

# VIKENDICE NA OTOKU KRKU – PROSTORNI RASPORED I STRUKTURNA OBILJEŽJA VLASNIKA

## SECOND HOMES ON THE ISLAND OF KRK – SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION AND STRUCTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THEIR OWNERS

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Nakon faze prenamjene i adaptacije postojećega stambenog fonda u vikendice (najviše 1960-ih i 1970-ih), kao i drugdje u hrvatskom priobalju, i na otoku Krku uslijedila je faza namjenske izgradnje obiteljskih vikendica (1970-ih i 1980-ih), koja se ogleda u kupnji i pretvaranju poljoprivrednoga zemljišta u građevinsko, u početku na najatraktivnijim lokacijama u blizini obale, a kasnije i na onima manje privlačnima u unutrašnjosti otoka. Od sredine 1990-ih otok Krk, osobito neki njegovi dijelovi poprište su snažne apartmanizacije, tj. izgradnje višestambenih objekata za odmor i rekreaciju, koja je uzrokovala korjenitu transformaciju prostora. U radu se raspravlja o suvremenom razvoju vikendaštva na otoku Krku kao reprezentativnom primjeru hrvatskih obalnih receptivnih vikendaških područja, na temelju analize prostornog rasporeda vikendica i usporedbe njihove brojnosti s brojnošću stambenih jedinica namijenjenih stalnome stanovanju. Radi boljeg identificiranja intenziteta i smjerova vikendaških kretanja između emitivnih i receptivnih vikendaških područja analizirana su i strukturna obilježja vlasnika vikendica na Krku, i to prema mjestima njihova stalnoga prebivališta, udaljenosti naselja stalnoga prebivališta od receptivnoga vikendaškog područja te veličini naselja stalnoga prebivališta.

**Ključne riječi:** vikendica, vikendaštvo, vikendaška kretanja, receptivno vikendaško područje, otok Krk, Hrvatska

The period of the conversion of the existing and abandoned residential dwellings into second homes (mostly in 1960s and 1970s) on the island of Krk, as well as along the whole stretch of the Croatian littoral, was followed by the period of the construction of purpose-built dwellings for vacation and recreation, i.e. of family weekend-houses (in 1970s and 1980s). This was manifested through the purchase and conversion of agricultural land into building sites which initially targeted the most desirable locations along the coast of the island, and later less desirable locations in the island hinterland. From mid 1990s onwards the island of Krk, and especially certain parts of it, experienced a more intensive construction of multi-apartment buildings for vacation and recreation which brought about radical geographical transformation. The study analyses the characteristics of the recent developmental dynamics of the second home phenomenon on the island of Krk as a representative case study of a receiving second home region within the Croatian littoral. The study is based on the analysis of the spatial distribution of dwellings for vacation and recreation and the comparison of their number with the number of dwellings for permanent occupancy. In order to achieve a more accurate picture of the intensity and directions of the second home mobility which exists among emissive and receiving second home regions, an analysis is provided of the structural characteristics of the owners of second homes on Krk. They are grouped by the place of their permanent residence, the distance between the place of permanent residence and the receiving second home region and by the size of the place of permanent residence.

**Ključne riječi:** second home, second home phenomenon, second home mobility, receiving second home area, the island of Krk, Croatia

## Uvod

Zbog rane pojave vikendaštva<sup>1</sup> te njegove vrlo izražene koncentracije<sup>2</sup> otok Krk reprezentativan je primjer obalnoga receptivnoga vikendaškog područja<sup>3</sup> za analizu strukturnih obilježja vikendaških kretanja u hrvatskom priobalju. Rani turistički razvoj na otoku, sredinom 19. stoljeća, bio je potaknut gotovo istim privlačnim faktorima kao i vikendaštvo, tako da su se te dvije pojave uglavnom razvijale "ruku pod ruku" (FRGAČIĆ TOMIĆ, 1986; 1994; BLAŽEVIĆ, 1987; NOVOSEL-ŽIC, 1987).

<sup>1</sup> Tražeći prikladan izraz koji bi jednom riječju obuhvatio fenomen sekundarnoga rekreacijskog stanovanja kao opća imenica, došlo se do zaključka da takva izraza u rječnicima hrvatskoga jezika nema. Čini se da bi pojam "vikendaštvo" mogao kvalitetno nadomjestiti taj manjak, jer je već pri prvom susretu razumljiv i jasan, a istodobno prati tvorbenu tradiciju hrvatskoga jezika. Pod pojmom "vikendaštvo" razumijeva se fenomen vikendica (stambenih jedinica za odmor i rekreaciju), tj. fenomen sekundarnoga stanovanja. Može označavati vikendice kao raširenu pojavu te organiziranu djelatnost/aktivnost vikendaša, odnosno ukupnost svih pojava i procesa povezanih s pojmovima "vikendica", "objekt za odmor i rekreaciju", "drugi dom" te "sekundarno (povremeno) stanovanje".

<sup>2</sup> Popisom stanovništva, kućanstava i stanova 2001. godine na otoku Krku registrirano je 10 212 stambenih jedinica za odmor i rekreaciju, što je više nego na ijednome drugom hrvatskom otoku. Ipak, ovdje valja napomenuti da je riječ o službenim podacima popisne statistike koja u slučaju vikendaštva nerijetko znatno odudara od stanja na terenu. Tako je, primjerice, prema navedenom kriteriju na drugom mjestu otok Vir sa "samo" 5960 službeno popisanih stambenih jedinica za odmor i rekreaciju 2001., iako recentne procjene s terena govore o 12 000 do čak 15 000 što legalno, što ilegalno podignutih stanova za odmor i rekreaciju.

<sup>3</sup> Pojmovi "emitivno i receptivno vikendaško područje/regija" prilagođeni su hrvatskoj turističko-geografskoj terminologiji (usporediti s pojmovima "emitivna i receptivna turistička regija/područje"). Izvorne, engleske, termine *exporting second home region* (u slobodnom prijevodu "emitivno vikendaško područje/regija") i *importing second home region* (u slobodnom prijevodu "receptivno turističko područje/regija"), ovisno o tome je li riječ o povećanju broja stanova za odmor i rekreaciju ili povećanju broja njihovih vlasnika, uveo je ROGERS (1977). Istražujući obilježja sekundarnog stanovanja u Engleskoj i Walesu, istaknuo je da emitivna vikendaška područja (npr. Englesku) obilježava povećanje standarda i broja stanovnika te veća platežna moć i više cijene nekretnina, a receptivna (npr. Wales) ekonomsko nazadovanje i depopulacija te manja platežna moć i niže cijene nekretnina. Dakle, emitivno vikendaško područje (*exporting region*) označuje prostor koncentracije stalnih prebivališta vlasnika vikendica, dok se receptivno vikendaško područje (*importing region*) odnosi na prostor koncentracije samih vikendica (OPAČIĆ, 2005).

## Introduction

Due to the early emergence of the second home phenomenon<sup>1</sup> and its intense concentration<sup>2</sup>, the island of Krk is a representative example of the receiving second home region<sup>3</sup>, suitable for the analysis of the structural characteristics of the second home mobility on the Croatian littoral. The early development of tourism on the island in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century was caused by factors related to the island's general attractiveness which are almost identical to those relevant to the development of the second home phenomenon. As a result the two phenomena developed "hand in hand" (FRGAČIĆ TOMIĆ, 1986; 1994; BLAŽEVIĆ, 1987; NOVOSEL-ŽIC, 1987).

<sup>1</sup> Searching for an appropriate noun which would in one word express the phenomenon of secondary recreational dwelling, we have come to the conclusion that such a term does not exist in Croatian dictionaries. It seems that the expression "vikendaštvo" might serve as a quality substitute because it is immediately understandable and clear, and at the same time it conforms to the morphological tradition of the Croatian language. The term "vikendaštvo" includes the phenomenon of dwellings for vacation and recreation, i.e. the phenomenon of secondary dwelling. It can connote second homes as a widespread phenomenon and the organised activity of the second home owners, that is the plurality of all manifestations and processes related to the terms "second home," "object for vacation and recreation" and "secondary (temporary) dwelling."

<sup>2</sup> The 2001 Census of Population, households and dwellings registered on the island of Krk 10 212 dwellings for vacation and recreation, which is more than on any other Croatian island. However, it is worth mentioning that these are official information from the Census statistics which is in the case of secondary dwellings often at odds with the situation on the ground. For example, according to the criterion mentioned the island of Vir takes the second place with "only" 5960 officially registered dwellings for vacation and recreation in 2001, even though the recent estimates from the location speak of 12 000 up to as many as 15 000 legally or illegally built dwellings for vacation and recreation.

<sup>3</sup> The terms "emissive and receiving second home area/region" are adjusted to the Croatian tourism-geographical terminology. Original English terms *exporting second home region* (freely translated as "emitivno vikendaško područje/regija") and *importing second home region* (freely translated as "receptivno turističko područje/regija"), depending on whether what is meant is the increase in the number of dwellings for vacation and recreation or the increase in the number of their owners, were introduced by ROGERS (1977). Studying the characteristics of secondary dwelling in England and Wales, he stressed that the emissive second home regions (e.g. England) are characterised by higher standard and the higher number of inhabitants as well as the higher buying power and higher prices of real estate, while receiving areas (e.g. Wales) are characterised by economic decline, depopulation, lower buying power and lower prices of real estate. Therefore, the term emissive second home region (*exporting region*) connotes a territory with concentrated places of residence of the owners of second homes, while the receiving second home region (*importing region*) refers to the territory with the concentration of second homes (OPAČIĆ, 2005).

U strukturi atrakcijske osnove i za turizam i za vikendaštvo ponajviše su se isticale prirodne pogodnosti (NOVOSEL, 1975; NOVOSEL-ŽIC, 1987; TURK, 1994; LOVREC, 1998), čija se ključna važnost zadržala do danas. Među njima ponajveću važnost i imaju ugodna i za rekreaciju dobrim dijelom godine poticajna umjereno topla vlažna klima s vrućim ljetom (po Köppenovoj klasifikaciji tip "Cfa" (ŠEGOTA, FILIPČIĆ, 2003), povoljna svojstva morske vode za razvoj kupališnog turizma (temperatura pogodna za kupanje, velika prozirnost, atraktivna modra boja, mala valovitost u ljetnim mjesecima, primjerena čistoća, itd.), bujna prirodna submediteranska vegetacija, osobito u zapadnim i središnjim dijelovima otoka, te geomorfološka obilježja obale s dovoljnom dužinom "gostoljubivih", pristupačnih segmenata s prirodnim i umjetnim plažama.

Društveni (antropogeni) atraktivni faktori imaju, u pravilu, važniju ulogu u razvoju turizma nego vikendaštvo, s aspekta kojeg se potonji prije svega ističu kao dopunski, popratni sadržaji koji oplemenjuju boravak u receptivnom vikendaškom području, ali najčešće presudno ne utječu na izbor specifične lokacije za posjedovanje stana za odmor i rekreaciju. Ipak, ne smije se umanjivati "mir i tišina", važan lokacijski faktor pri izboru lokacije za vikendicu,<sup>4</sup> koji su donedavno gotovo sva naselja na otoku ispunjavala i u sezoni i izvan nje. Na žalost, zbog pretjerane vikendaške, a osobito apartmanske, izgradnje i turističke saturacije, pojedina naselja na otoku taj vrlo važni uvjet u iniciranju vikendaških kretanja u posljednje vrijeme, osobito u ljetnoj sezoni, sve teže mogu zadovoljiti.

