su na taj način u ovim destinacijama produžili turističku sezonu na cijelu godinu (Agius, 2021).

illegally. Considering this, in a broader sense, criminogenic background of illegal migrations, it can be assumed that illegal migration has, at least to some extent, a negative impact on the tourism activities of the countries through which the migratory routes pass (Cirer-Costa, 2017), as security is one of the most important prerequisites for the development of tourism (Pizam and Mansfeld, 2006).

The impact of illegal migration on tourism is complex and multifaceted (Kassar and Dourgnon, 2014) and depends on various factors, such as the characteristics of the destination, the level of migratory pressure, media coverage and the political context. Although tourists and refugees have many similarities that may not be apparent at first glance (Russell, 2003), research on the relationship between illegal migration and tourism has shown that illegal migration generally has an overwhelmingly negative impact on tourism (Jahn and Straubhaar, 2014; Ryo, 2013) by reducing demand, particularly in destinations that are close to illegal migrants and refugees, and the decline in tourist numbers can lead to lower tourism revenues (Simpson et al, 2016), which subsequently harms the local economy and employment in the tourism sector (Tanrikulu, 2021). Additionally, illegal migration can have a negative impact on investment in tourism and encourage illegal employment in tourism and related sectors (İstanbulu Dinçer et al., 2017). Illegal migration can also lead to changes in demand, namely a decrease in demand in destinations closer to illegal migrants and refugees and an increase in other destinations that are perceived to be safer (Pappas, 2018). In some destinations, the number of tourists, which Paraskevaidis and Andriotis (2024) refer to as ‘accidental tourists’, is also increasing as a direct result of illegal migration. Examples of these destinations are the Greek island of Lesbos and Italy’s Lampedusa (Agius, 2021), which traditionally offered their guests mainly 3S (sea, sun, sand) tourism, and this type of offer was mostly limited to the summer months, i.e. the period from May to October. As a result of the arrival of illegal migrants on these islands, the number of people who would probably not visit them under other circumstances has increased, such as human rights lawyers, doctors, volunteers, and similar, and in this way, they have extended the tourism season at these destinations to the whole year (Agius, 2021).



U smislu turističke aktivnosti često se ističe da nezakonite migracije mogu dovesti do percepcije nesigurnosti među turistima (Farmaki i Christou, 2019; Simpson i dr., 2016). Kad destinacija postane poznata kao područje kroz koje prolaze nezakonite migracije, turisti mogu osjećati nelagodu i opasnost od potencijalnih incidenata kao što su krađe, napadi ili sukobi s migrantima (Ivanov i Stavrinoudis, 2018), posebice na osamljenijim turističkim stazama (Cairo i Lois, 2017). Nadalje, destinacije koje se percipiraju kao žarišta nezakonitih migracija mogu doživjeti pad ugleda. Mediji često izvještavaju o incidentima povezanim s nezakonitim migracijama (Farris i Silber Mohamed, 2018), što može stvoriti negativnu percepciju destinacije kao nesigurne ili neprijateljske prema turistima (Viladrich, 2019; Wright i dr., 2021). Takav negativni publicitet može dugoročno naštetiti imidžu destinacije i smanjiti interes turista za posjetom. K tomu, destinacije koje se suočavaju s velikim priljevom nezakonitih migranata vjerojatno će imati i dodatne troškove koji se odnose na sigurnost i upravljanje krizama (Simpson i dr., 2016). Česta posljedica nezakonitih migracija i rastuće zabrinutosti javnosti jest i uvođenje strožega nadzora na granicama i povećanje razine sigurnosnih mjera kako bi se pokušale suzbiti nezakonite migracije (Spaan i Naerssen, 2018; Koslowski, 2019; Wagner, 2022). Te mjere mogu rezultirati dugim redovima na graničnim prijelazima, produženim vremenima čekanja i većim administrativnim zahtjevima za turiste (Freier i Holloway, 2019; Donko i dr., 2022) pa takva ograničenja putovanja mogu smanjiti atraktivnost destinacije i otežati turističko iskustvo.

## Metodologija i područje istraživanja

Metodologija istraživanja za ovaj rad temelji se na kombinaciji primarnih i sekundarnih izvora podataka te kvantitativnih istraživačkih metoda da bi se dobio sveobuhvatan uvid u utjecaj nezakonitih migracija na turizam u pograničnim područjima. U prvoj etapi istraživanja provedena je analiza relevantne literature na temu nezakonitih migracija, odnosa nezakonitih migracija i turizma te politike u upravljanju nezakonitim migracijama. Ova etapa omogućila je bolje razumijevanje konteksta istraživanja i definiranje smjera istraživanja. Također

In relation to tourism activities, it is often pointed out that illegal migration can lead to insecurity among tourists (Farmaki and Christou, 2019; Simpson et al., 2016). If a destination becomes known as an area through which illegal migration passes, tourists may feel uncomfortable and exposed to the risk of possible incidents such as theft, attacks, or conflicts with migrants (Ivanov and Stavrinoudis, 2018), especially on more remote tourist routes (Cairo and Lois, 2017). In addition, destinations that are perceived as hotspots for illegal migration may suffer a loss of reputation. Incidents related to illegal migration are often reported in the media (Farris and Silber Mohamed, 2018), which can result in the destination being perceived as unsafe or hostile to tourists (Viladrich, 2019; Wright et al., 2021). Such negative publicity can damage the image of the destination in the long term and reduce tourists' interest in visiting. Furthermore, destinations facing a large influx of illegal migrants are likely to face additional costs related to security and crisis management (Simpson et al., 2016). A common consequence of illegal migration and growing public concern is the introduction of stricter border controls and increased security measures to restrain illegal migration (Spaan and Naerssen, 2018; Koslowski, 2019; Wagner, 2022). These measures can lead to long queues at border crossings, longer waiting times, and higher administrative requirements for tourists (Freier and Holloway, 2019; Donko et al., 2022), so such travel restrictions can reduce the attractiveness of the destination and make the tourist experience more difficult.

## Methodology and research area

The research methodology for this paper is based on a combination of primary and secondary data sources and quantitative research methods to gain a comprehensive insight into the impact of illegal migration on tourism in border areas. The first phase of the research involved analysing the relevant literature on illegal migration, the relationship between illegal migration and tourism, and the existing policies to manage illegal migration. This phase enabled a better understanding of the research context and the definition of the re-

je provedena analiza sekundarnih izvora podataka o nezakonitim migracijama i njihovim prostornim obilježjima. Provedeno je i anketno istraživanje na uzorku od 60 općina i gradova te pripadajućih turističkih zajednica iz sedam županija u kojima je zabilježen najveći broj nezakonitih prelazaka državne granice u razdoblju od 2007. do 2022. godine, a to su Brodsko-posavska županija, Grad Zagreb, Istarska županija, Karlovačka županija, Primorsko-goranska županija, Sisačko-moslavačka županija, Vukovarsko-srijemska i Zagrebačka županija (vidi tab. 1).

Podatci su prikupljeni pomoću anketnoga upitnika koji je načinjen za potrebe ovoga istraživanja. Anketni upitnik sadržavao je pitanja koja će omogućiti kvantifikaciju utjecaja nezakonitih migracija na turizam te procjenu percepcije sigurnosti turista i lokalnoga stanovništva, kao i odnos turističkih

search direction. Secondary data sources on illegal migration and its spatial characteristics were also analysed. In addition, a survey was conducted on a sample of 60 municipalities and cities and their associated tourist boards from seven counties where the highest number of illegal border crossings was recorded in the period from 2007 to 2022. These are Brod-Posavina County, the City of Zagreb, Istria County, Karlovac County, Primorje-Gorski Kotar County, Sisak-Moslavina County, Vukovar-Srijem County and Zagreb County (see Table 1).