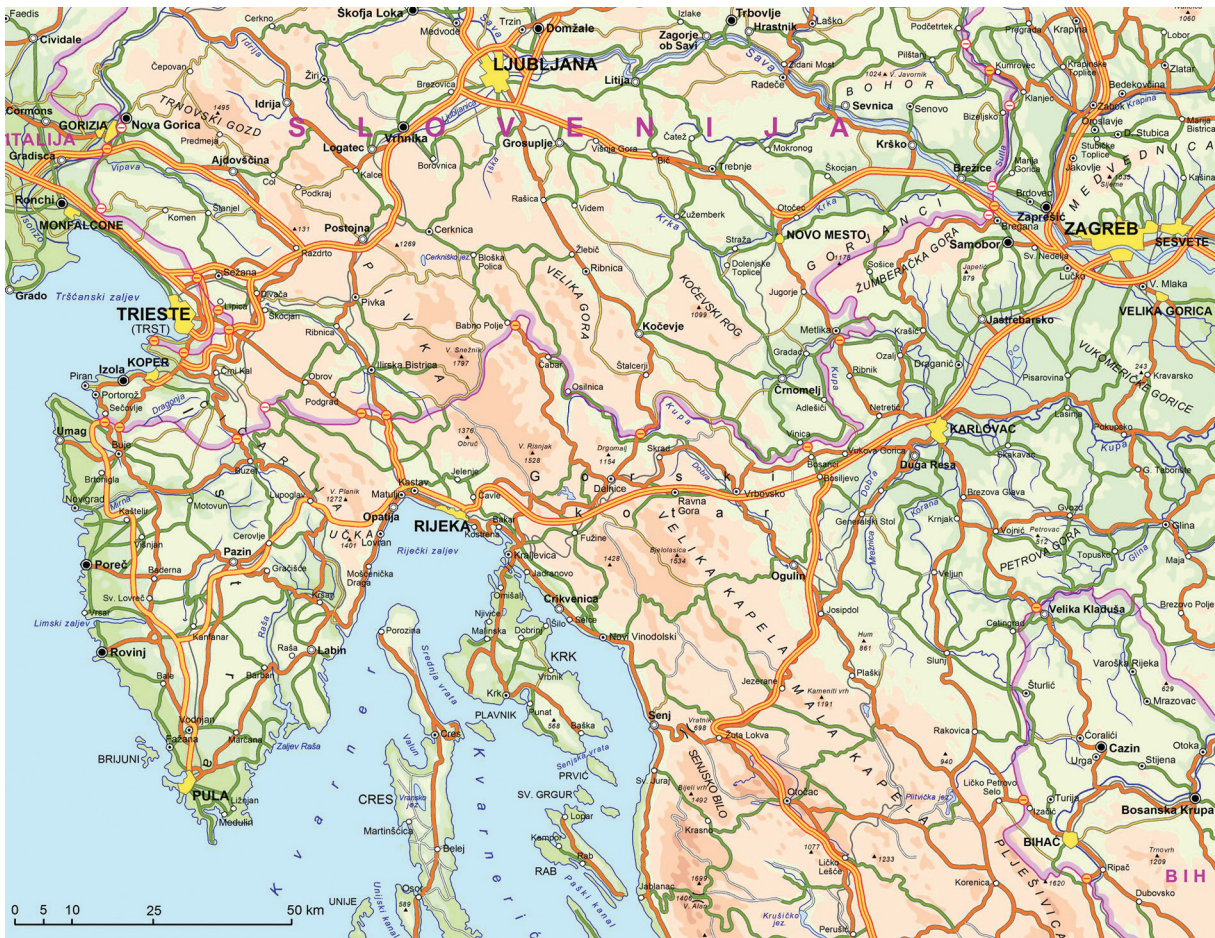
<sup>4</sup> Pod pojmom "vikendica" u ovome radu podrazumijevaju se sve stambene jedinice za odmor i rekreaciju/sekundarno stanovanje koje se pojavljuju u obliku kuće i u obliku stana, koje se rabe bilo vikendima i kraćim praznicima, bilo za duže boravke, te koje služe bilo za odmor i rekreaciju, bilo za komercijalne svrhe. Znači, u ovom radu pojam "vikendica" ne će se odnositi na vrstu objekta prema morfološkim karakteristikama, nego na njegovu rekreacijsku funkciju, bez obzira na to je li riječ o stambenoj jedinici u formi kuće ili u formi stana (apartmana).

The primary traits of the island's attractiveness for both tourism and second home phenomenon have been natural features (NOVOSEL, 1975; NOVOSEL-ŽIC, 1987; TURK, 1994; LOVREC, 1998). They have remained crucial until today. Their main ingredients are: pleasant and relatively warm and wet climate with hot summers classified as "Cfa" according to the Köppen classification (ŠEGOTA, FILIPČIĆ, 2003) and conducive to recreation for the good part of the year; the characteristics of the sea water which support the development of tourism centred on sea swimming (temperature suitable for swimming, high degree of transparency, attractive shade of blue colour, moderate waves in summer months, cleanliness, etc.); lush sub-Mediterranean vegetation, particularly in the West and centre of the island, and the geo-morphological characteristics of the coast with the sufficient proportion of "hospitable" stretches of natural and artificial beaches.

As a rule, social (anthropogenic) factors of attraction play a more important role in the development of tourism than in the development of the second home phenomenon since they appear primarily as supplementary aspects which make one's stay in the receiving second home region more worthwhile, but usually do not play a decisive role in the choice of a specific location for a dwelling for vacation and recreation. However, one must not overlook "peace and quiet", an important factor in choosing the location for one's second home<sup>4</sup>, the requirement which almost all settlements on the island met until recently in and outside of summer season. Unfortunately, due to the excessive building of second homes, particularly in the form of multi-apartment buildings, and the overall saturation of the island with tourists, in recent times, and particularly in the summer season, certain settlements on the island increasingly fail to meet this condition significant for the initiation of the second home phenomenon.

<sup>4</sup> The term "second home" here defines all dwellings for vacation and recreation/secondary dwellings which appear as houses or flats, which are used either on weekends or during shorter holidays, for longer stays the purpose of which be vacation and recreation, or for commercial purposes. This means that in this study the term "second home" will not refer to an object in the sense of its morphological traits, but to its recreational function irrespective of whether it appears as a house or a flat (apartment).





Slika 1. Prometno-geografski položaj otoka Krka  
Figure 1 Transport-geographical position of the island of Krk

Ipak, snažan turistički i vikendaški razvoj otok Krk uvelike može zahvaliti blizini važnih domaćih i inozemnih emitivnih turističkih/vikendaških područja, odnosno povoljnom prometno-geografskom i turističko-geografskom položaju (TURK, 1994) (Sl. 1.).

Kao Zagrebu i Središnjoj Hrvatskoj, tj. glavnim ishodištima domaće vikendaške potražnje, jedno od najbližih obalnih receptivnih vikendaških područja, otok Krk, tradicionalno je receptivno vikendaško područje stanovnika Zagreba i okolice. Izgradnjom Krčkoga mosta te autocestovnim povezivanjem Zagreba i Rijeke otok Krk zadnjih se godina sve više ističe kao integralni dio zone vikend-rekreacije Zagreba. Osim toga, povoljan prometno-geografski položaj vrjednovan kvalitetnim cestovnim prometnicama bio je jedan od presudnih privlačnih faktora pri izboru lokacije za stjecanje vikendice na Krku i brojnim Riječanima, kao i stanovnicima slovenskih, austrijskih, talijanskih, njemačkih, a u

The main reason for the vigorous growth of tourism and the second home phenomenon on the island of Krk is the proximity of important domestic and foreign emissive tourism/second home regions as well as the island's favourable geographical location, quality traffic connections and its tourist potential (TURK, 1994) (Fig. 1).

As one of the closest coastal receiving second home areas, the island of Krk has been the traditional receiving second home area of the inhabitants of Zagreb, its environs and the whole of Central Croatia, that is Croatia's primary epicentres of domestic demand for second homes. The construction of the Krk bridge and the improved connections with Zagreb and Rijeka through the construction of the motorway have increasingly defined Krk as the integral part of Zagreb's weekend recreational area. Furthermore, favourable traffic connections, primarily road communications, have been one of the decisive positive factors in choosing the location for the second home on the island of Krk for many inhabitants of Rijeka as well as the population in



zadnje vrijeme i mađarskih emitivnih vikendaških područja. Osim povoljnoga prometno-geografskog i turističko-geografskog položaja, u novije vrijeme zamah vikendaštva na otoku Krku potiču i faktori poput razvijenosti komunalne infrastrukture, opće uređenosti naselja, njihove opskrbljenosti uslugama, relativno razvijenoga i "uhodanog" lokalnog tržišta nekretnina, afirmativnoga pristupa širenju vikendaških zona pri izradbi lokalnih prostornih planova itd.

Zbog vrlo izražene izgradnje višestambenih apartmanskih građevina u zadnjih desetak godina, otoku se Krku u javnosti sve češće prišiva negativan epitet "apartmanskog otoka", koji upućuje na najčešće negativne fizionomske posljedice takve izgradnje. Iako je vikendaštvo, a pogotovo apartmanizacija, ponajprije zahvatilo obalna naselja na otoku, njegov razvoj u unutrašnjosti, osobito posljednjih godina, nikako se ne smije zanemarivati. Kako bi se detaljnije mogla istražiti kretanja vikendaša između emitivnih i receptivnih vikendaških područja te u konačnici donijeti odgovarajuće prostorno-planske mjere prema održivom razvoju Krka, prijeko je potrebno analizirati prostorni raspored stambenih jedinica za odmor i rekreaciju na otoku, kao i strukturna obilježja njihovih vlasnika. Upravo potonje jest i glavni cilj ovoga istraživanja.

### Metodologija i prostorni okvir istraživanja

Ovaj rad prilog je geografskim istraživanjima vikendaštva na hrvatskim otocima, koji se s vremenskim odmakom od gotovo trideset godina nastavlja na iscrpna istraživanja sekundarnoga rekreacijskog stanovanja na otoku Krku što ih je započela P. NOVOSEL-ŽIC (1980-81; 1987). Autorica je (1980.-81.) na otoku Krku analizirala vikendašku izgradnju, tada nov element u transformaciji prostora, u komponenti prostora i vremena, kao i pojedina strukturna obilježja vlasnika vikendica na otoku (prema podrijetlu i prema mjestu stalnoga boravka).

Metodologija ovoga rada obuhvaća prikupljanje i obradbu literature iz geografije i ostalih srodnih znanosti te obradbu podataka iz sekundarnih dokumentacija i izvora. Pokazatelji proizašli iz popisne statistike analizirani su i kartografski su prikazani na razini svih 68 naselja na otoku te 7 krčkih jedinica lokalne samouprave (Grad Krk i općine Baška, Dobrinj, Malinska-Dubašnica, Omišalj, Punat i Vrbnik) (Sl. 2.).

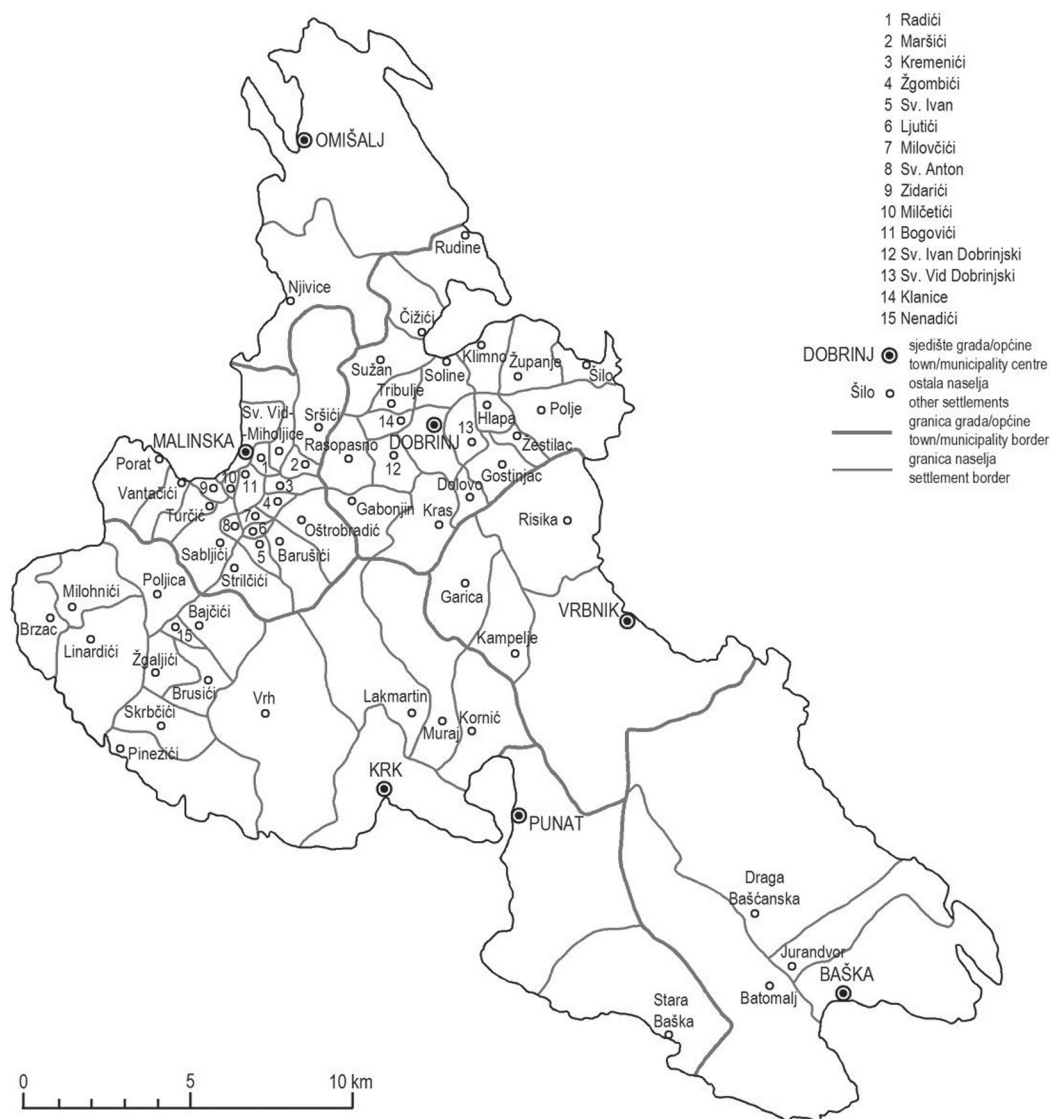
the emissive second home areas in Slovenia, Austria, Italy and Germany, and recently in Hungary. In addition to the favourable geographical position, traffic communications and tourist potential, in the recent times other factors have contributed to the growth of the second home phenomenon on the island of Krk. Among them are: improved public utilities and better access to municipal services, the overall appearance of settlements, a relatively developed and "well-run" local real estate market, an affirmative attitude to the extension of the areas designated for second homes in the definition of local physical plans, etc.

Because of the widespread building of multi-apartment blocs in the past decade or so, the island of Krk has been increasingly graced with the pejorative epithet "the island of apartments" which points to the, most often negative, physiognomic consequences of such a development. Although the second home phenomenon, and particularly apartmentalisation, have made inroads primarily into the coastal settlements of the island, one must not ignore its growth in the hinterland of the island, especially in the recent years. In order to conduct a detailed study of the spatial mobility of the second home population between emissive and receiving second home areas, and eventually develop appropriate measures to aid physical plans which take into account the sustainable development of Krk, it is mandatory to analyse spatial distribution of dwellings for vacation and recreation on the island as well as the structural characteristics of their owners. The latter goal is the primary aim of this study.

### Methodology and the geographical framework of the study

This work is a contribution to geographical studies of the second home phenomenon on Croatian islands which, after almost thirty years, builds on extensive research of secondary recreational dwellings on the island of Krk commenced by P. Novosel-Žic (1980-81; 1987). In 1980-81 the author analysed the growth of the second home phenomenon on the island of Krk, the then recent element in geographical transformation, along space and time axes, as well as certain structural characteristics of the owners of second homes on the island (by origin and place of permanent residence).

The methodology of this study includes the collection and analysis of geographical literature and other related disciplines, and the analysis of information gathered from secondary sources. The 2001 Census statistics have been analysed



Slika 2. Administrativno-teritorijalno ustrojstvo otoka Krka – podjela po jedinicama lokalne samouprave i po naseljima u trenutku Popisa 2001. godine

Figure 2 Administrative-territorial structure of the island of Krk – the distribution by units of local self-government and settlements in the time of the 2001 Census

Prostorni raspored vikendaštva na otoku Krku razmotren je ponajprije u aktualnom trenutku, na temelju popisnih podataka 2001. godine, iako su, radi njegova boljeg razumijevanja, ukratko prikazani socioekonomski odnosi koji su pratili razvoj sekundarnoga rekreacijskog stanovanja u lokalnome, krčkome kontekstu, u razdoblju prije Drugoga svjetskog rata, u razdoblju socijalizma, kao i u razdoblju tranzicije nakon hrvatskog osamostaljenja.

and presented for all 68 island settlements and 7 units of local self-government (the Town of Krk and municipalities of Baška, Dobrinj, Malinska-Dubašnica, Omišalj, Punat and Vrbnik) (Fig. 2).

The spatial distribution of second homes on the island of Krk is studied primarily from the synchronic point of view and based on the information derived from the 2001 Census. In order to provide a fuller picture, a brief overview has been added of socio-economic factors relevant for the development of secondary recreational dwelling in the context of the island of Krk in the period before the Second World War, during Socialist rule and in the transitional period after Croatian independence.

## Razdoblje prije Drugoga svjetskog rata

Prve ladanjske kuće, najčešće u vlasništvu austrijske, mađarske ili češke društvene elite, na otoku Krku pojavljuju se od sredine 19. stoljeća, što govori u prilog tezi da je otok Krk jedna od kolijevki vikendaštva u Hrvatskoj. Korijeni vikendaštva vremenski se poklapaju s početcima organizirana turizma na otoku, što nedvojbeno upućuje na razvojni paralelizam sekundarnoga rekreacijskog stanovanja i turizma na Krku. Glavni poticajni faktor pojavi turizma, pa tako i vikendaštva, bila je blizina i, za tadašnje prilike, kvalitetna prometna povezanost (željezničke veze, parobrodske linije) s domaćim i stranim emitivnim turističkim područjima (TURK, TURK-ŠARIĆ, 2002), zbog čega se, uostalom, i čitav prostor Kvarnera rano afirmirao kao vodeće receptivno turističko, ali i vikendaško područje u Hrvatskoj.

Kao i turizam, tada "rezerviran" samo za (naj)bogatije stanovništvo, koje je raspolagalo s dostatnom količinom slobodna vremena i slobodnih financijskih sredstava, i vikendaštvo, predstavljeno raskošnim ladanjskim vilama i ljetnikovcima, okruženima širokim pojasom bujna, njegovana zelenila, bilo je praćeno luksuzom te je svojom prisutnošću pozitivno utjecalo na opći dojam uređenosti receptivnoga vikendaškog područja, oplemenjujući njegovu atrakcijsku osnovu. Jača izgradnja navedenih ladanjskih objekata karakteristična je za početak 20. stoljeća, osobito za razdoblje između Prvog i Drugoga svjetskog rata.<sup>5</sup>

## Vikendaštvo na Krku u razdoblju socijalističke Jugoslavije

Razdoblje nakon Drugoga svjetskog rata, sve do posljednjega desetljeća 20. stoljeća, obilježilo je socijalističko društveno uređenje, koje je stubokom promijenilo dotadašnje gospodarske tokove. Snažna litoralizacija Sjevernoga hrvatskog primorja 1950-ih i 1960-ih godina ponajviše je zahvatila Rijeku, u kojoj jačaju lučke i industrijske

<sup>5</sup> NOVOSEL-ŽIC (1987) ističe kako izdvojene ljetnikovce u to vrijeme na otoku podižu ponajviše Česi, i to "u najpitomijemu, šumovitom zapadnom dijelu otoka, koji je s kopnene otočne strane slabo dostupan. Rjeđi su primjeri i oko zaljeva Soline (današnja općina Dobrinj, op. a.). Jedan od takvih ljetnikovaca predstavlja i zametak suvremenoga hotelskoga grada Haludova (u Malinskoj, op. a.)."

## The period before the Second World War

The first holiday villas on the island of Krk, typically owned by Austrian, Hungarian or Czech social elites, appear from the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century, which corroborates the hypothesis that the island of Krk was one of the cradles of the second home phenomenon in Croatia. Its beginnings coincide in time with the start of organised tourism on the island, which in turn indubitably points to the developmental parallelism of the secondary recreational dwelling and tourism on the island of Krk. The main factor supportive of the emergence of tourism, and also of the second home phenomenon, was geographical proximity and excellent, for those times, traffic communications (by railway and steamboat routes) with domestic and foreign emissive tourist regions (TURK, TURK-ŠARIĆ, 2002). These factors supported the early development of the island of Krk, and indeed the whole Kvarner region, as a leading receiving tourism but also second home region in Croatia.

Both tourism, in those times the prerogative of the rich(est) stratum of the population which had at their disposal sufficient quantity of free time and free financial resources, and the second home phenomenon, represented by luxurious holiday resorts and villas, surrounded by stretches of lush, groomed vegetation, were accompanied by luxury and created a positive impression of the neatness of the receiving second home area served as added value to its overall attractiveness. A more intensive building of the above mentioned holiday resorts is a characteristic of the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, particularly for the period between the First and the Second World War.<sup>5</sup>

## The second home phenomenon on the island of Krk in the period of Socialist Yugoslavia

The period between the end of the Second World War and the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was marked by the Socialist rule which drastically altered earlier economic trends. Intensive littoralisation of the Northern Croatian coastal region in the 1950s and 1960s had strongest effect on Rijeka and

<sup>5</sup> Novosel-Žic (1987) emphasises that in those times self-standing holiday resorts were built primarily by the Czechs, particularly in "most domesticated, forestry Western part of the island which is hardly accessible from the inside of the island. There are also some infrequent examples around the bay Soline (modern municipality of Dobrinj, author's note). One of such holiday resorts marked the beginning of contemporary hotel village of Haludovo (in Malinska, author's note)."



funkcije, pa se javlja i velika potražnja za mahom slabo kvalificiranom radnom snagom (FARIČIĆ, 2006). Gravitacijska snaga Rijeke i ponuda slobodnih radnih mjesta u industriji, sa sigurnim dohotkom, najčešće je bila presudan faktor pri donošenju odluke o preseljenju, tj. emigraciji s otoka Krka (LAJIĆ, 2006), čije su tradicionalne gospodarske djelatnosti (poljoprivreda, ribarstvo) sve više zapadale u krizu (NOVOSEL, 1974; NOVOSEL-ŽIC, 1975; 1994).

Nakon smirivanja ratnih prilika 1950-ih godina i turizam doživljava svoj djelomični oporavak, premda ponajprije u obliku neekonomskoga, sindikalnog, "socijalnog" turizma (VUKONIĆ, 2005). S vremenom jugoslavenske vlasti uviđaju da turizam može poslužiti i kao vrlo unosna djelatnost u pribavljanju deviznih prihoda, pa se pogled prema njemu stubokom mijenja. Tako od 1960-ih, a pogotovo u 1970-ima, nastupa razdoblje stihijske turističke orijentacije hrvatskoga priobalja, od koje nije bio izuzet ni otok Krk. Zbog nagloga socioekonomskog prestrukturiranja iz primarnog sektora u terciarni nastavilo se zapuštati tradicionalne djelatnosti, što je imalo za posljedicu i snažno unutarotočno preseljavanje stanovništva iz naselja u unutrašnjosti prema većim i turistički prosperitetnijim naseljima na obali (NOVOSEL, 1974; NOVOSEL-ŽIC, 1975; 1994; 1996; LAJIĆ, 2006). Usprkos uspješnom razvoju turizma, njegov vrlo izražen sezonski karakter, uglavnom utemeljen na "suncu i moru", nije omogućavao cjelogodišnju zaposlenost otočnom stanovništvu, pa su se nastavili emigracijski trendovi otočne populacije prema jačim centrima rada na obali (Rijeka) ili u unutrašnjosti (Zagreb), tako da je ukupan broj stanovnika stagnirao.

Turistički zamah na otoku bio je praćen obnovom postojećeg i izgradnjom novoga fonda smještajnih kapaciteta (NOVOSEL-ŽIC, 1987; TURK, 2002; TURK, TURK-ŠARIĆ, 2002) u otprije etabliranim obalnim turističkim mjestima (npr. Krku, Malinskoj, Baški, Puntu, Omišlju). Turistička orijentacija otoka bila je popraćena i znatnim ulaganjima u infrastrukturu (otočne ceste, elektroopskrba, vodoopskrba itd.), kao i prometnim povezivanjem s kopnom.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Dana 1. 5. 1959. uspostavljena je trajektna veza Crikvenica-Šilo (TURČIĆ, 1996), prva trajektna linija na hrvatskoj obali Jadrana, koja je 1964. dopunjena kraćom linijom Črišnjeva-Voz (SIĆ, 1975; BRAUT, 1986; NOVOSEL-ŽIC, 1987; TURK, MIRKOVIĆ, 1993; OPAČIĆ, 2002a), čime je otok Krk dobio, za ono vrijeme, vrlo kvalitetne i frekventne trajektno veze s obližnjim kopnom, što je uvelike pridonijelo njegovoj jačoj turističkoj valorizaciji (OPAČIĆ, 2002b).

caused its development as a seaport and industrial centre, which in turn created a higher demand for unqualified workforce (FARIČIĆ, 2006). The gravitational pull of Rijeka and the availability of jobs in industry, with secure salaries, most often combined into a key factor in people's decision to move to Rijeka, i.e. to emigrate from the island of Krk (LAJIĆ, 2006), whose traditional economic pillars (agriculture, fishing industry) gradually stagnated (NOVOSEL, 1974; NOVOSEL-ŽIC, 1975; 1994).

The end of the Second World War in 1950s brought a degree of recovery also to tourism, even though it first appeared in the form of uneconomical, "labor-union", "social" tourism (VUKONIĆ, 2005). The Yugoslav authorities soon realised that tourism can be a useful tool in securing the influx of foreign currency, and consequently fundamentally changed their attitude towards it. As a result, in 1960s and 1970s the Croatian littoral underwent a phase of chaotic tourist development. The island of Krk was not an exception. The abrupt socio-economical restructuring from primary to tertiary sector supported the neglect of traditional industries, one consequence of which was also an intensive intrasular migration of population from the hinterland to larger, more prosperous settlements along the island coast with more developed tourism (NOVOSEL, 1974; NOVOSEL-ŽIC, 1975; 1994; 1996; LAJIĆ, 2006). Despite the successful development of tourism, its marked seasonal character, predominantly based on "sun and the sea," did not provide all-year employment for the island population. As a result, the population of the island continued to emigrate towards stronger centres of employment on the coast (Rijeka) or inland (Zagreb), so that the total number of inhabitants continued to stagnate.

The accelerated growth of tourism on the island was followed by the conversion of the existing and the building of new housing facilities (NOVOSEL-ŽIC, 1987; TURK, 2002; TURK, TURK-ŠARIĆ, 2002) in already established tourist resorts along the coast of the island (eg. Krk, Malinska, Baška, Punt, Omišalj). The tourist orientation of the island was also accompanied by considerable investment into infrastructure (roads on the island, supply of electric energy and water, etc.) and improvements in traffic communication with the mainland.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> On 1<sup>st</sup> May 1959 a ferry line was established between Crikvenica and Šilo (TURČIĆ, 1996), the first ferry line on the Croatian coast of the Adriatic, to which an additional shorter leg was added in 1964 between Črišnjeva and Voz (SIĆ, 1975; BRAUT, 1986; NOVOSEL-ŽIC, 1987; TURK, MIRKOVIĆ, 1993; OPAČIĆ, 2002a). This gave Krk high quality (for that period) and frequent ferry lines with the nearby mainland which increased its tourist value (OPAČIĆ, 2002b).