The data were collected using a questionnaire created for the purposes of this study. The questionnaire contained questions to quantify the impact of illegal migrations on tourism, to assess the perception of safety of tourists and locals and to analyse the relationship between tourism policy and the problem of illegal migration. The question-

Tab. 1. Sudionici u anketnom istraživanju  
Tab. 1 Participants in the survey

Županija / County	Jedinice lokalne samouprave – ukupno / Local self-government units - total	Jedinice lokalne samouprave koje su sudjelovale u istraživanju / Local self-government units that participated in the research
Brodsko-posavska županija / Brod-Posavina County	27	7
Grad Zagreb / City of Zagreb	1	0
Istarska županija / Istria County	40	6
Karlovačka županija / Karlovac County	19	9
Primorsko-goranska županija / Primorje-Gorski Kotar County	34	14
Sisačko-moslavačka županija / Sisak-Moslavina County	18	8
Vukovarsko-srijemska / Vukovar-Srijem County	35	6
Zagrebačka županija / Zagreb County	34	10
UKUPNO / TOTAL	208	60

Izvor: Istraživanje autora, (2024)  
Source: Author's research, (2024)

politika prema problemu nezakonitih migracija. Upitnik je obuhvaćao 36 pitanja i tvrdnji. Neke tvrdnje preuzete su i prilagođene iz Rittichainuwat, (2013); Ivanov i dr., (2017); Pappas i Papatheodorou, (2017); Ivanov i Stavrinoudis, (2018); Pappas, (2018); i Tsartas i dr., (2020). Osim triju uvodnih pitanja u kojima su ispitanici upitani iz koje su županije te su zamoljeni da procijene jesu li, i u kojoj mjeri, njihov grad ili općina izloženi nezakonitim migracijama, ostale tvrdnje temeljile su se na Likertovoj ljestvici procjene. Ljestvica je sadržavala tvrdnje u rasponu odgovora od 1 (1 = u potpunosti se ne slažem) do 5 (5 = u potpunosti se slažem), a ispitanici su se mogli odlučiti za jedan od ponuđenih odgovora.

Upitnik se nalazio na internetu, izrađen je uz pomoć obrasca Google Forms, a ispitanicima je bio dostupan od siječnja do ožujka 2024. godine. Zamolba za sudjelovanje u anketi prosljeđena je elektroničkom poštom predstavnicima turističkih zajednica gradova i općina u županijama s najvećim kretanjima nezakonitih migranata. U slučajevima jedinica lokalne samouprave koje nemaju turističku zajednicu zamolba je poslana samo na grad ili općinu, a za jedinice lokalne samouprave koje imaju turističku zajednicu zamolba je poslana i na turističku zajednicu i na grad, odnosno općinu. Turističke zajednice, gradovi i općine odabrani su kao ispitanici zbog svoje uloge u upravljanju turizmom te komunikacije s lokalnom zajednicom, ali i turistima, čime su u mogućnosti prosuditi percepciju utjecaja. Kao što je prikazano u tablici 1, od 208 jedinica lokalne samouprave kojima je poslana zamolba za sudjelovanje u anketi, njih je 60 popunilo upitnik, što čini odaziv od 28,84 %.

## **Pregled kvantitativnih pokazatelja o nezakonitim migracijama i turizmu**

U ovome dijelu rada prikazat će se kvantitativni pokazatelji nezakonitih migracija i turističkoga prometa.

Nezakonito ulaženje, kretanje i boravak kao i krijumčarenje migranata u Hrvatskoj je kazneno djelo sukladno čl. 326. Kaznenoga zakona (NN 125/11, 144/12, 56/15, 61/15, 101/17, 118/18,

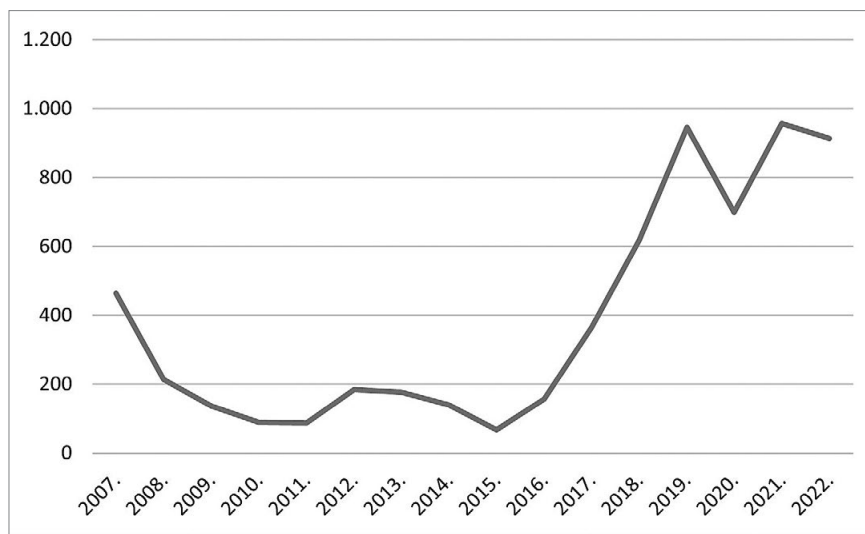
naire comprised 36 questions and statements. Some statements for this survey were taken and adapted from Rittichainuwat (2013); Ivanov et al. (2017); Pappas and Papatheodorou (2017); Ivanov and Stavrinoudis (2018); Pappas (2018); Tsartas et al. (2020). Apart from three introductory questions in which respondents were asked which county they were from and whether and to what extent illegal migrations affected their city or municipality, the other statements were based on a Likert-type rating scale. The Likert-type rating scale contained answers ranging from 1 (1=strongly disagree) to 5 (5=strongly agree) and respondents could select one of the answers provided.

The questionnaire was available online; it was created using Google Forms and was available to respondents from January to March 2024. The invitation to participate in the survey was sent by e-mail to the representatives of the tourism boards of the cities and municipalities in the counties with the largest movements of illegal migrants. For local self-government units without a tourist board, the request was sent only to the city or municipality; for local self-government units with a tourism board, the request was sent to both the tourism board and the city or municipality. Tourism boards, cities, and municipalities were selected as respondents due to their role in tourism management and communication with both the local community and tourists, making them well-positioned to assess the perception of impact. As shown in Table 1, of the 208 local self-government units that received an invitation to participate in the survey, 60 completed the questionnaire, which corresponds to a response rate of 28.84%.

## **Overview of quantitative indicators of illegal migration and tourism**

In this part of the paper, quantitative indicators on illegal migration and tourism traffic will be presented.

Unlawful entry, movement, and residence, as well as the smuggling of migrants in Croatia, is a criminal offence under Article 326 of the Criminal Code (OG 125/11, 144/12, 56/15, 61/15, 101/17, 118/18, 126/19, 84/21, 114/22, 114/23). Despite



Sl. 2. Broj prijavljenih kaznenih djela vezanih uz nezakonit prelazak državne granice (2007. – 2022.)

Fig. 2 Number of reported criminal offences related to illegal crossing of the state border (2007 – 2022)

Izvor: Autori prema Statistika MUP-a (n. d.)

Source: Authors according to Statistics of the Ministry of Interior (n. d.)

126/19, 84/21, 114/22, 114/23). Unatoč povećanju zapriječene kazne s 5 godina zatvora, koliko je bilo predviđeno 2011. godine, na 12 godina zatvora, koliko je predviđeno izmjenama i dopunama Kaznenoga zakona 2017. godine (Vurnek i dr., 2020), došlo je značajnoga porasta ovoga kaznenog djela, što je vidljivo iz slike 2, posebice nakon 2016. godine. Iako broj kaznenih djela od godine do godine varira, najveći se porast može pratiti od 2015. do 2022. godine: 2015. godine zabilježeno je 68 kaznenih djela, a do 2022. godine njihov broj porastao je na 914 kaznenih djela.

Zbog specifična geografskoga položaja, ali i oblika države iz kojega proizlazi dugačka kopnena granica, nadzor državne granice provodi se na području 18 od ukupno 20 županija i Grada Zagreba. S obzirom na sve bolju organizaciju policije, koja se očituje kroz bolju zaštitu i nadzor državne granice, migranti i krijumčari traže nove rute kroz Hrvatsku (Vurnek i dr., 2021). Nakon prvoga većeg vala nezakonitih prelazaka državne granice 2007. godine uslijedio je pad sve do 2012. godine. Od 2012. godine postupno raste broj evidentiranih nezakonitih prelazaka sve do 2017. godine, a od 2018. do 2022. godine uslijedilo je značajno povećanje. Ukratko se može zaključiti da je od 2007. do 2022. godine zabilježen porast nezakonitih prelazaka državne granice od 617 %.