Posljedice iseljavanja stanovništva, vidljive u obilju ispražnjena stambenog fonda i gospodarskih zgrada, te niske cijene nekretnina, motivirale su prve vikendaše (ponajviše Zagrepčane, a potom Riječane, Ljubljančane te Beograđane) za donošenje odluke o kupnji starih kuća ili zemljišta na otoku. U početku se kupuju ispražnjeni stanovi, zatim već otprije napuštene stare kuće (u ruševnom stanju, tzv. mirišća; GRŠKOVIĆ, 2004), a naposljetku i gospodarski objekti (npr. štale).

Turistički uzlet Krka, kao i poboljšanje infrastrukturnih prilika uz pogodnosti rekreacijske atrakcijske osnove, znatno su pridonijeli porastu vikendaške potražnje na otoku. Blagodati razvoja infrastrukture najprije su postale dostupne stanovništvu u obalnim naseljima. Početak procesa prenamjene i adaptacije staroga stambenog i gospodarskog fonda u vikendice, ali i namjenske individualne vikendaške izgradnje stoga je u početku zahvatio obalna naselja, a nakon zauzimanja gotovo cjelokupnoga napuštenog stambenog fonda sve je više prodro i u unutrašnja naselja, zahvaćenija populacijskim praznjenjem.

Razdoblje turističke ekspanzije na otoku Krku bilo je praćeno i izgradnjom dvaju kapitalnih projekata s ciljem osiguravanja još kvalitetnije prometne dostupnosti i povezanosti. Prvi je izgradnja riječke zračne luke kraj Omišlja,<sup>7</sup> a drugi je početak izgradnje Krčkoga mosta, čijim se završetkom Krk izravno uključio u cestovnu mrežu Hrvatske.<sup>8</sup> Iako su posljedice puštanja u promet Krčkoga mosta snažno utjecale na cjelokupan društveni život otoka tek od sljedećega desetljeća (HORAK, 1991), višegodišnji planovi i izgradnja mosta zasigurno su dodatno motivirali vikendaše da u uvjetima buduće, za hrvatske otočne prilike izvanredne, prometne dostupnosti već 1970-ih godina osiguraju prostor za nesmetan odmor i rekreaciju na Krku.

<sup>7</sup> Riječka zračna luka, odnosno "Aerodrom Rijeka – Rivijera Kvarner", kako se u to vrijeme službeno nazivala, puštena je u promet još 3. 5. 1970. "Osnovni motiv izgradnje bilo je nepostojanje aerodroma za putnički promet na Sjevernom Jadranu, a izgrađen je s namjerom da bude putnički aerodrom, orijentiran pretežno turistički i sezonski" (MANDEKIĆ, 1986). Relativno skroman prometni tok karakteristika je ove zračne luke do današnjih dana, usprkos više neuspješnih pokušaja njezine revitalizacije.

<sup>8</sup> Gradnja Krčkoga mosta započela je 25. 3. 1976., a u promet bio je pušten 19. 7. 1980. (NOVOSEL-ŽIC, 1980-81; BOGOVIĆ, 1986).

The consequences of the emigration, as evident in the large number of abandoned housing units and commercial facilities, and in low prices of real estate, prompted the early second home owners, (primarily from Zagreb and then Rijeka, Ljubljana and Beograd) to make decisions about purchasing old houses or land on the island. The first to be bought were vacated flats, then previously abandoned old houses (usually derelict, the so-called *mirišća*; GRŠKOVIĆ, 2004), and finally commercial facilities (e.g. barns).

The accelerated growth of tourism on the island of Krk, the improvement of infrastructure, and increased facilities for recreation were all factors which contributed to the increased tourism demand on the island. The first to take advantage of the improved infrastructure was the population of coastal settlements. Thus the process of the conversion and adaptation of the existing residential dwellings and commercial facilities into second homes, as well as the construction of purpose-built dwellings for vacation and recreation, at first spread in the settlements along the coast of the island of Krk. When the whole housing fund, including almost all abandoned objects, was thus transformed, the process turned inland and spread in the settlements of the hinterland which were severely hit by the population drain.

The period of the expansion of tourism on the island of Krk was accompanied by the building of two capital projects the purpose of which was to improve traffic communications and accessibility. The first was the building of the Rijeka airport near Omišalj<sup>7</sup>, and the second the beginning of the construction of the Krk bridge, the completion of which meant the direct connection of Krk with the Croatian road network<sup>8</sup>. Although the significant impact which the opening of the Krk bridge had on the overall social life of the island became manifest only in the following decade (Horak, 1991), the building plans which had been in existence for years, and the actual construction of the bridge, certainly already in 1970s provided additional motivation for the second home owners to secure space for uninterrupted vacation and recreation on the island of Krk which was to have superior traffic accessibility in comparison to other Croatian islands.

<sup>7</sup> The Rijeka airport, that is "Aerodrom Rijeka – Rivijera Kvarner", as was its official designation at the time, was opened for business as early as 3<sup>rd</sup> May 1970. "The basic motive for the building was the non-existence of the airport for passenger traffic in the Northern Adriatic. The airport was built in order to serve as a passenger airport primarily oriented towards tourist and seasonal traffic" (MANDEKIĆ, 1986). The main characteristic of this airport until modern times has been a relatively modest volume of traffic despite several unsuccessful attempts to revitalise it.

<sup>8</sup> The construction of the Krk bridge started on 25<sup>th</sup> March 1976 and was opened for business on 19<sup>th</sup> July 1980 (NOVOSEL-ŽIC, 1980-81; BOGOVIĆ, 1986).

Turistički uzlet, kao i daljnji infrastrukturni napredak 1970-ih pogodio je intenzivniji razvoj vikendaštva na otoku. Pošto su pokupovane više-manje sve raspoložive napuštene stare kuće u obalnim naseljima (Malinska, Njivice, Omišalj, Krk, Punat, Baška), u njima dolazi do snažna pritiska za novu parcelaciju zemljišta za vikendašku namjenu, na što općinske vlasti uglavnom dobrohotno gledaju. Istodobno u unutrašnjosti otoka i na vrbničkom području te Šotoventu,<sup>9</sup> koji su usprkos blizini mora zbog izloženosti buri (Vrbnik) i kasnijega dolaska infrastrukture (Šotovento) do ranih 1970-ih ostali pomalo "po strani" od najjače vikendaške potražnje, započinje "potraga" za preostalim starim objektima pogodnim za adaptacije u vikendice. Dominantan način stjecanja vikendica na otoku Krku u 1970-ima tako postaje namjenska izgradnja obiteljskih kuća za odmor na kupljenim građevinskim parcelama, najčešće u "vlastitoj režiji", dok kupnja starih kuća zbog iscrpljivanja ponude napuštenoga stambenog fonda osjetno slabi.

Krčki most iz korijena je promijenio društveno-gospodarske prilike na otoku te je u svakom pogledu pridonio i njegovu znatno povoljnijem gospodarskom (NOVOSEL-ŽIĆ, 1987; HORAK, 1991), ali i demografskom, razvoju 1980-ih godina. Otvaranjem – za hrvatske otočne prilike velikoga – broja novih radnih mjesta, nakon industrijalizacije sjevernoga Krka, otok se od emigracijskoga prostora sve više pretvara u prostor intenzivne imigracije (LAJIĆ, 2006). Osim toga, mostovnom povezanošću s kontinentalnim dijelom cestovne mreže u Hrvatskoj sjeverni (Omišalj, Njivice) i dio srednjega dijela otoka (Malinska, Dobrinj, čak i grad Krk) snažnom dnevnom cirkulacijom radne snage uključuju se u dnevni urbani sustav Rijeke.

Usprkos realnim i potencijalnim opasnostima omišaljske industrije za razvoj turizma, on se 1980-ih i dalje nastavio uglavnom uspješno razvijati. Povećanje turističkoga prometa u promatranom razdoblju, međutim, više je bilo rezultat veće i dulje popunjenosti postojećih smještajnih kapaciteta (produljenje sezone) nego izgradnje novih. Za

<sup>9</sup> Uvriježeni, premda neslužbeni, toponim Šotovento (tal. "ispod vjetra", zavjetrina), za zapadni dio otoka Krka rabila je i NOVOSEL-ŽIĆ (1987). Autorica (1987) objašnjava kako se u njemu ogleda "privilegirani položaj toga dijela otoka u odnosu na buru", izvanredno važan faktor u orijentaciji kuća, čak i čitavih krčkih naselja.

The expansion of tourism and subsequent improvements in the infrastructure in the 1970s were conducive to further intensive development of the second home phenomenon on the island. After almost all available abandoned old houses were bought in coastal settlements (Malinska, Njivice, Omišalj, Krk, Punat, Baška), they experienced a pressure for a new land allotment to meet the demand for land for second homes. On the whole local authorities responded to the demand affirmatively. At the same time, the "search" for the remaining old objects suitable for conversion into second homes started in the hinterland of the island, in the area around Vrbnik and in Šotovento<sup>9</sup>, which despite the proximity to the sea but due to the exposure to the bora (Vrbnik), and despite the later arrival of infrastructure (Šotovento), until early 1970s remained somewhat "on the margins" of the most intensive demand of the second home population. In this way the prevalent manner of the second home acquisition on the island of Krk in 1970s became the building of purpose-built family houses for vacation on purchased plots of land, usually as a "do it yourself" venture, while the purchase of old abandoned houses recorded considerable decrease due to the diminished number of available dwellings on the market.

The Krk bridge brought radical changes to the social and economic dynamics on the island and in all respects contributed to its favourable economic (NOVOSEL-ŽIĆ, 1987; HORAK, 1991) as well as demographic development in 1980s. The creation of a number of new jobs, a rather high number for a Croatian island, as a consequence of the industrialisation of the Northern part of the island, marked the beginning of the transition of Krk towards an area of more intensive immigration (LAJIĆ, 2006). In addition, the Krk bridge connected the Northern (Omišalj, Njivice) and central part of the island (Malinska, Dobrinj, even the Town of Krk), with the continental part of the Croatia road network. It thus enabled the participation of the population of Krk to daily commute to Rijeka and become incorporated in the urban agglomeration of Rijeka.

Despite the real and potential dangers posed by the Omišalj industry for the development of tourism, in the 1980s it continued to develop mainly successfully. However, the increase in the

<sup>9</sup> The established though unofficial toponym Šotovento (Italian for "under the wind", leeward), for the Western part of the island of Krk was also utilised by Novosel-Žić (1987). The author (1987) explains that it reflects a "privileged early location of that part of the island in relation to the bora", an extraordinarily important factor in the orientation of houses and even of whole settlements on Krk.



razliku od 1970-ih, kada je u turističkoj izgradnji dominirala novogradnja, 1980-ih prevladava proširenje, odnosno dogradnja i modernizacija postojećih kapaciteta. Nešto manje izražena sezonalnost krčkoga turizma upravo je posljedica izgradnje mosta, čime su se polako počeli stvarati uvjeti za profilaciju otoka i kao vikend-turističke destinacije, a ne samo sezonske.

Izgradnja mosta, međutim, ponajviše je potaknula vikendaše. One "stare" na sve češće dolaske, a "nove", tj. potencijalne, na donošenje odluke o stjecanju nekretnine na otoku, koji je u uvjetima mostovne povezanosti prometnom dostupnošću znatno "odskočio" od "konkurentskih" receptivnih vikendaških područja, osobito onih na otocima. Most je ujedno označio i prvu pretpostavku za integraciju otoka Krka u zonu vikend rekreacije stanovnika grada Zagreba, koji tradicionalni sezonski boravak u tamošnjim vikendicama sve češće počinju kombinirati s boravkom tijekom vikenda, osobito onih produženih, i kraćih praznika.

S obzirom na tempo individualne namjenske vikendaške izgradnje na Krku, 1980-e se mogu nazvati njezinim dotadašnjim vrhuncem. Ta činjenica nimalo ne iznenađuje jer je ispražnjeni stambeni fond u obalnim naseljima na otoku već odavno postao prava rijetkost ili je jednostavno bio iscrpljen pa su novodolazeći vikendaši, mahom privučeni poboljšanim prometnim uvjetima, svoj ideal "kuće pokraj mora" mogli zadovoljiti jedino kupnjom građevinskoga zemljišta te gradnjom kuće, najčešće u "vlastitoj režiji". Naselja u unutrašnjosti, osobito ona u neposrednom obalnom zaleđu, također proživljavaju građevinski "boom", nešto manje intenzivan u usporedbi s obalima. Vikendaši kupuju i eventualne preostale starine te otkrivaju do tada manje poželjna, slabije dostupna i infrastrukturno skromnije opremljena naselja u unutrašnjosti, čime sekundarno stanovanje na otoku s jedne strane ulazi u fazu potpune disperzije, a s druge u razdoblje koncentracije u njegovim obalnim jezgrama.

Privučeno "turističkim procvatom", domaće stanovništvo, ali sve češće i vikendaši, u obalnim turističkim mjestima podižu dodatne kuće ili dograđuju postojeće, s namjerom iznajmljivanja turistima, sve unosnije djelatnosti na otoku. Kako se spomenuti građevinski pothvati odvijaju u "privatnoj režiji", s nerijetko megalomanskim poslovnim ambicijama, krajem 1980-ih dolazi do zametaka apartmanizacije na otoku. Ne

tourism-related traffic in this period was the result of increased and temporally longer occupancy of the existing accommodation capacities (the extension of the Summer season) rather than the construction of new capacities. In contrast to 1970s, when tourist-related building was dominated by the construction of new buildings, 1980s were dominated by the extension and modernisation of existing capacities. The slightly less pronounced seasonality of the Krk tourism is a direct consequence of the building of the bridge which inaugurated the emergence of the presuppositions which enable the island also to become a weekend tourism destination, not only a seasonal destination.

The building of the bridge, however, gave the greatest boost to the second home population. The "old" second home population was encouraged to come more often, while the "new" second home population, i.e. potential second home owners, started to consider acquiring property on the island which due to the road communication provided by the new bridge "beat the competition" of other receiving second home regions, particularly those on islands. The bridge also marked the first step towards the integration of the island of Krk into the wider second home recreation region of the inhabitants of Zagreb. They started to combine their traditional seasonal stay at their local second homes with the stay over the weekend, especially over extended weekends, and longer holidays.

With regard to the pace of the construction of individual purpose-built second homes on the island of Krk, 1980s can be called its heyday. This does not surprise in the least because the housing fund of abandoned dwellings in the coastal settlements on the island of Krk had long before become depleted and exhausted, so that the new coming second home owners, attracted primarily by the improved road communication, could achieve their ideal of "a cottage by the sea" only by purchasing a building site and building on it a house, most often as a "do it yourself" venture. The settlements in the hinterland, particularly those in the immediate proximity of the coastal area, also went through a building "boom", even though somewhat less intensive than those along the coast. Second home owners purchased the remaining abandoned old objects and discovered hitherto less attractive, less accessible settlements in the hinterland, with poorer infrastructure. In this way the secondary dwelling on the island reached the phase of total dispersion on the one hand, and on the other of concentration in its coastal centres.

Attracted by the "tourist boom," the local population, but increasingly so also the second home population in the coastal settlements, built

kolektivne i organizirane, nego individualne i stihijske, ali u svakom slučaju apartmanizacije, koja će svoj vrhunac dosegnuti u posljednjih desetak godina. Vikendaštvo na otoku tada počinje mijenjati i svoju temeljnu motivacijsku filozofiju te od gotovo isključivo rekreacijsko-dokoličarskih motiva pri stjecanju/posjedovanju vikendica na Krku sve zastupljeniji postaju komercijalno-poduzetnički motivi.

### Razdoblje neovisne Hrvatske

Stvaranje neovisne hrvatske države, praćeno ratom i gospodarskom tranzicijom, donijelo je korjenite promjene u socioekonomskim odnosima koji su pratili razvoj krčkoga gospodarstva. Budući da se Krk nije našao u zoni izravnih ratnih razaranja, sekundarno se stanovanje na njemu razvijalo relativno nesmetano, pa je zadržalo neke od trendova razvoja nagoviještenih u prethodnom razdoblju, ali je poprimilo i neka nova obilježja karakteristična za društveno-ekonomsku tranziciju.

Zadržavanje relativno stabilne gospodarske strukture s naglaskom na turizmu i industriji (sjeverni dio otoka), uz veliko značenje dnevne cirkulacije prema riječkoj gradskoj regiji, odrazilo se i na (za hrvatske otočne prilike) relativno povoljan i stabilan, demografski razvoj. Važnost mosta, ključne pretpostavke uključivanja dijela otoka u dnevni urbani sustav Rijeke, ogleda se ne samo u zaustavljanju iseljavanja i poticanju useljavanja nego i u povoljnijoj, mlađoj, odnosno ne toliko staroj, dobnoj strukturi stanovništva, važnoga čimbenika u razvoju turizma u uvjetima sve izraženijega privatnog poduzetništva. Ipak, iako su demografski potencijali otoka uglavnom sačuvani, možda čak i unaprijeđeni, u razdoblju tranzicije gospodarstva došlo je do propasti brojnih državnih poduzeća, koja zbog slabe konkurentnosti nisu mogla opstati u uvjetima slobodnoga tržišnog poslovanja. Uz to su načinjene i pojedine pogreške u procesu pretvorbe i privatizacije u krčkom turizmu (npr. "slučaj Haludovo"), sa snažim negativnim implikacijama u često vrlo osjetljivim lokalnim ekonomijama. Nakon smirivanja ratnih opasnosti u ratom zahvaćenim dijelovima Hrvatske i susjedne Bosne i Hercegovine od druge polovice 1990-ih krčki se turizam postupno počeo obnavljati, a posljednjih su godina kvantitativni pokazatelji turističkoga prometa premašili one iz "zlatnih 1980-ih".

additional houses or extensions to the existing ones for the purpose of renting them to tourists, which was an increasingly lucrative business on the island. As these building projects are undertaken on the "do it yourself" basis, frequently characterised by megalomaniac business ambitions, the end of 1980s show evidence of the beginnings of the process of apartmentalisation on the island. It is not collective and organised but individual and chaotic, but nevertheless apartmentalisation which will reach its peak in the last ten years. At this time the second home phenomenon on the island starts to change its basic motivational philosophy. Recreation/leisure as the leading motive for purchasing/owning a second home on the island of Krk is gradually replaced by the commercial/entrepreneurial considerations.

### The period of independent Croatia

The establishment of the independent Croatia, followed by the war and economic transition, brought in radical changes in socio-economic relationships which accompanied the economic development of the island of Krk. Since Krk was not directly affected by war operations and devastation, its secondary dwellings continued to develop relatively undisturbed and display characteristics manifested in the previous period. However, it also demonstrated certain new traits characteristic of the period of socio-economic transition.

The retention of a relatively stable economic structure based on tourism and industry (in the North of the island) together with significant daily commuting to and from the Rijeka urban region has had a relatively favourable and stable (in the context of a Croatian insular context) impact on the island demographic trends. The importance of the Krk bridge, the key predisposition for the participation of a part of the island in the daily life of the Rijeka urban agglomeration, is seen not only in the elimination of emigration and an impetus to immigration, but also in the more favourable, younger population structure, a significant factor in the development of tourism in the circumstances of the ever more pronounced private enterprise. However, even though the demographic potential of the island has mostly been preserved, perhaps even improved, the period of the economic transformation has witnessed the closing down of numerous state-owned businesses which were not able to survive in the conditions of free economy due to a low degree of competitiveness. Furthermore, several mistakes were made in the process of transformation and privatisation of the Krk tourism (e.g. "the Haludovo case") which

Uspješan turistički oporavak u zadnjih desetak godina bio je praćen i nastavkom vikendaške izgradnje na Krku. Zbog ratnih okolnosti u Hrvatskoj jačanje vikendaštva odvijalo se nešto usporenije u prvoj polovici 1990-ih, no smirivanjem ratnih prilika ono je doživjelo nagli uzlet, koji se nastavio i početkom 2000-ih. Kao i u ranijim razdobljima, povećanju broja vikendica na Krku u suvremenom razdoblju pogodovalo je povećanje njegove prometne dostupnosti, odnosno vremensko približavanje najvažnijim emitivnim vikendaškim područjima. Putovanje osobnim automobilom između Zagreba i Krčkoga mosta, u normalnim uvjetima odvijanja prometa, autocestovnim je povezivanjem Zagreba i Rijeke svedeno na tek 90-ak minuta vožnje, što je više od dvostrukoga skraćivanja vremena putovanja na istoj relaciji u razdoblju prije izgradnje autoceste i Krčkoga mosta, kada se putovalo između tri i četiri sata.

Drastičnim skraćivanjem vremena putovanja cijeli Krk nedvojbeno je postao integralni dio vikend-rekreacije Zagrepčana, pa ne iznenađuje i porast potražnje Zagrepčana za stjecanje stanova za odmor i rekreaciju na otoku.<sup>10</sup> Osim toga, autocestovnim povezivanjem Zagreba i Rijeke povećana je i vikendaška potražnja i u ostalim, od Krka udaljenijim, dijelovima Hrvatske (npr. Slavonija), kao i u drugim, mahom tranzicijskim, državama bez izlaza na more (Mađarska, Češka, Slovačka), koje se u turističkom, a liberalizacijom tržišta nekretnina i u vikendaškom smislu, sve više okreću prema Sjevernome hrvatskom primorju.

Najnoviji porast vikendaške potražnje i prelazak hrvatskoga gospodarstva na tržišne uvjete poslovanja utjecali su na formiranje lokalnoga tržišta nekretnina relativno rano u usporedbi s ostalim receptivnim vikendaškim područjima u Hrvatskoj. U vodećim krčkim receptivnim naseljima otvara se sve veći broj registriranih agencija za kupoprodaju nekretnina, koje su osobito važne u kanaliziranju

have had significant negative consequences for the often sensitive local economies. After the cessation of the war operations in parts of Croatia and the neighbouring Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Krk tourism gradually recovered from the second half of the 1990s. The quantitative indicators of the volume of business in the recent years exceeded those from the "golden 1980s."

The successful tourist recovery in the past decade was also accompanied by the continuation of the building of second homes on the island of Krk. The development of the second home phenomenon was somewhat slower in the early 1990s due to the war operations in Croatia, but with their cessation it experienced a sudden acceleration which continued into the early 2000s. Similarly as in earlier periods, the increase in the number of second homes on the island of Krk in the recent times was supported by the improved road accessibility of the island, that is, by the shortening of the time span between it and the most important emissive second home regions. Under the normal traffic conditions, the motorway journey between Zagreb and the Krk bridge has reduced the expected time to approximately 90 minutes, which has shortened the journey by more than a half in comparison with the time required for the same distance before the building of the motorway and the Krk bridge, which was between three and four hours.

With this dramatic reduction in travel time the whole island of Krk has undoubtedly become an integral part of the recreational target area of the inhabitants of Zagreb. It is not surprising, therefore, that the demand for dwellings for vacation and recreation on the island recorded a steep growth among the inhabitants of Zagreb<sup>10</sup>. Furthermore, the improved communication between Zagreb and Rijeka achieved by the building of the motorway has also increased the demand for second homes in other regions in Croatia farther away from Krk (e.g. Slavonia), and in other countries, mostly transitional countries, which have no access to sea (Hungary, Czech Republic, Slovakia). They have

<sup>10</sup> I iskoristivost vikendica (frekvencija upotrebe) na Krku danas je nesumnjivo veća nego u predautocestovnom i predmostovnom razdoblju, što je svakako motiv više pri donošenju odluke o stjecanju stana za odmor na Krku. Osim za dužega (godišnjeg) odmora, objekti za odmor i rekreaciju na Krku danas se sve češće rabe podjednako i vikendom i kraćim praznicima, tako da je vikendaška sezona na otoku produljena na cijelo razdoblje "od Uskrsa do Svih svetih", s vrhom sezone u doba godišnjih odmora u ljetnim mjesecima.

<sup>10</sup> The volume of the usage of second homes (the frequency of utilisation) on the island of Krk today is indubitably greater than in the period before the motorway and the bridge, which is certainly an additional motive in deliberations about the acquisition of a dwelling for vacation and recreation on the island of Krk. In addition to the longer (annual) holidays, dwellings for vacation and recreation on the island of Krk today are increasingly used equally on weekends and during short holidays, so that the second home season on the island has been extended to the whole period "from Easter to All Saints" and peaking during annual holidays in the summer months.



inozemne vikendaške potražnje (tzv. uloga "vrataru"). Pojavom takvih agencija, kao i sve većega broja građevinskih investitora željnih brze zarade, vikendaštvo iz individualne faze sve jače zalazi u organiziranu fazu razvoja. Pejzažna materijalizacija novonastalih odnosa ponajviše se ogleda u sve naglašenijoj izgradnji višestambenih apartmanskih objekata namijenjenih sekundarnom rekreacijskom stanovanju, zametci koje, doduše u privatnom graditeljskom aranžmanu, datiraju s kraja 1980-ih godina. Premda je proces apartmanizacije prije svega obuhvatio gotovo sva obalna receptivna naselja na Krku, on nije isključivo ograničen na njih. U zadnjih nekoliko godina apartmanske zgrade sve se više pojavljuju i u naseljima u unutrašnjosti otoka, bližima moru (npr. Polje, Sveti Vid Miholjice, Kornić, Jurandvor itd.).

Kao i drugdje u hrvatskom priobalju, tako i na Krku, u zadnjih desetak godina vikendaštvo od funkcije odmora i rekreacije vlasnika i njegove i obitelji te eventualno prijatelja postaje sve više unosan posao (investiranje kapitala, mogućnost iznajmljivanja, nerijetko "na crno" itd.), pa pri stjecanju stanova za odmor i rekreaciju sve zastupljeniji, premda (još uvijek) ne zastupljeniji od rekreacijsko-dokoličarskih, postaju komercijalno-poduzetnički motivi.