Ako se sagleda intenzitet nezakonitih prelazaka po županijama u razdoblju od 2007. do 2022.

the increase in the deterrent sentence from 5 years imprisonment, which was stated in 2011, to up to 12 years imprisonment, which was stated in the 2017 amendments to the Criminal Code (Vurnek et al., 2020), there has still been a significant increase in the amount of offences, which can be seen in Figure 2, especially after 2016. Although the number of offences fluctuates from year to year, the highest increase can be observed from 2015 to 2022. In 2015, 68 offences were recorded, and by 2022, their number had risen to 914.

Because of the specific geographical position and shape of the country, which results in a long land border, the control of the state border is carried out on the territory of 18 of the 20 counties and the City of Zagreb. Given the increasingly improving organisation of the police, which is evident in the better protection and surveillance of the state border, migrants and smugglers are seeking new routes through Croatia (Vurnek et al., 2021). After the first large wave of illegal border crossings in 2007, there was a decline until 2012. From 2012 on, the number of registered illegal border crossings gradually increased until 2017, followed by a significant increase from 2018 to 2022. To summarise, the number of illegal border crossings increased by 617% between 2007 and 2022.

If we look at the intensity of illegal border crossings by county in the period from 2007 to 2022, we can see that not only the number of crossings but

Tab. 2. Nezakoniti prelasci državne granice (osobe) prema policijskim upravama (2007. – 2022.)  
Tab. 2 Illegal crossings of the state border (persons) according to police administrations (2007 – 2022)

Policijska uprava / Police administration	Godina/Year																						Ukupno / Total	%
	2007.	2008.	2009.	2010.	2011.	2012.	2013.	2014.	2015.	2016.	2017.	2018.	2019.	2020.	2021.	2022.								
Primorsko-goranska / Primorje-Gorski Kotar	496	215	268	377	324	1.130	874	447	216	824	791	2.281	7.497	9.916	3.588	3.531	32.775	19,64						
Zagrebačka / Zagreb	574	403	295	237	371	2.079	1.091	946	1.445	1.036	1.079	553	1.460	3.141	1.669	6.664	23.043	13,81						
Karlovačka / Karlovac	247	103	159	125	97	106	83	85	57	141	201	924	2.467	2.575	2.068	10.169	19.607	11,75						
Brodsko-posavska / Brod-Posavina	32	21	53	12	49	235	41	37	61	299	116	109	887	1.342	1.430	14.262	18.986	11,38						
Vukovarsko-srijemska / Vukovar-Srijem	338	123	66	363	1.116	1.194	993	797	291	553	900	2.051	2.733	2.208	2.054	2.070	17.850	10,70						
Sisačko-moslavačka / Sisak-Moslavina	22	46	32	31	49	389	151	66	126	145	55	118	670	2.276	1.807	7.085	13.068	7,83						
Istarska / Istria	537	191	141	134	217	475	448	395	122	469	364	492	684	2.214	1.373	3.229	11.485	6,88						
Dubrovačko-neretvanska / Dubrovnik-Neretva	345	326	277	261	222	378	347	395	420	328	430	344	472	378	497	534	5.954	3,57						
Splitsko-dalmatinska / Split-Dalmatia	143	259	214	388	243	213	211	268	186	191	214	327	449	357	686	577	4.926	2,95						
Krapinsko-zagorska / Krapina-Zagorje	320	118	77	38	74	230	194	234	84	198	90	122	390	1.084	255	604	4.112	2,46						
Osječko-baranjska / Osijek-Baranja	23	11	21	18	17	61	21	44	491	39	113	102	434	1.720	510	454	4.079	2,44						
Varaždinska / Varaždin	250	109	112	154	129	185	109	64	69	124	79	118	627	493	310	349	3.281	1,97						
Ličko-senjska / Lika-Senj	33	23	18	11	18	15	23	27	34	49	126	447	567	440	637	790	3.258	1,95						
Međimurska / Međimurje	143	135	74	42	87	89	63	21	28	18	157	85	740	625	155	136	2.598	1,56						
Šibensko-kninska / Šibenik-Knin	4	3	4	10	5	10	23	52	45	12	36	104	145	90	83	58	684	0,41						
Zadarska / Zadar	6	15	4	2	4	30	36	29	57	46	49	6	51	34	73	28	470	0,28						
Koprivničko-križevačka / Koprivnica-Križevci	13	15	5	11	21	13	24	5	26	5	5	8	2	93	50	37	333	0,20						
Virovitičko-podravska / Virovitica-Podravina	1	3	3	7	3	7	2	1	1	19	3	16	3	55	56	30	210	0,13						
Bjelovarsko-bilogorska / Bjelovar-Bilogora	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	83	12	96	0,06						
Požeško-slavonska / Požega-Slavonia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	53	20	5	78	0,05						
<b>Ukupno / Total</b>	<b>3.527</b>	<b>2.119</b>	<b>1.823</b>	<b>2.221</b>	<b>3.046</b>	<b>6.839</b>	<b>4.734</b>	<b>3.914</b>	<b>3.759</b>	<b>4.496</b>	<b>4.808</b>	<b>8.207</b>	<b>20.278</b>	<b>29.094</b>	<b>17.404</b>	<b>50.624</b>	<b>166.893</b>	<b>100,00</b>						

Izvor: Autori prema Statistika MUP-a (n. d.)  
Source: Authors according to Statistics of the Ministry of Interior (n. d.)

Percepcija utjecaja  
nezakonitih  
migracija  
na turizam  
pograničnih  
područja u  
Hrvatskoj

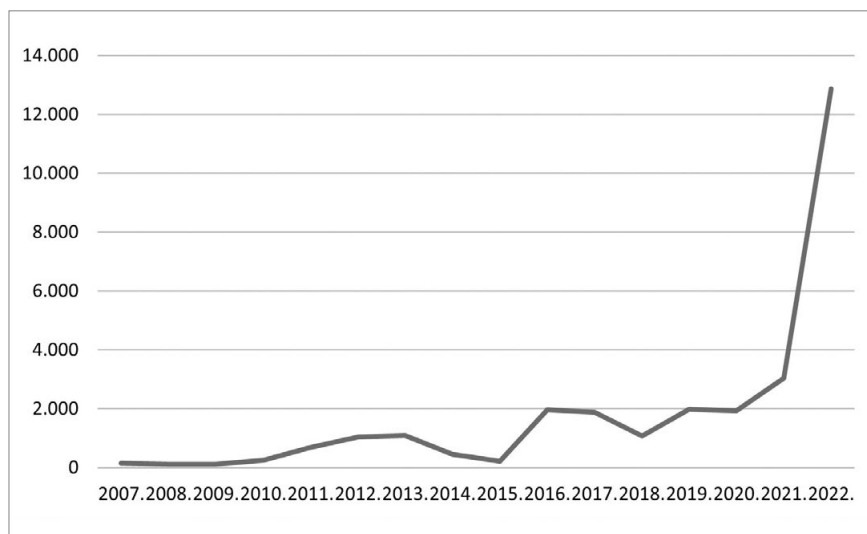
The perception of  
impact of illegal  
migration on  
tourism in the  
border areas of  
Croatia

godine, može se zaključiti da su se osim broja prelazaka također mijenjale i rute nezakonitih prelazaka državne granice, što je vidljivo iz tablice 2. Najveći broj nezakonitih prelazaka zabilježen je u Primorsko-goranskoj županiji, zatim u Zagrebačkoj, Karlovačkoj te Brodsko-posavskoj županiji. Najmanje nezakonitih prelazaka bilo je u Bjelovarsko-bilogorskoj i Požeško-slavonskoj županiji, što je razumljivo s obzirom na to da su to županije bez državnih granica. Sagledavajući podatke o nezakonitim prelascima granica, vidljiv je stalni porast kao i intenzitet od 2007. do 2022. godine, uz iznimku 2021. godine koja je bila obilježena pandemijom COVID-19.