#### **Prostorni raspored vikendica i njihov brojčani odnos sa stalno nastanjenim stanovima 2001. godine**

Popisom stanovništva, kućanstava i stanova 2001. na otoku Krku evidentirano je 10 212 stanova za odmor i rekreaciju. Od 1991. do 2001. relativan porast broja stanova za odmor i rekreaciju na Krku iznosio je 38,39%, što je vrlo znakovito povećanje ako se uzme u obzir brojnost vikendica bazne, 1991. godine, turbulentno razdoblje ratnih okolnosti u Hrvatskoj, kao i pretvorbe i privatizacije hrvatskoga gospodarstva, te činjenica da se glavnina apartmanizacije na otoku Krku, koja će se zasigurno razabrati pri analizi podataka sljedećega popisa, zbivala nakon zadnjega popisnog evidentiranja stambenoga fonda na otoku. Znatno veći prosječni broj vikendica po pojedinom naselju na otoku (1971. je u naseljima otoka Krka prosječno registrirano 38,55 vikendica, 1981. godine 74,53, 1991. godine 113,52, a 2001. godine čak 159,56) također govori u prilog zaključcima o nastavku

been increasingly turning to the Northern Croatian littoral not only as a major tourism destination but also as a receiving second home region which is a result of the liberalisation of the real estate market.

The most recent increase in tourism demand and the transition of Croatian economy to the free market economy have caused the emergence of local real estate markets, which happened relatively early in comparison with other receiving second home regions in Croatia. A significant number of registered real estate agencies have opened in the leading receiving settlements on the island of Krk. They are particularly important as they function as conduits channelling foreign demand for second homes (i.e. "gate-keeping role"). With the emergence of these agencies, as well as the ever increasing number of building investors eager to make quick profit, the phase of individual building gradually transformed into the phase of organised development. This trend is reified primarily in the construction of multi-apartment buildings designed for secondary recreational dwelling even though it must be kept in mind that this phenomenon originated back in the late 1980s as private building enterprises. Although the construction of multi-apartment recreational buildings spread into almost all coastal receiving settlements on the island of Krk, it is not restricted to them only. In the last several years the apartment buildings have also cropped up in increased numbers in the inland settlements, particularly those closer to the coast (e.g. Polje, Sveti Vid Miholjice, Kornić, Jurandvor, etc.).

In the last decade, the characteristic function of second homes on the island of Krk, as in other parts of the Croatian littoral, as places of vacation and recreation of their owners, their families and possibly friends, has increasingly turned into a lucrative business (capital investment, the possibility of renting, frequently unregistered, etc.). As a result, commercial and entrepreneurial considerations have become more important in acquiring dwellings for vacation and recreation, even though it is (still) not more prevalent than recreational and vacational considerations.

#### **The spatial distribution of second homes and their number in comparison with the number of dwellings with permanent occupancy in 2001**

The 2001 Census of Population, Households and Dwellings registered 10 212 dwellings for vacation and recreation on the island of Krk. The relative increase in the number of dwellings for vacation and recreation on the island of Krk from 1991 to 2001 was 38.39%, which is significant considering

jačanja vikendaštva na otoku između 1991. i 2001. godine.

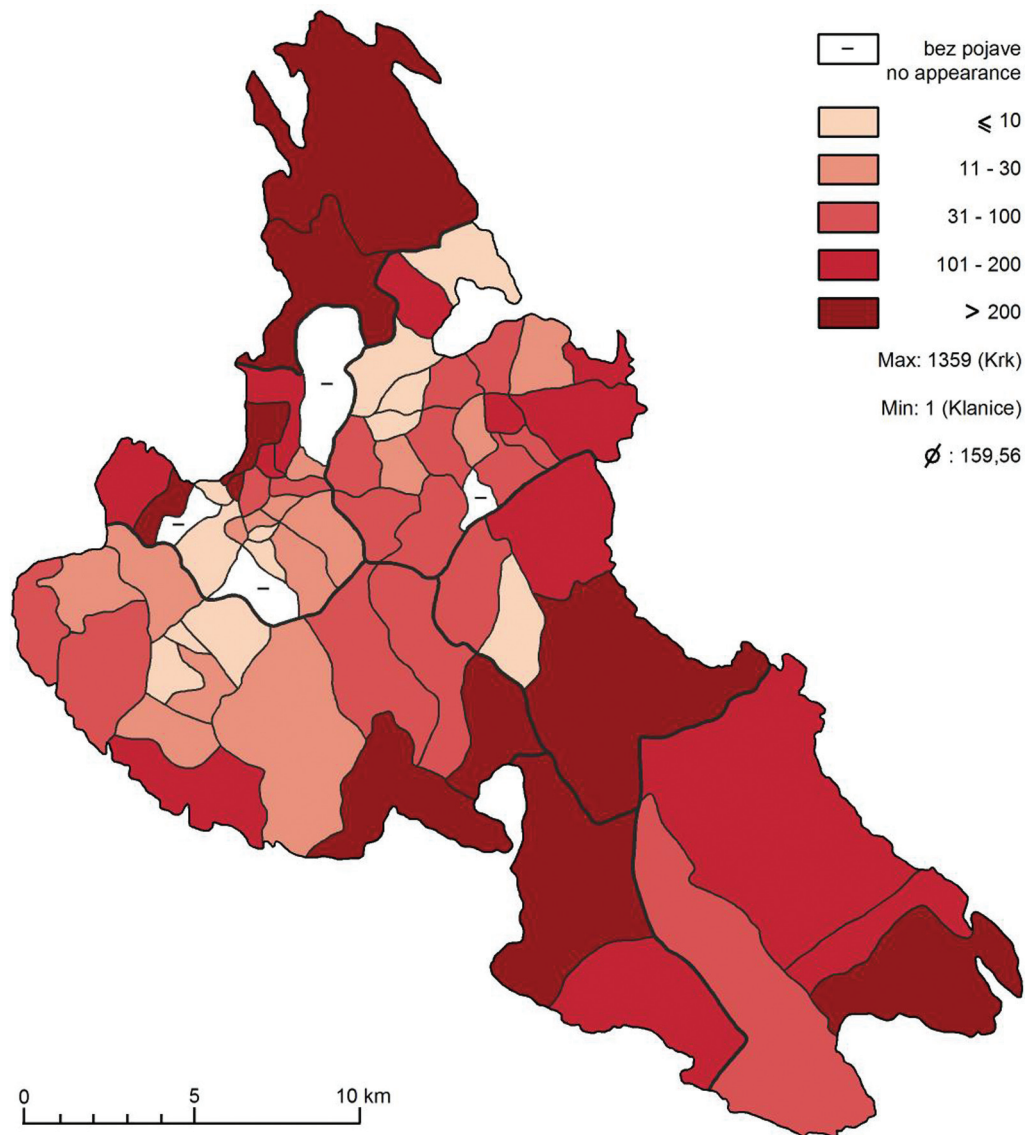
Sekundarno stanovanje, kao i ranije, jače se koncentriralo u obalnim naseljima (8105 od ukupno 10 212 stanova za odmor i rekreaciju na otoku),<sup>11</sup> ali je, za razliku od ranijih međupopisnih razdoblja, uočeno jačanje njegove relativne koncentracije u obalnim naseljima (2001. godine u obalnim krčkim naseljima bilo je smješteno 79,37% svih vikendica na otoku, 1991. godine njihov je udio iznosio 75,47%, 1981. godine 79,44%, a 1971. godine 81,79%). Promijenjeni trend može se objasniti orijentacijom na apartmansku izgradnju u naseljima uz more u 1990-ima, koja, zbog kolektivnih obilježja gradnje, podrazumijeva osjetno veći broj stambenih jedinica namijenjenih odmoru i rekreaciji po jedinici građevinskoga zemljišta, u usporedbi s individualnom vikendaškom izgradnjom i prenamjenom ispraznjenoga dijela stambenoga fonda, koje su dominirale u prethodnim razdobljima, a u recentnom razdoblju odvijaju se gotovo isključivo u unutrašnjosti otoka.

<sup>11</sup> Kao obalna naselja klasificirana su ona koja se nalaze na samoj morskoj obali, a kao unutrašnja ona koja su smještena u obalnom zaleđu u unutrašnjosti. Naselja statistički sastavljena od više zaselaka-dijelova naselja kategorizirana su kao obalna naselja u slučaju da im je bilo koji pripadajući dio naselja (zaselak) smješten uz more. Uzimajući u obzir tako definirani kriterij izdvajanja obalnih naselja, pod obalna svrstana su sljedeća 22, od ukupno 68 naselja na otoku Krku, koje izdvaja popisna statistika: Baška, Bogovići, Brzac, Čižići, Klimno, Krk, Malinska, Milčetići, Njivice, Omišalj, Pinezići, Porat, Punat, Radići, Risika, Rudine, Soline, Stara Baška, Šilo, Vantačići, Vrbnik i Zidarići. Statistička naselja Bogovići, Milčetići i Radići, zbog smještaja u kontinuiranoj fizionomsko-funkcionalnoj naseljskoj cjelini Malinske ubrojena su u obalna naselja, iako *de iure* ne izlaze na samu morsku obalu. U ranijem radu P. NOVOSIĆ (1970) kao obalna izdvaja "samo" 12 naselja na otoku. Očigledno se, dobrim dijelom i zbog vikendaške izgradnje, u proteklih tridesetak godina njihov broj osjetno povećao, pa se čini opravdanim pri današnjoj klasifikaciji naselja dati prednost njihovoj recentnoj fizionomskoj i funkcionalnoj orijentaciji u odnosu na obalnu crtu, ispred tradicionalnoga smještaja i usmjerenosti pri njihovu nastanku.

the number of second homes in the starting year of 1991, the turbulent war years in Croatia, the transformation and privatisation of the Croatian economy, and the fact that the apartmentalisation on the island of Krk peaked after the last census which inventoried the housing fund on the island, and which will certainly become evident through the analysis of the results of the next census. The relatively higher number of second homes per settlement (the average number of second homes in the settlements on the island of Krk in 1971 was 38.55; in 1981 74.53; in 1991 113.52; and in 2001 even 159.56) also supports the conclusions about the ongoing growth of the second home phenomenon on the island between 1991 and 2001.

In the period under scrutiny secondary dwellings, as in previous periods, are concentrated in coastal settlements (8105 from the total of 10 212 dwellings for vacation and recreation on the island)<sup>11</sup>. However, in contrast to the previous intercensal periods, its relative concentration in coastal settlements has increased (in 2001 the coastal settlements had 79.37% of all second homes on Krk; in 1991 their percentage was 75.47%; in 1981 it was 79.44%, and in 1971 it was 81.79%). The change of this trend can be explained by the orientation to building multi-apartment recreational houses in the settlements along the coast in 1990s which, due to the collective nature of the houses, implies a significantly larger number of dwelling units designated for vacation and recreation per building site in contrast to the individual building of second homes and the conversion of the vacated segment of the housing fund which were the prevalent features of previous periods, and which are present almost exclusively in the inland of the island in the recent times.

<sup>11</sup> The classification "coastal settlements" refers to those settlements which are located at the coast, as well as those inland settlements which are adjacent to the coast. The settlements which consist of several villages or parts of settlements are categorised as coastal settlements if any of their constituent parts (hamlet) is situated by the sea. With this criterion for defining coastal settlements, this category includes 22 out of the total of 68 settlements on the island of Krk listed in the Census statistics: Baška, Bogovići, Brzac, Čižići, Klimno, Krk, Malinska, Milčetići, Njivice, Omišalj, Pinezići, Porat, Punat, Radići, Risika, Rudine, Soline, Stara Baška, Šilo, Vantačići, Vrbnik and Zidarići. The settlements Bogovići, Milčetići and Radići are included because they are parts of the continuous geographical-functional unit formed by the settlement of Malinska even though they *de iure* do not have access to the sea. In an earlier work P. Novosel (1970) singles out "only" 12 coastal settlements on the island. It is evident that their number has significantly increased in the last thirty years due in part to the increase in the number of second homes, so it seems justified that the contemporary classification of settlements should give precedence to their recent physiognomic and functional orientation in relation to the coastline over the traditional location and direction present in the time of their founding.



Slika 3. Broj stanova za odmor i rekreaciju u naseljima otoka Krka 2001. godine

Izvor: *Popis stanovništva, kućanstava i stanova 31. 3. 2001.*, Stanovi prema načinu korištenja po naseljima, interni podaci DZS-a, DZS, Zagreb, 2002.