Analizirajući nezakonite prelasci državne granice po državljanstvu počinitelja, vidljivo je da se i u toj domeni mijenjaju trendovi. U razdoblju od 2007. do 2022. godine u ukupnom broju nezakonitih prelazaka najviše su bile zastupljene osobe iz Azije (Afganistanci, Pakistanci, Turci, Iračani, Sirijci i Indijci). Zanimljivo je da su do 2012. godine državnu granicu nezakonito prelazili uglavnom državljani zemalja iz šire regije, kao što su Bosna i Hercegovina, Kosovo, Srbija i Albanija. U razdoblju od 2012. do 2019. godine evidentiran je porast nezakonitih prelazaka osoba iz afričkih država kao što su Somalija, Eritreja, Nigerija, Sudan, Alžir i Maroko. U posljednje tri godine (2020.–2022.) evidentirani su nezakoniti prelasci osoba i iz nekih drugih afričkih država kao što su Burundi i Kongo (*Statistika MUP-a*,

also the routes of illegal crossing have changed, as can be seen in Table 2. The highest number of illegal border crossings was recorded in Primorje-Gorski Kotar County, followed by Zagreb County, Karlovac County, and Brod-Posavina County. The fewest illegal border crossings were recorded in Bjelovar-Bilogora and Požega-Slavonia counties, which is understandable as these are counties without border areas. Looking at the data on illegal border crossings, a constant increase and an increase in intensity can be observed from 2007 to 2022, except in 2021, which was affected by the COVID-19 pandemic.

By analysing illegal border crossings according to the nationality of the perpetrator, it becomes clear that the trends are also changing. In the period from 2007 to 2022, people from Asia, such as Afghans, Pakistanis, Turks, Iraqis, Syrians, and Indians, were the most represented in the total number of illegal border crossings. Interestingly, until 2012, it was mainly citizens from countries in the wider region, such as Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Serbia, and Albania, who crossed the state border illegally. In the period from 2012 to 2019, there was an increase in illegal border crossings by people from African countries such as Somalia, Eritrea, Nigeria, Sudan, Algeria, and Morocco. In the last three years (2020–2022), illegal border crossings by people from other African countries, such as Burundi and Congo, have also been recorded (*Statistics of the Ministry of Interior*, n.d.).



Sl. 3. Podneseni zahtjevi za dobivanje azila (2007. – 2022.)  
Fig. 3 Asylum applications submitted (2007 – 2022)

Izvor: Autori prema Statistika MUP-a (n. d.)

Source: Authors according to Statistics of the Ministry of Interior (n. d.)

n. d.).

Bez obzira na to što Hrvatska nezakonitim migrantima predstavlja uglavnom tranzitnu zemlju, statistički podatci upućuju na rast broja podnesenih zahtjeva za dobivanje azila. Tako je 2007. godine podneseno 157 zahtjeva za azil, a 2022. podneseno ih je 12 872 (*Statistika MUP-a*, n. d.), što je povećanje od 819 puta. U prvih deset mjeseci 2023. godine podneseno je 60 440 zahtjeva za azil, međutim, oko 97 % osoba koje su podnijele zahtjev pokušalo je nezakonito napustiti Hrvatsku i otići u neku od zemalja zapadne Europe, čime zapravo zloupotrebjavaju sustav azila (Vlada RH, 2023).

Sagledavajući osnovne pokazatelje turističkoga prometa kao što su dolasci i noćenja po županijama (*Dolasci i noćenja turista*, 2024), zanimljiv je podatak da je u 2023. godini Primorsko-goranska županija bila treća županija u Hrvatskoj po broju dolazaka (15,75 % od ukupnoga broja dolazaka) i treća po broju ostvarenih noćenja u Hrvatskoj (16,88 % od ukupnoga broja noćenja), a s druge strane, u razdoblju od 2007. do 2022. godine to je bila županija s najvećim brojem evidentiranih nezakonitih prelazaka državne granice, odnosno 19,64 % svih nezakonitih prelazaka (vidi tablicu 2). Bez obzira na to što najveći broj nezakonitih migranata u Hrvatsku ulazi iz smjera njezina jugoistoka te što Primorsko-goranska županija ne graniči s Bosnom i Hercegovinom, u toj je županiji bilo najviše evidentiranih nezakonitih prelazaka te je ukupna mobilizacija pograničnih policijskih snaga bila intenzivnija nego u drugim dijelovima Hrvatske (HINA, 2019). Razlike u turističkom prometu unutar Primorsko-goranske županije su značajne i one idu u korist otočnoga i obalnoga dijela, ali budući da u brdsko-planinskom području uz granicu sa Slovenijom postoji veći broj napuštenih seoskih naselja, njih često koriste nezakoniti migranti tijekom svojega putovanja i pokušaja ulaska u Sloveniju (Dizdarević, 20121).

## Rezultati istraživanja i rasprava

Kao što je navedeno u metodologiji, u anketi je sudjelovalo 60 predstavnika turističkih zajednica gradova i općina iz sedam županija u kojima je u razdoblju od 2007. do 2022. godine zabilježeno

Although Croatia is mainly a transit country for illegal migrants, statistical data show that the number of asylum applications is increasing. In 2007, 157 asylum applications were submitted, in 2022 there were 12,872 applications (*Statistics of the Ministry of Interior*, n. d.), which corresponds to an 819-fold increase. In the first ten months of 2023, 60,440 asylum applications were made. However, about 97% of the applicants tried to leave Croatia illegally and reach one of the Western European countries, thus abusing the asylum system (Government of the Republic of Croatia, 2023).

Looking at the basic indicators of tourism traffic such as tourist arrivals and overnight stays by county (*Tourist arrivals and overnight stays*, 2024), it is interesting to note that in 2023 Primorje-Gorski Kotar County was the third largest county in Croatia in terms of tourist arrivals (15.75% of total arrivals) and the third largest county in Croatia in terms of the number of overnight stays (16.88% of total overnight stays). On the other hand, in the period from 2007 to 2022, it was the county with the largest number of registered illegal border crossings, i.e. 19.64% of all illegal crossings (see Table 2). Although most illegal migrants enter Croatia from the south-east and Primorje-Gorski Kotar County does not border Bosnia and Herzegovina, this county recorded the highest number of illegal border crossings, and the overall mobilisation of border police forces was more intensive than in other parts of Croatia (HINA, 2019). The differences in tourism traffic within Primorje-Gorski Kotar County are considerable and favour the islands and the coastal part. However, in the hilly and mountainous area along the border with Slovenia, there are many abandoned villages that illegal migrants often use when travelling and trying to reach Slovenia (Dizdarević, 2021).

## Research results and discussion

As stated in the methodology, 60 representatives of tourist boards, and cities and municipalities from seven counties with the highest number of illegal border crossings between 2007 and 2022 participated in the survey. Details of the participants can be found in Table 1. Respondents were first asked

najviše nezakonitih prelazaka državne granice. Detalji o sudionicima u anketi prikazani su u tablici 1. Ispitanici su najprije upitani koliko dugo su njihov grad ili općina izloženi nezakonitim migracijama. Jedan ispitanik (1,66 %) odgovorio je da je to manje od 1 godine, 10 ispitanika (16,66 %) navode između 2 i 3 godine, 14 ispitanika (23,33 %) navodi od 3 do 5 godina, a 20 ispitanika (33,33 %) smatra da je to više od 5 godina. Jedna četvrtina, odnosno 15 ispitanika, navelo je da njihov grad ili općina nisu bili izloženi nezakonitim migracijama te oni stoga nisu sudjelovali u nastavku ankete. Od ispitanika koji su naveli da su njihov grad ili općina izloženi nezakonitim migracijama, 1 ispitanik (2,22 %) smatra da je broj migranata vrlo nizak, 7 ispitanika (15,55 %) smatra da je nizak, a 12 (26,66 %) da je umjeren. Da je broj migranata visok, navodi 15 ispitanika (33,33 %) a da je vrlo visok, navodi 9 ispitanika (20 %).

for how long has illegal migration affected their city or municipality. One respondent (1.66%) answered that it was less than a year, ten respondents (16.66%) answered that it was between 2 and 3 years, 14 respondents (23.33%) felt that it was 3 to 5 years, and 20 respondents (33.33%) said that it was more than five years. One-quarter, or 15 respondents, said that illegal immigration did not affect their city or municipality and therefore did not take part in the follow-up survey. Of the respondents who indicated that their city or municipality was affected by illegal immigration, one respondent (2.22%) categorised the number of migrants as very low, seven respondents (15.55%) as low and 12 respondents (26.66%) as medium. Fifteen respondents (33.33%) said that the number of migrants was high, and nine respondents (20%) said it was very high.