Figure 3 The number of dwellings for vacation and recreation in the settlements on the island of Krk in 2001

Source: *The Census of Population, Households and Dwellings, 31<sup>th</sup> March 2001*, Dwellings by the manner of usage by settlements, internal information, Central Bureau of Statistics of the Republic of Croatia, Zagreb, 2002

Brojem vikendica, kao i u ranijim razdobljima, ponajviše se ističu najveća i turistički najrazvijenija obalna naselja, npr. Krk (1359 stanova za odmor i rekreaciju), Njivice (1098), Punat (999), Baška (741), Omišalj (507), Malinska (374)<sup>12</sup> te Vrbnik (329), kao i nešto kasnije otkrivena poželjna receptivna naselja Vantačići (570), Šilo (282) i Pinezići (269). Od naselja u unutrašnjosti vodeća mjesta prema broju vikendica zadržali su Kornić (379), Draga Bašćanska (216) i Polje (193). Usprkos nešto izraženijoj koncentraciji vikendica

As in earlier periods the largest number of second homes are found in largest and most developed coastal settlements, e.g. Krk (1359 dwellings for vacation and recreation), Njivice (1098), Punat (999), Baška (741), Omišalj (507), Malinska (374)<sup>12</sup> and Vrbnik (329), as well as, later to be discovered as attractive, receiving settlements Vantačići (570), Šilo (282) and Pinezići (269). The leading position among the inland settlements according to the number of second homes continues to be occupied by Kornić (379), Draga Bašćanska (216) and Polje (193). Despite a rather more pronounced concentration of second homes



u obalnim naseljima nastavljeno je disperzno širenje vikendaštva i u unutrašnjosti otoka, što potvrđuju i zametci apartmanizacije u naseljima u unutrašnjosti u neposrednom obalnom zaleđu. U samo četiri krčka naselja, od kojih su dva izumrla (Dolovo i Sršići), 2001. godine nije bila zabilježena pojava povremenoga rekreacijskog stanovanja. (Sl. 3.).

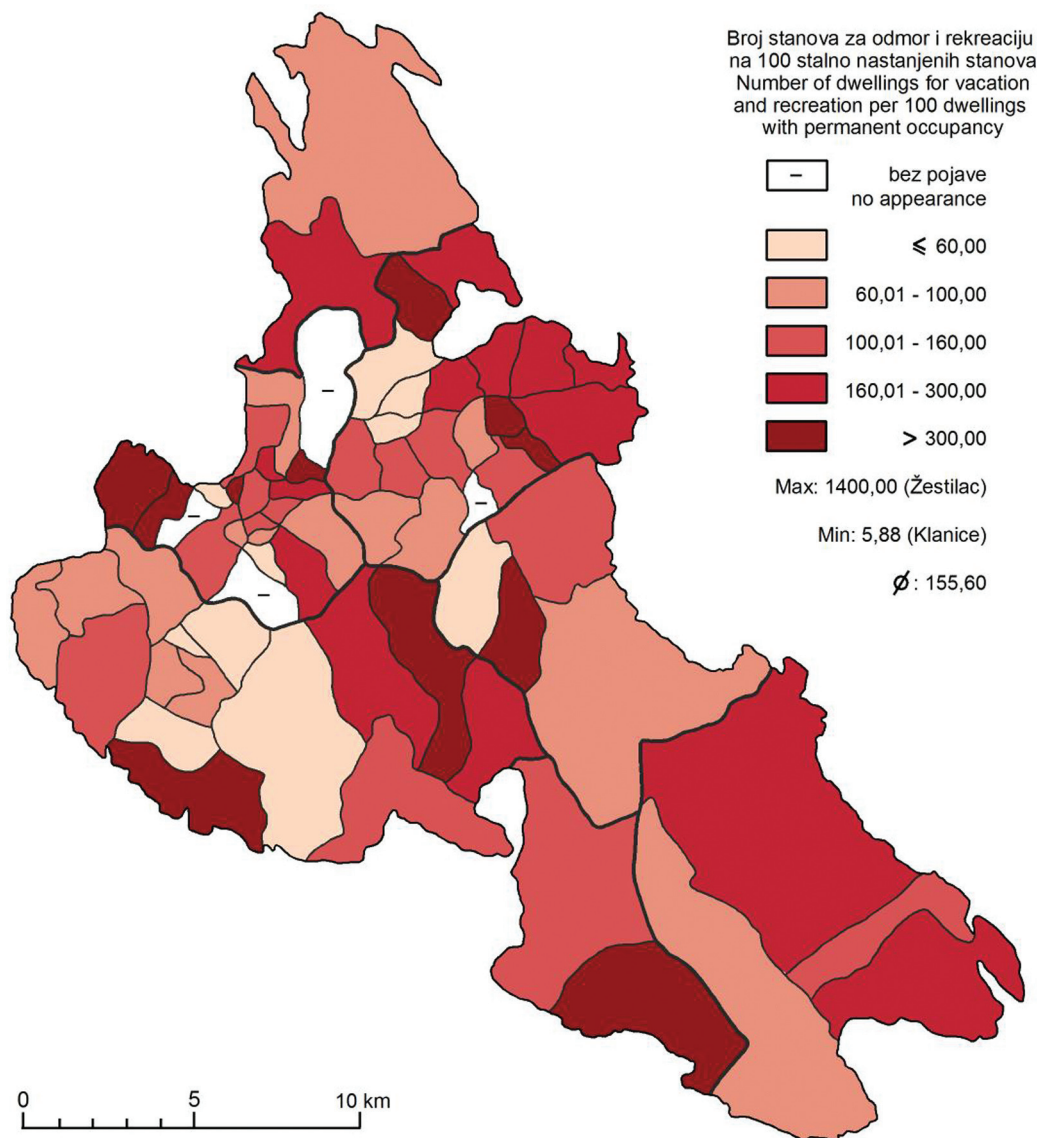
Na razini jedinica lokalne samouprave, najveći broj stanova za odmor i rekreaciju zabilježen je na području Grada Krka (2303), ispred općina Malinska-Dubašnica (2283), Omišalj (1605), Dobrinj (1303), Punat (1138), Baška (1102) i Vrbnik (478). Glavni faktori koji u recentnom razdoblju utječu na brojnost vikendica, uz tradicionalno važne elemente rekreacijske atrakcijske osnove i infrastrukturne opremljenosti, na Krku su: (ne)postojanje atraktivnoga građevinskog zemljišta te (ne)sklonost lokalnih vlasti, ali i lokalnoga stanovništva, njegovoj prodaji i pretvaranju u građevinsko, najčešće za izgradnju višestambenih apartmanskih zgrada. Upravo se zbog navedenoga razloga Općina Malinska-Dubašnica – u kojoj se poklopila izvorna atraktivnost prostora pogodnog za sekundarno rekreacijsko stanovanje s interesima građevinskih investitora, lokalnoga stanovništva, dobrim dijelom spremnog na

in the coastal settlements, the dispersive spreading of second homes in the inland continues, which is confirmed by germinal apartmentalisation evident in the settlements in the hinterland but located in the immediate proximity to the coast. Only four settlements on the island, two of which have been completely depopulated (Dolovo and Sršići), did not register temporary recreational dwelling in 2001 (Fig. 3).

On the level of units of local self-government the largest number of dwellings for vacation and recreation is registered on the territory of the Town of Krk (2303), followed by the municipalities of Malinska-Dubašnica (2283), Omišalj (1605), Dobrinj (1303), Punat (1138), Baška (1102) and Vrbnik (478). In addition to the traditionally significant elements of recreational attractiveness and developed infrastructure, the main factors influencing the high number of second homes on the island of Krk in recent times are: the (non)existence of attractive building sites and the (dis)inclination of local authorities, but also of local population, to sell it and convert it into building sites, most often for the construction of multi-apartment recreational buildings. It is this reason which caused the municipality of Malinska-Dubašnica to come second in the number of dwellings for vacation and recreation in 2001 only after the Town of Krk. The natural attractiveness of Malinska-Dubašnica in terms of the suitability of land for secondary recreational dwelling overlapped with the interests

<sup>12</sup> "Samo" 374 stana za odmor i rekreaciju 2001. godine u naselju Malinska na prvi pogled može iznenaditi, osobito ako se uzme u obzir da je prostor Malinske u zadnjih desetak godina doživio najizraženiju vikendašku (apartmansku) izgradnju na otoku. Razlog "smanjenja" isključivo je administrativne prirode. Naime, iako naselja Bogovići, Milčetići, Radići i Zidarići kao zasebna *de facto* ne egzistiraju već duži niz godina, nego su i fizionomski i funkcionalno, baš zbog uznapredovale vikendaške izgradnje, stopljena s Malinskom u jedinstvenu cjelinu, službena ih statistika i dalje izdvaja kao zasebna. Njihovim pribrajanjem Malinskoj, što je u općinskoj dokumentaciji već obavljeno, dobiva se sasvim drukčija slika brojnosti stanova za odmor i rekreaciju. Prema tome, "proširena", a zapravo "realna", Malinska 2001. brojila je 1206 stanova za odmor i rekreaciju te je uz grad Krk bila vodeće naselje na otoku prema broju vikendica. Slika postaje još realnija ako se uzme u obzir da su statistički zasebna naselja: Vantačići (570 stanova za odmor i rekreaciju 2001.), Porat (181) i Sveti Vid Miholjice (100) "na pragu" da postanu četvrti "proširene Malinske", jer se njihova izdvojenost i samostalnost u prostoru i fizionomski i funkcionalno sve teže može razabrati. Dakle, u "urbaniziranoj zoni" Malinske, uz istoimeni zaljev 2001., bilo je koncentrirano čak 2057 stanova za odmor i rekreaciju, što je uvjerljivo njihova najveća kontinuirana aglomeracija na otoku i jedna od najvećih u cijelom priobalnom dijelu Hrvatske.

<sup>12</sup> The total of "only" 374 dwellings for vacation and recreation in 2001 in the settlement of Malinska may come as a surprise at first glance, particularly since the territory of Malinska experienced the most intensive second home (apartment) expansion in the last decade. The reason for the "decrease" is administrative in nature. Even if the settlements Bogovići, Milčetići, Radići and Zidarići *de facto* have not existed for a longer period of time but are spatially and functionally merged with Malinska into one consolidated unit precisely because of the recent numerical growth of second homes, the official statistics still considers them as separate units. If they are incorporated into Malinska, which has already been done in the municipal archives, the picture of the number of dwellings for vacation and recreation changes dramatically. Therefore, the "extended" but actually "real" Malinska in 2001 had 1206 dwellings for vacation and recreation and was, alongside of Krk, the leading settlement on the island according to the number of second homes. The picture becomes even more realistic if one recognises that the separate settlements: Vantačići (570 dwellings for vacation and recreation in 2001), Porat (181) and Sveti Vid Miholjice (100) are "on the verge" of becoming constituent parts of the "extended Malinska", because their spatial "apartness" and independence are increasingly difficult to discern, both geographically and functionally. Therefore, in 2001 the "urbanised zone" of Malinska by the bay of the same name had as many as 2057 dwellings for vacation and recreation, which is by far the largest concentration of second homes on the island and one of the largest in the whole Croatian littoral.



Slika 4. Odnos broja stanova za odmor i rekreaciju i stalno nastanjenih stanova u naseljima otoka Krka 2001. godine

Izvor: *Popis stanovništva, kućanstava i stanova 31. 3. 2001.*, Stanovi prema načinu korištenja po naseljima, interni podatci DZS-a, DZS, Zagreb, 2002.

Figure 4 The correlation between the number of dwellings for vacation and recreation and the number of dwellings with permanent occupancy in the settlements on the island of Krk in 2001

Source: *The Census of Population, Households and Dwellings, 31<sup>th</sup> March 2001*, Dwellings by the manner of usage by settlements, internal information, Central Bureau of Statistics of the Republic of Croatia, Zagreb, 2002

prodaju zemljišta, te općinskih vlasti – brojem stanova za odmor i rekreaciju 2001. godine svrstala uz bok Gradu Krku.

Vikendaštvo je i u zadnjem međupopisnom razdoblju na Krku pokazivalo brži porast od općega kretanja stanovništva. Ne iznenađuje stoga sve veća prevaga stanova za odmor i rekreaciju nad stalno nastanjenim stanovima. Popisom iz 2001. na Krku je tako zabilježeno 10 212 vikendica i "samo" 6563 stalno nastanjena stana. Dakle, na

of building investors, local population which was predominantly willing to sell land, and local authorities.

In the last intercensal period the second home phenomenon on the island of Krk also had a higher growth rate than did population dynamics. Therefore the increasing prevalence of dwellings for vacation and recreation over dwellings with permanent occupancy does not surprise. The 2001 Census thus registered 10 212 second homes and "only" 6563

100 stalno nastanjenih stanova prema zadnjem popisu dolazilo je 155,60 stanova za odmor i rekreaciju, tj. više od 1,5 vikendice na 1 stalno nastanjen stan (Sl. 4.).

U više od polovice krčkih naselja (39 od 68) broj stanova za odmor i rekreaciju bio je veći od broja stalno nastanjenih stanova. Prevlad funkcionije sekundarnoga rekreacijskog stanovanja nad funkcijom stalnoga stanovanja zabilježena je u svim većim otočnim naseljima, čak i u Krku, osim u Vrbniku (91,39 stanova za odmor i rekreaciju na 100 stalno nastanjenih stanova), naselju tradicionalno usmjerenom prema poljoprivredi, čije je stanovništvo nešto "zatvorenije" i teže prihvaća "došljake" u svojoj sredini, što dolazi do izražaja u manjoj sklonosti prodaje vlastitih starina "fureštima" i Omišlju (86,67 vikendica na 100 stalno nastanjenih stanova), zbog jake funkcije rada i mogućnosti svakodnevnih odlazaka na posao u obližnju Rijeku. U ostalim većim, turistički razvijenijim i populacijski vitalnijim naseljima na obali na 100 stalno nastanjenih stanova dolazilo je: 272,46 vikendica u Njivicama, 190,98 u Baški, 156,49 u Malinskoj, 146,48 u Puntu i 119,32 u Krku.