In the continuation of the survey, respondents were offered various statements that can be sum-

Tab. 3. Sigurnosni izazovi  
Tab. 3 Security challenges

Tvrdnja / Statement	Prosječna ocjena / Average score	Standardna devijacija / Standard deviation
Osobna sigurnost narušena je uslijed nezakonitih migracija / Illegal migration jeopardises personal safety	3,22	1,26
Nezakoniti migranti sudjeluju u različitim kriminalnim aktivnostima / Illegal migrants are involved in various criminal activities	2,96	1,24
Nezakoniti migranti ne poštuju zakone / Illegal migrants do not respect the law	3,93	1,18
Nezakonite migracije utječu na percepciju sigurnosti kod turista / Illegal migration affects tourists' sense of security	3,47	1,31
Među turistima i stanovnicima postoji bojazan da su nezakoniti migranti ekstremisti / Tourists and residents fear that illegal immigrants are extremists	3,87	1,10
Nije sigurno hodati izvan naselja zbog nezakonitih migranata / It is not safe to walk outside the settlement because of illegal migrants	3,09	1,41
Velik broj snaga sigurnosti (policija/vojska) uslijed čuvanja granica uzrokuje uznemirenost kod turista / A large number of security forces (police/army) guarding the borders causes unrest among the tourists	2,69	1,20

Izvor: Istraživanje autora, (2024)  
Source: Author's research, (2024)



U nastavku ankete ispitanicima su ponuđene različite tvrdnje koje se sadržajno mogu svesti pod četiri teme: sigurnosni izazovi, utjecaj nezakonitih migracija na turizam, troškovi izazvani nezakonitim migracijama i upravljačke odluke.

Tvrđnje o sigurnosnim izazovima koji su nastali kao posljedica nezakonitih migracija prikazane su u tablici 3. Kod gotovo svih tvrdnji pokazano je slaganje s prosječnom ocjenom većom od 3,00, što može uputiti na činjenicu da se nezakoniti migranti promatraju kao svojevrsna sigurnosna prijetnja. Najveću prosječnu ocjenu dobila je tvrdnja da nezakoniti migranti ne poštuju zakone (3,93) te da bi mogli biti ekstremisti (3,87), a s nešto manje, odnosno s 2,96 ocijenjena je tvrdnja da sudjeluju u kriminalnim aktivnostima. Ti stavovi donekle su slični istraživanju koje su u Grčkoj proveli Pappas i Papatheodorou (2017) među vlasnicima i upraviteljima turističkih poduzeća. U tom istraživanju ispitanici su tvrdnju da izbjeglice koje žive u Grčkoj ne poštuju zakone ocijenili s 2,21, a tvrdnju da su ekstremisti s ocjenom 4,01, isto kao i tvrdnju da su kriminalci (Pappas i Papatheodorou, 2017). Najmanje slaganje pokazalo se s tvrdnjom da velik broj snaga sigurnosti uzrokuje uznemirenost kod turista (2,69), iz čega se može zaključiti da ispitanici smatraju da vojska i policija mogu turistima pružiti osjećaj sigurnosti. Ovaj nalaz u suprotnosti je s istraživanjem Rittichainuwat (2013) koja je utvrdila da pretjerane mjere sigurnosti mogu iritirati turiste i kod njih izazivati osjećaj zabrinutosti.

Sljedeća skupina tvrdnji odnosi se na utjecaj nezakonitih migracija na turizam, kako je prikazano u tablici 4. Ovo istraživanje pokazalo je da ispitanici općenito smatraju da nezakonite migracije utječu na turizam i toj tvrdnji dali su relativno visoku ocjenu od 3,27. Međutim, kada se ova tvrdnja konkretizirala na njihovu gradu i općini, ocijenjena je nižom ocjenom, odnosno s 2,78. Isto tako, istraživanje je pokazalo da ispitanici smatraju da nezakonite migracije ipak značajno ne utječu na smanjenje turističke potražnje (ocjena je 2,36) niti na otkazivanje ranije ugovorenih boravaka turista. Ta je tvrdnja ocijenjena prosječnom ocjenom od tek 2,07. Sasvim očekivano ispitanici smatraju da nezakonite migracije utječu na imidž njihova grada ili općine kao turističke destinacije, a ova tvrdnja dobila je ocjenu od 2,87. Negativan utjecaj migracija na imidž destinacije utvrđen je u više istraživanja: primjerice, u Grčkoj su ispitanici

marised under four themes: security challenges, the impact of illegal migration on tourism, costs caused by illegal migration and management decisions.

The statements on the security challenges arising from illegal migration are shown in Table 3. It can be seen that almost all statements have an average rating of over 3.00, which could indicate that illegal migrants are perceived as some kind of security threat. The highest average rating was given to the statement that illegal migrants do not obey the law (3.93) and might be extremists (3.87), while the statement that they are involved in criminal activities was rated with a slightly lower value, e.g. 2.96. These attitudes are somewhat similar to a survey conducted by Pappas and Papatheodorou (2017) in Greece among owners and managers of tourism businesses. In this survey, respondents rated the statement that refugees living in Greece do not obey the law at 2.21 and the statement that they are extremists at 4.01, as well as the statement that they are criminals (Pappas and Papatheodorou, 2017). The statement that a large number of security forces causes anxiety in tourists (2.69) was the least popular, which shows that respondents believe that the armed forces and the police can make tourists feel safe. This result contradicts the study by Rittichainuwat (2013), which found that excessive security measures can irritate tourists and cause anxiety.

The next group of statements relates to the impact of illegal migration on tourism, as shown in Table 4. This survey shows that respondents generally believe that illegal migration affects tourism. They gave this statement a relatively high score of 3.27. However, when this statement was related to their city and municipality, it received a lower score of 2.78. Similarly, the survey revealed that respondents do not believe that illegal migration has a significant impact on the decrease in tourism demand (score 2.36) or the cancellation of booked stays. This statement was given an average score of only 2.07. As expected, respondents believe that illegal migration affects the image of their city or municipality as a tourist destination, and this statement received a score of 2.87. The negative impact of migration on the image of tourist destinations has already been identified in several studies. In Greece, for example, respondents stated that the refugee crisis is af-

Tab. 4. Utjecaj nezakonitih migracija na turizam  
Tab. 4 Impact of illegal migration on tourism

<b>Tvrdnja / Statement</b>	<b>Prosječna ocjena / Average score</b>	<b>Standardna devijacija / Standard deviation</b>
Nezakonite migracije utječu na turizam u Hrvatskoj / Illegal migration affects tourism in Croatia	3,27	1,05
Nezakonite migracije utječu na turizam u mojem gradu/općini / Illegal migration affects tourism in my city/municipality	2,78	1,35
Nezakonite migracije utječu na imidž mojeg grada/općine kao turističke destinacije / Illegal migration affects the image of my city/municipality as a tourist destination	2,87	1,46
Nezakonite migracije utječu na otkazivanje ugovorenih boravaka turista / Illegal migration affects the cancellation of booked tourist stays	2,07	1,14
Nezakonite migracije utječu na smanje zadovoljstva gostiju tokom boravka u destinaciji / Illegal migration affects the satisfaction of guests during their stay in the destination	2,60	1,34
Nezakonite migracije uzrokuju smanjenje turističke potražnje / Illegal migration causes a decrease in tourism demand	2,36	1,28
Urbani turizam pogođen je nezakonitim migracijama te su one uzrokovale pad potražnje / Urban tourism is affected by illegal migration, which has led to a decline in demand	2,11	1,09
Ruralni turizam pogođen je nezakonitim migracijama te su one uzrokovale pad potražnje / Rural tourism is affected by illegal migration, which has led to a decline in demand	2,80	1,52
Planinarstvo je pogođeno nezakonitim migracijama te su one uzrokovale pad potražnje / Mountain tourism is affected by illegal migration, which has led to a decline in demand	2,73	1,37
Ekoturizam/turizam baziran na prirodi pogođen je nezakonitim migracijama te su one uzrokovale pad potražnje / Ecotourism/nature based tourism is affected by illegal migration, which has led to a decline in demand	2,60	1,40
Cikloturizam je pogođen nezakonitim migracijama te su one uzrokovale pad potražnje / Cycling tourism is affected by illegal migration, which has led to a decline in demand	2,44	1,34

Izvor: Istraživanje autora, (2024)  
Source: Author's research, (2024)

naveli da je izbjeglička kriza utjecala na percepciju Grčke kao životopisne i skupe destinacije (Pappas i Papatheodorou, 2017). U istraživanju Ivanova i Stavrinoudisa (2018) među hotelijerima četiriju grčkih otoka (Lezbos, Hij, Samos i Kos) utjecaj izbjegličke krize na imidž tih otoka kao turističke destinacije ocijenjen je kao vrlo negativan s prosječnom ocjenom 1,23 na ljestvici od 1 (vrlo negativan) do 5 (vrlo pozitivan). Naše istraživanje također je upozorilo na to da nezakonite migracije različito utječu na pojedine oblike turizma te da ispitanici smatraju da su najviše ugroženi ruralni turizam i planinarstvo, što je sasvim očekivano s obzirom na to da se nezakoniti migranti uglavnom kreću po prirodi, izvan ljudskih naselja. Ti su stavovi u skladu s drugim istraživanjima koja su pokazala da su određeni oblici turizma osjetljiviji od drugih na pojedine vrste ugroza, primjerice, šumski požari imaju najmanji utjecaj na izletnike, a najveći na ribiče (Borrie i dr., 2006) i bicikliste (Loomis i dr., 2001).

fecting the perception of Greece as a colourful and expensive destination (Pappas and Papatheodorou, 2017). In a study by Ivanov and Stavrinoudis (2018) of hoteliers from four Greek islands (Lesbos, Hijri, Samos, and Kos), the impact of the refugee crisis on the image of these islands as a tourist destination was rated as very negative, with average score 1.23 on a scale of 1 (very negative) to 5 (very positive). Our research also showed that illegal migration affects certain forms of tourism differently and that respondents see rural tourism and mountaineering as the most threatened, which was to be expected as illegal migrants mostly move in areas far from settlements. These attitudes are consistent with other studies that have shown that certain forms of tourism are more sensitive to certain types of threats than others. For example, forest fires have the least impact on hikers and the greatest impact on anglers (Borrie et al., 2006) and cyclists (Loomis et al., 2001).

Tab. 5. Troškovi izazvani nezakonitim migracijama  
Tab. 5 Costs caused by illegal migration

<b>Tvrdnja / Statement</b>	<b>Prosječna ocjena / Average score</b>	<b>Standardna devijacija / Standard deviation</b>
Obnova infrastrukture uslijed nezakonitih migracija uzrokuje troškove / Reconstruction of infrastructure due to illegal migration causes costs	3,11	1,57
Nezakoniti migranti uništavaju odmorišta uz ceste / Illegal migrants destroy roadside rest areas	3,33	1,58
Nezakoniti migranti uništavaju putokaze i interpretacijske ploče / Illegal migrants destroy road signs and information boards	2,89	1,42
Nezakoniti migranti uništavaju planinarske domove, odmorišta i skloništa / Illegal migrants destroy mountain huts, rest areas and shelters	3,38	1,47
Nezakoniti migranti provaljuju u vikendice i uništavaju interijer / Illegal migrants break into cottages and destroy the furnishing	3,96	1,28
Planinarske/biciklističke staze postale su rute nezakonitih migracija te se stoga ne mogu koristiti / Mountain/cycling paths have become routes for illegal migration and therefore cannot be used	2,73	1,36

Izvor: Istraživanje autora, (2024)  
Source: Author's research, (2024)

U tablici 5 prikazane su tvrdnje o troškovima koje izazivaju nezakonite migracije. U hrvatskim medijima često se pojavljuju vijesti kako nezakoniti migranti provaljuju i uništavaju imovinu (npr. Bradarić, 2020), a to se posebice odnosi na vikendice i planinarske domove u koje migranti provaljuju da bi pronašli zaklon ili hranu tijekom prolaska kroz Hrvatsku. Ovo istraživanje pokazalo je da ispitanici također smatraju da migranti najviše ugrožavaju vikendice i planinarske domove te odmorišta. Tvrdnja da se planinarske i biciklističke staze ne mogu koristiti jer su postale rute nezakonitih migracija dobila je najnižu ocjenu među svima u temi o troškovima koji su izazvani nezakonitim migracijama, odnosno 2,73, što nije u skladu s istraživanjem Cairo i Lois na španjolsko-portugalskoj granici (Cairo i Lois, 2017).

Kao što je prikazano u tablici 6, reakcije državnih i lokanih tijela na nezakonite migracije dobile su relativno skromne ocjene, odnosno 2,33 i 2,76, a nešto bolje, s 2,96 ocijenjene su reakcije lokalne zajednice i stanovnika. Na sličan način ocijenjene su reakcije u istraživanju koje je provedeno Grčkom o utjecaju izbjegličke krize na turizam (Tsartas i dr., 2020): najlošije su ocijenjene reakcije državne vlasti (1,93), nešto veću ocjenu dobile su lokalne vlasti (2,55), a najbolje su ocijenjene reakcije lokalne zajednice i građana (2,87). Za turistički sektor ispitanici smatraju da je slabije reagirao na nezakonite migrante od vlasti i lokalne zajednice. Naime, tvrdnja o pripremljenosti turističkoga sektora na izbijanje migrantske krize dobila je prosječnu ocjenu od tek 1,73, a niti pojedine potencijalne aktivnosti turističkoga sektora za ublažavanje učinaka nezakonitih migracija kao što su snižavanje cijena i pojedinih oblika troškova poslovanja nisu visoko ocijenjene. Treba uzeti u obzir da su ocjene reakcije turističkoga sektora dale turističke zajednice, a može se pretpostaviti da bi ocjene bile nešto veće da je istraživanje provedeno među predstavnicima turističkih poduzeća, kao što je primjerice u istraživanju iz Grčke (Ivanov i Stavrinoudis, 2018) koje je provedeno među upravama hotela. U njihovu istraživanju tvrdnja da su se problemi u poslovanju pokušali ublažiti smanjivanjem broja zaposlenika dobila je prosječnu ocjenu 3,04, smanjivanje cijena ocijenjeno je s 3,69, a smanjivanje troškova s 3,72.

Table 5 contains statements on the costs of illegal migration. The Croatian media frequently report that illegal migrants break into houses and destroy property (e.g. Bradarić, 2020). This is especially true for holiday homes and mountain huts that migrants break into to find shelter or food while travelling through Croatia. This survey has shown that respondents also believe that holiday homes, mountain huts and rest areas are at the most risk from migrants. The statement that hiking and cycling trails cannot be used because they become illegal migration routes received the lowest average score (2.73) of all statements on the costs caused by illegal migration, which is not consistent with the survey conducted by Cairo and Lois on the Spanish-Portuguese border (Cairo and Lois, 2017).

As shown in Table 6, the responses of state and local authorities to illegal migration received relatively modest average scores of 2.33 and 2.76 respectively, while the responses of the local community and residents scored slightly better at 2.96. In the study conducted in Greece on the impact of the refugee crisis on tourism (Tsartas et al., 2020), the responses were rated similarly: state authorities' responses were rated the worst (1.93), local authorities received slightly better scores (2.55), and the local community and citizens were rated the best (2.87). According to the respondents, the tourism sector reacted worse to the illegal migrants than the state authorities and the local community. The statement on the preparedness of the tourism sector at the possible outbreak of a new migrant crisis only received a score of 1.73, and certain possible activities of the tourism sector to mitigate the impact of illegal migration, such as price reductions and certain forms of business spending, are also not rated highly. It should be noted that the assessment of the tourism sector's response was provided by the tourism boards. It can be presumed that the ratings would have been slightly higher if the survey had been conducted among representatives of tourism businesses, as in the study from Greece (Ivanov and Stavrinoudis, 2018), which was conducted among hotel managers. In their survey, the statement that the company tried to mitigate problems by reducing the number of employees received an average score of 3.04, a price reduction of 3.69 and a cost reduction of 3.72.

Tab. 6. Upravljačke odluke  
Tab. 6 Management decisions

Tvrđnja / Statement	Prosječna ocjena / Average score	Standardna devijacija / Standard deviation
Državne vlasti adekvatno reagiraju na nezakonite migracije / State authorities respond appropriately to illegal migration	2,33	1,19
Lokalne vlasti adekvatno reagiraju na nezakonite migracije / Local authorities respond appropriately to illegal migration	2,76	1,21
Lokalna zajednica i stanovnici adekvatno reagiraju na nezakonite migracije / The local community and residents respond appropriately to illegal migration	2,96	1,00
Turistički sektor u Hrvatskoj pripremljen je na izbijanje migrantske krize / The tourism sector in Croatia is prepared for the outbreak of the migration crisis	1,73	0,89
Turistički sektor pokušao je ublažiti učinke nezakonitih migracija marketinškim aktivnostima kako bi privukao nove goste / The tourism sector has tried to mitigate the impact of illegal migration through marketing activities to attract new guests	2,02	0,99
Turistički sektor pokušao je ublažiti učinke nezakonitih migracija snižavanjem cijena / The tourism sector has tried to mitigate the impact of illegal migration by lowering prices	1,64	0,83
Turistički sektor pokušao je ublažiti učinke nezakonitih migracija snižavanjem troškova poslovanja / The tourism sector has tried to mitigate the impact of illegal migration by reducing business costs	1,60	0,81
Turistički sektor pokušao je ublažiti učinke nezakonitih migracija snižavanjem broja zaposlenika / The tourism sector has tried to mitigate the impact of illegal migration by reducing the number of employees	1,73	1,03
Turistički sektor pokušao je ublažiti učinke nezakonitih migracija snižavanjem plaća zaposlenika / The tourism sector has tried to mitigate the impact of illegal migration by reducing employee wages	1,67	0,93

Izvor: Istraživanje autora, (2024)  
Source: Author's research, (2024)

Ovaj rad ima i nekoliko ograničenja. Prvo je od njih da se sekundarni podatci odnose samo na evidentirane nezakonite prelaske državne granice, a može se očekivati da mnogo njih nije

This paper has several limitations. The first is that the secondary data only refer to the recorded illegal border crossings. It can be assumed that many of them are not recorded and that the actual

Percepcija utjecaja nezakonitih migracija na turizam pograničnih područja u Hrvatskoj

The perception of impact of illegal migration on tourism in the border areas of Croatia

zabilježeno te da je stvarni broj nezakonitih prelazaka puno veći od evidentiranoga. Ovo ograničenje treba uzeti u obzir prilikom interpretacije rezultata. Nadalje, ne postoje javno dostupni podaci o evidentiranim nezakonitim migracijama na razini gradova i općina, već se oni evidentiraju samo na razini policijskih uprava čiji je teritorijalni opseg istovjetan teritoriju županija (s izuzetkom Policijske uprave Zagrebačke koja obuhvaća Grad Zagreb i Zagrebačku županiju). Stoga su podatci generalizirani te je glavna metoda prikupljanja podataka bilo anketiranje s obzirom na to da postoji velik broj gradova i općina u kojima nisu evidentirane nezakonite migracije i s njima povezani učinci. K tomu, uzorak ispitanika nije reprezentativan jer se nije radilo o JLS-ovima istih obilježja (veličinom, položajem i resursima), što predstavlja dodatno ograničenje istraživanja.

### **Prilagodba i jačanje otpornosti turizma na nezakonite migracije**

Kao što je primijećeno kroz pregled literature, ali i istraživanje, nezakonite su migracije složen globalni fenomen, koji se s vremenom sve više proširuje i na Hrvatsku te u budućnosti može imati važan utjecaj na turističke destinacije, uključujući rizike kao što su sigurnosni incidenti, ekonomske posljedice i reputacijska šteta (Kassar i Dourgnon, 2014; Simpson i dr., 2016). U ovom dijelu rada, na temelju spoznaja dobivenih istraživanjem, prikazat će se mogući strateški i praktični pristupi prilagodbi i povećanju otpornosti turizma na nezakonite migracije s ciljem ublažavanja potencijalnih rizika te osiguranja održivosti turističkih destinacija.

Kao temeljni pristup prilagodbi i povećanju otpornosti turizma ističe se preventivno djelovanje, a ono uključuje poboljšanje sigurnosnih mjera na granicama i turističkim lokacijama (Donko i dr., 2022). Razvidno je da je suradnja između vlasti, turističkih operatera i lokalne zajednice važna za dijeljenje informacija i provođenje preventivnih mjera, pri čemu je i u anketnom istraživanju utvrđeno da je od svih dionika upravo lokalna zajednica imala najprikladniji odnos u suočavanju s neza-

number of illegal border crossings is much higher than recorded. This limitation should be taken into account when interpreting the results. In addition, there is no publicly-available data on recorded illegal migration at the level of cities and municipalities, rather it is only recorded at the level of police administrations whose territorial scope corresponds to that of counties (with the exception of the Zagreb Police Administration, which covers both the City of Zagreb and Zagreb County). Therefore, the data is generalised, and the main method of data collection was the survey, as there are many cities and municipalities where illegal migration and its effects have not been recorded. Furthermore, the sample of respondents is not representative, as it did not consist of local self-government units (LSGUs) with uniform characteristics (in terms of size, location, and resources), which represents an additional limitation of the research.

### **Adapting and strengthening the resilience of tourism to illegal migration**

As the literature review and research have shown, illegal migration is a complex global phenomenon that is spreading in Croatia over time and may have a significant impact on tourist destinations in the future, including risks such as security incidents, economic consequences, and reputation damage (Kassar and Dourgnon, 2014; Simpson et al., 2016). Based on the research findings, this part of the paper presents possible strategic and practical approaches to adapt and strengthen the resilience of tourism to illegal migration, with the aim of mitigating potential risks and ensuring the sustainability of tourism destinations.

A basic approach to adapting and increasing the resilience of tourism is to take preventive measures, including improving security measures at borders and tourist sites (Donko et al., 2022). Cooperation between authorities, tourism operators and the local community is crucial for the exchange of information and the implementation of preventive measures. The survey also revealed that the local community has the most appropriate approach of all stakeholders in dealing with

konitim migracijama. U konačnici, bez aktivnoga uključivanja lokalne zajednice u procese planiranja i upravljanja turizmom nemoguće je poboljšati otpornost destinacija na nezakonite migracije. Navedeno potvrđuje i činjenica da je nekoliko ispitanika u posljednjem, otvorenom pitanju anketnoga upitnika istaknulo da lokalno stanovništvo često posjeduje ključne informacije i resurse koji mogu pomoći u očuvanju sigurnosti i održivosti destinacije.

Budući da je utvrđeno kako nezakonite migracije nemaju jednak utjecaj na sve oblike turizma, nužna je diversifikacija turističke ponude, koja može smanjiti osjetljivost destinacija na poremećaje uzrokovane nezakonitim migracijama (Abate i dr., 2020). Razvoj alternativnih atrakcija i aktivnosti može privući turiste u manje ugrožena područja, udaljenija od prepoznatih migrantskih ruta. Isto tako, u uvjetima intenziviranja nezakonitih migracija nužno je i investiranje u infrastrukturu koja podržava sigurnost turista (Ivanov i dr., 2017), ali i u lokalne zajednice, poput nadzornih kamera, poboljšanoga osvjetljenja i sigurnosnih patrola, što može dugoročno povećati otpornost turističkih destinacija na nezakonite migracije.

Jedan od mogućih pristupa ovoj problematici jest razvoj protokola za reagiranje u kriznim situacijama povezanim s nezakonitim migracijama, uključujući postupanje s turistima i komunikaciju s vlastima. Pripremljenost je kao koncept desetljećima primjenjivana u mitigaciji prilikom prirodnih katastrofa (Bronfman i dr., 2019), no i u slučaju antropogenih rizika ključna je za brzo i učinkovito rješavanje problema. K tomu, redovito praćenje i evaluacija učinkovitosti implementiranih mjera važna je za kontinuirano poboljšanje otpornosti turizma na nezakonite migracije. Analiza podataka o sigurnosnim incidentima, turističkim brojkama i zadovoljstvu turista može pružiti korisne uvide u uspješnost provedenih mjera. Zaključno, kao što su naveli García-Almeida i Hormiga (2017), važno je da se u procesu prilagodbe i povećanja otpornosti turizma na nezakonite migracije primjenjuje integrirani pristup koji uključuje suradnju vlasti, turističke industrije, lokalne zajednice i ostalih relevantnih dionika.

illegal migration. Finally, without the active participation of the local community in the planning and management of tourism, it is impossible to improve the resilience of destinations to illegal migration. This is also confirmed by the fact that in the final, open-ended question of the survey, several respondents pointed out that locals often have the necessary information and resources to help maintain the safety and sustainability of the destination.

As it has been found that illegal migration does not affect all forms of tourism in the same way, it is necessary to diversify the tourism offer, which can reduce the vulnerability of destinations to the issues caused by illegal migration (Abate et al., 2020). The development of alternative attractions and activities can draw tourists to less vulnerable areas, away from the known migration routes. Under conditions of increasing illegal migration, investment in infrastructure to promote tourist safety (Ivanov et al., 2017) and in local communities is also needed, such as surveillance cameras, improved lighting, and security patrols, which can increase the resilience of destinations to illegal migration in the long term.

One of the approaches to this issue is the development of protocols for responding to crises related to illegal migration, including dealing with tourists, and communicating with the authorities. The concept of preparedness has been used for decades in the mitigation of natural disasters (Bronfman et al., 2019), but it is also necessary to solve problems quickly and efficiently in the case of anthropogenic risks. Regular monitoring and evaluation of the effectiveness of the measures taken is also important to continuously improve the resilience of tourism to illegal migration. Analysing data on security incidents, tourist numbers and tourist satisfaction can provide useful insights into the success of the measures taken. As García-Almeida and Hormiga (2017) argue, it is crucial to take an integrated approach to adapting and improving the resilience of tourism to illegal migration, which includes cooperation between authorities, the tourism industry, the local community, and other relevant stakeholders.

## Zaključak

Pregledom literature i provedenim istraživanjem utvrđeno je da su nezakonite migracije složen globalni fenomen, čiji se utjecaj sve više proširuje i na Hrvatsku. Budući da nezakonite migracije mogu imati nezanemarive učinke na turističke destinacije, uključujući rizik od sigurnosnih incidenata, ekonomskih posljedica i reputacijskih šteta, nužno je razviti strategije prilagodbe i povećanja otpornosti turizma na nezakonite migracije. Rezultati ankete interpretirani su da bi se dobio uvid u utjecaj nezakonitih migracija na turizam te da bi se prepoznale moguće implikacije za prilagodbu turističke ponude i poslovanja u pograničnim područjima. Kombinacija primarnih i sekundarnih podataka dala je sveobuhvatan uvid u kompleksnost teme te pridonijela razumijevanju i rješavanju problema vezanih uz utjecaj nezakonitih migracija na turizam.

Sekundarni podatci upućuju na to da je hrvatska regija najmanje izložena nezakonitim migracijama bila Dalmacija s obzirom na to da reljefna uzvišenja koja se nalaze u većem dijelu pograničnoga područja između Hrvatske i Bosne i Hercegovine otežavaju prolaz migranata (Vurnek i dr., 2021). Istraživanjem je utvrđeno da se unutar pojedinih županija značajno razlikuje percepcija utjecaja migracija na turizam te da u destinacijama s intenzivnijim priljevom migranata postoji veća zabrinutost od njihova mogućega utjecaja na turizam.

Iz istraživanja proizlaze i odgovori na istraživačka pitanja postavljena u uvodu:

1. Intenzivan priljev nezakonitih migranata može negativno utjecati na osjećaj sigurnosti turista i lokalne zajednice u pograničnim područjima, što može rezultirati smanjenjem turističkih aktivnosti i povjerenja u destinaciju.
2. Nezakonite migracije mogu imati različite utjecaje na turističku infrastrukturu i različite oblike turističkoga proizvoda; za sada nije primijećeno smanjenje turističkoga prometa, ali postoji potreba za dodatnim sigurnosnim mjerama te je također nužna prilagodba turističke ponude da bi se smanjila osjetljivost na potencijalne poremećaje uzrokovane migracijama.

## Conclusion

The literature review and the survey conducted have shown that illegal migration is a complex global phenomenon whose impact is increasingly spreading to Croatia. Since illegal migration can have a significant impact on tourism destinations, including the risk of security incidents, economic consequences and reputational damage, it is necessary to develop adaptation strategies and increase the resilience of tourism to illegal migration. The results of the survey were analysed to gain insight into the impact of illegal migration on tourism and to identify possible consequences for the adaptation of the tourism products and tourism businesses in border areas. The combination of primary and secondary data provided a comprehensive insight into the complexity of the issue and contributed to understanding and solving problems related to the impact of illegal migration on tourism.

Secondary data indicate that the Croatian region least affected by illegal migration is Dalmatia, as the relief elevations located in most of the border area between Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina make it difficult for migrants to pass (Vurnek et al., 2021). The research found that the impact of migration on tourism is perceived very differently in different countries and that concern about the potential impact on tourism is greater in destinations with a higher influx of migrants.

The study also provides answers to the research questions raised in the Introduction:

1. A large influx of illegal migrants can negatively affect the sense of security of tourists and the local population in border areas, which can lead to a decrease in tourism activities and confidence in the destination.
2. Illegal migration can have various impacts on tourism infrastructure and different forms of the tourism products. A decline in tourist numbers has not yet been observed, but additional safety measures could be taken, and it is also necessary to adapt the tourism offer to reduce sensitivity to possible disruptions caused by migration.



3. Temeljem analize literature i istraživanja utvrđeno je da prilagodba turističke ponude i poslovanja u pograničnim područjima zahtijeva diversifikaciju turističke ponude, poboljšanje sigurnosnih mjera te suradnju između turističkoga sektora i lokalnih vlasti.
4. Turistički sektor u pograničnim područjima do sada uglavnom nije pokušavao ojačati otpornost destinacija na nezakonite migracije kroz različite aktivnosti kao što su poboljšanje sigurnosnih mjera, edukacija turista o sigurnosnim pitanjima, suradnja s lokalnim vlastima i zajednicom te razvoj alternativnih atrakcija i aktivnosti koje mogu privući turiste u područja manje pogođena nezakonitim migracijama.

U budućim istraživanjima trebali bi se analizirati učinci nezakonitih migracija na specifične segmente turizma kao što su planinarski turizam, avanturistički turizam ili luksuzni turizam. Nadalje, bilo bi zanimljivo provesti istraživanje percepcije turista i njihova osjećaja sigurnosti u kontekstu nezakonitih migracija. Konačno, u svrhu povećanja otpornosti destinacija, u budućnosti će biti nužno istražiti učinkovitost primjene postojećih sigurnosnih mjera u turističkim destinacijama radi suzbijanja nezakonitih migracija.

3. Based on the analysis of literature and research, it was found that adapting the tourism offer and business activities in border areas requires diversification of the tourism offer, improvement of safety measures and cooperation between the tourism sector and local authorities.
4. To date, the tourism sector in border areas has generally not sought to strengthen the resilience of destinations to illegal migration via various activities, such as improving security measures, educating tourists on security issues, cooperating with local authorities and the community, and developing alternative attractions and activities that can attract tourists to areas less affected by illegal migration.

Future research should analyse the impact of illegal migration on certain segments of tourism, such as mountaineering tourism, adventure tourism or luxury tourism. It would also be interesting to analyse the perceptions and sense of security of tourists in relation to illegal migration. In order to increase the resilience of destinations, the effectiveness of the implementation of existing security measures in destinations with the aim of curbing illegal migration should be analysed in the future.

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## Autori Authors

Hrvoje Mataković                      hrvoje.matakovic@iztztg.hr  
dr. sc., znanstveni suradnik, Institut za turizam, Vrhovec 5,  
10000 Zagreb, Hrvatska, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7652-8846>

Izidora Marković Vukadin              izidora.markovic@iztztg.hr  
dr. sc., viša znanstvena suradnica, Institut za turizam, Vrhovec 5,  
10000 Zagreb, Hrvatska, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6598-5360>

Jasjenka Kranjčević                      jasjenka.kranjcevic@iztztg.  
dr. sc., znanstvena savjetnica, Institut za turizam, Vrhovec 5,  
10000 Zagreb, Hrvatska, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5594-9868>