Najjaču transformaciju stambenoga fonda doživjela su ipak manja naselja, neovisno o tome radilo se o onima smještenima uz obalu ili pak onima u unutrašnjosti otoka. Izostavljajući iz navođenja naselja ona s vrlo malim brojem stalno nastanjenih stanova radi izbjegavanja "zakona malih brojeva", najjača fizionomska i funkcionalna transformacija uslijed vikendaške prisutnosti karakteristična je za Vantačiće (670,59 vikendica na 100 stalno nastanjenih stanova), Hlapu (565,00), Milčetiće (501,09), Porat (452,50), Pineziće (413,85), Staru Bašku (323,26), Čižiće (310,42) itd.

Indikativno je da se među naseljima snajvećom prevlašću vikendica nad stalno nastanjenim stanovima nalaze naselja "proširene" Malinske (npr. Vantačići, Milčetići, Porat), što govori u prilog tezi da je područje urbanizirane zone Malinske u suvremenom razdoblju postalo glavno receptivno vikendaško područje na otoku, u kojem se više nego igdje drugdje na Krku stanovi za odmor i rekreaciju, osobito višestambeni apartmanski objekti, ističu kao ključni fizionomski element u krajoliku, pa se opravdano može govoriti i o nastanku tipičnoga vikendaškog pejzaža (Sl. 5.).

dwellings with permanent occupancy on the island of Krk. That means that according to the last census there were 155.60 dwellings for vacation and recreation for every 100 dwellings with permanent occupancy, i.e. more than 1.5 second homes for one dwelling with permanent occupancy (Fig. 4).

In more than one half of the settlements on the island of Krk (39 out of 68) the number of dwellings for vacation and recreation exceeded the number of dwellings with permanent occupancy. The prevalence of the function of secondary recreational dwelling over the function of permanent occupancy is evident in all settlements on the island, even in Krk. The two exceptions are Vrbnik (91.39 dwellings for vacation and recreation per 100 dwellings with permanent occupancy), a settlement traditionally orientated towards agriculture whose inhabitants are somewhat "more closed" and who accept "incomers" in their community with greater reluctance which is manifested through a lesser willingness to sell their own ruined objects to "outsiders", and Omišalj (86.67 second homes per 100 dwellings with permanent occupancy) due to the strong function of employment and the possibility of daily commuting to work in the nearby Rijeka. For every 100 dwellings with permanent occupancy in other larger settlements on the coast with more developed tourism and more vibrant population indexes there were 272.46 second homes in Njivice, 190.98 in Baška, 156.49 in Malinska, 146.48 in Punat and 119.32 in Krk.

However, it was the smallest settlements which experienced the most radical transformation of the housing fund, and that irrespective of their location on the coast or in the hinterland of the island. Excluding from the following list those settlements with an extremely low number of dwellings with permanent occupancy in order to avoid "the rule of small numbers", the strongest physiognomic and functional transformation due to the development of the second home phenomenon is characteristic of: Vantačići (670.59 second homes for 100 dwellings with permanent occupancy), Hlapa (565.00), Milčetići (501.09), Porat (452.50), Pinezići (413.85), Stara Baška (323.26), Čižići (310.42) etc.

It is indicative that settlements with the highest prevalence index of second homes over dwellings with permanent occupancy include the settlements belonging to the "extended territory" of Malinska (e.g. Vantačići, Milčetići, Porat), which corroborates the hypothesis that the urbanised area of Malinska in the modern times has become the primary receiving second home area on the island with the highest number of dwellings for vacation and recreation on the island of Krk, particularly of multi-apartment houses as the key geographical landmark. Thus one can speak of the formation of a typical second home landscape (Fig. 5).





Slika 5. Urbanizirana zona Malinske – tipičan primjer vikendaškoga pejisaža u priobalnom dijelu Hrvatske (snimka: Turistička zajednica Općine Malinska-Dubašnica, 29. 7. 2003.)

Figure 5 The urbanised area of Malinska – a typical example of the second home landscape in the Croatian littoral (Photo: The tourist board of the Municipality of Malinska-Dubašnica, 29<sup>th</sup> July 2003)

### Strukturna obilježja vlasnika

Poznavanje karakteristika vikendaške populacije u nekom receptivnom vikendaškom području gotovo je od presudne važnosti za identifikaciju tipičnoga profila vikendaša te analizu njihovih vikendaških kretanja. Kako jedinice lokalne samouprave podatke o vlasnicima vikendica na svojem području prikupljaju radi

### The structural characteristics of second home owners

The detailed knowledge of the characteristics of the second home population in a receiving area is crucial for the identification of the profile of a typical second home owner and for the analysis of their spatial mobility. Even though the units of local self-government gather information about the second home owners in their territory for the



strukturiranja baze podataka za ubiranje poreza na stanove za odmor i rekreaciju i ostalih davanja koja vikendaši uplaćuju u općinske proračune, valja voditi računa da se na taj način prikupljeni podatci, premda jedini raspoloživi, ne poklapaju s podacima službene popisne statistike o brojnosti vikendica na određenom području, između ostaloga i stoga što se općinske baze podataka neprestano mijenjaju i aktualiziraju,<sup>13</sup> dok se popisni podatci vežu uz kritični trenutak popisa (31. 3. 2001. zadnji Popis stanovništva, kućanstava i stanova u Hrvatskoj).

U analizu strukturnih obilježja vikendaša na otoku Krku ušli su stoga svi vlasnici stanova na Krku s prijavljenom adresom stalnoga prebivališta izvan otoka,<sup>14</sup> bez obzira na to rabili se njihovi stanovi u rekreacijske svrhe ili ne. Iako se tako formirana baza podataka ne poklapa u potpunosti sa stanjem na terenu, čini se da je dovoljno ilustrativna za donošenje osnovnih zaključaka o analiziranim strukturama vlasnika vikendica na Krku. Vlasnici stanova za odmor i rekreaciju na otoku Krku analizirani su: a) prema mjestima (županija/država) stalnoga prebivališta, b) prema udaljenosti naselja stalnoga prebivališta od receptivnoga vikendaškog područja (otoka Krka, odnosno pojedinih naselja na otoku) te c) prema veličini naselja stalnoga prebivališta, za vlasnike čije se stalno prebivalište nalazi na području Hrvatske.

<sup>13</sup> Za potrebe ovog istraživanja podatci dobiveni od krčkih jedinica lokalne samouprave datiraju iz ožujka 2007. U skladu s tim u analizu je ušlo 9145 stambenih objekata čiji vlasnik ima prijavljeno stalno prebivalište izvan otoka Krka, što je znatno manje od broja stanova za odmor i rekreaciju na otoku Krku registriranoga popisom iz 2001. godine (10 212). Kako je malo vjerojatno da se između 2001. i 2007. broj stanova za odmor i rekreaciju na Krku smanjio, štoviše svjedoci smo da se intenziviranjem apartmanizacije njihov broj mogao samo povećati, očito je riječ o različitoj metodologiji njihova popisivanja za potrebe općinske administracije od onoga u popisnoj statistici.

<sup>14</sup> Primjerice, stambena jedinica u Dobrinju, čiji je vlasnik kao mjesto stalnoga prebivališta prijavio Malinsku, nije ušla u analizu zato što je malo vjerojatno da osoba koja živi na Krku, na tom istom otoku, posjeduje stan koji rabi u vikendaške svrhe. Najvjerojatnije je riječ ili o naslijeđenim starinama, koje se nerijetko trenutačno i ne rabe, ili o stambenom fondu koji se rabi u druge svrhe, npr. za stalno stanovanje člana obitelji, obavljanje djelatnosti (iznajmljivanje) itd.

purpose of creating a consolidated database used in collecting tax on dwellings for vacation and recreation and other fees which the second home owners pay into municipal budgets, one has to bear in mind that information gathered in this way, although the only source of information available, does not fully coincide with information from the Census statistics related to the number of second homes in a certain area. This is due, among other reasons, to the fact that the municipal databases are constantly altered and updated<sup>13</sup>, while the Census statistics are tied to a particular point in time (31<sup>th</sup> March 2001 as the date for the most recent Census of Population, Households and Dwellings).

The analysis of the structural characteristics of the second home owners on the island of Krk thus includes all those whose official place of residence is outside the territory of the island<sup>14</sup> irrespective of whether their dwellings are used for recreation or not. Even though the database formed in this manner does not fully overlap with the situation on the ground, it appears to be sufficiently representative to allow for drawing basic conclusions about the structure of the second home owners on the island of Krk. The owners of the dwellings for vacation and recreation on the island of Krk are analysed by: a) the place (county/country) of their permanent residence; b) the distance between the place of permanent residence and the receiving second home area (the island of Krk, that is, certain settlements on the island); and c) the size of the place of permanent residence for owners who have permanent residence on the territory of Croatia.

<sup>13</sup> The information used in this study were obtained from the Krk units of local self-government and date from March 2007. Consequently the analysis includes 9145 dwellings whose owners officially reside outside the island of Krk, which is considerably less from the number of dwellings for vacation and recreation on the island of Krk registered in the 2001 Census (10 212). As it is hardly possible that the number of dwellings for vacation and recreation on the island of Krk decreased between 2001 and 2007 – rather, the intensification of apartmentalisation could only have caused their increase - obviously the statistical methodology used for the purposes of municipal records is quite different from the one used in the 2001 national Census.

<sup>14</sup> For example, a dwelling in Dobrinj whose owner registered Malinska as the place of residence was not included in the analysis because it is highly unlikely that the person who lives on the island of Krk owns a flat on the very same island which he or she uses as a second home. Most likely it is a case of an inherited derelict dwelling which is not presently used, or a dwelling which is used for other purposes, e.g. for permanent residence of a member of the family, commercial purposes (renting) etc.

### Struktura vlasnika prema mjestima stalnoga prebivališta

Mjesta stalnoga prebivališta vlasnika stanova za odmor i rekreaciju<sup>15</sup> upućuju u isti mah na smjer, ali i intenzitet vikendaških kretanja prema otoku Krku kao receptivnome vikendaškom području (Tabl. 1.).

Evidentno je da je vikendaštvo na otoku dominantno domaćega predznaka. Više od četiri petine (80,49%) svih vlasnika vikendica na otoku Krku živi u Hrvatskoj, što upućuje na tradicionalnu orijentiranost hrvatskih emitivnih vikendaških područja na Krk, ali i činjenicu da u vrijeme bivše Jugoslavije strancima, ne računajući stanovnike nekadašnjih jugoslavenskih republika koji su u to vrijeme bili tuzemni vikendaši i hrvatske iseljenike "na privremenom radu" u inozemstvu, nije bilo dopušteno posjedovati nekretnine u Hrvatskoj. Veća dominacija domaćih vikendaša uočava se u obalnim naseljima na otoku (83,03% svih stanova za odmor i rekreaciju u obalnim naseljima otoka Krka) nego u naseljima u unutrašnjosti, u kojima vikendice vlasnika koji imaju stalno prebivalište u Hrvatskoj iznosi 70,68%. Ta "anomalija" može se objasniti prostornom distribucijom "slovenskih" vikendica, zbog čije je naglašene koncentracije općina Dobrinj jedinica lokalne samouprave na otoku s najvećim udjelom (43,55%) stanova za odmor i rekreaciju u vlasništvu vikendaša koji žive u inozemstvu.<sup>16</sup> Kako su slovenski vikendaši podjednako "osvojili" obalna (npr. Čižići 83

<sup>15</sup> Za potrebe ove analize, naselja stalnih prebivališta vlasnika stanova za odmor i rekreaciju na otoku Krku klasificirana su prema županijama, ako vlasnik ima prijavljeno stalno prebivalište na području Hrvatske, odnosno prema državama, ako vlasnik vikendice na Krku živi u inozemstvu.

<sup>16</sup> Velik broj slovenskih vlasnika vikendica na području općine Dobrinj rezultat je prije svega zamjetnoga broja radničkih odmarališta slovenskih poduzeća iz razdoblja bivše Jugoslavije u Šilu, kao i uz zaljev Soline, koja su mnogima poslužila za stjecanje pozitivna dojma i stvaranje emotivne povezanosti s prostorom u kojemu su, motivirani time, kasnije izgradili kuće za odmor i rekreaciju. Nakon toga neki od njih "povukli" bi za sobom prijatelja iz emitivnoga područja te je na taj način stvorena prava "kolonija" slovenskih vikendaša u obalnim, ali i unutrašnjim naseljima Dobrinjštine (OPAČIĆ, 2002b; GRŠKOVIĆ, 2004). U suvremenoj, apartmanskoj, fazi razvoja vikendaštva na području općine Dobrinj jedan od razloga jače vikendaške potražnje Slovenaca za nekretninama na Dobrinjštini jest i postojanje slovenskoga građevinskog poduzeća "Slovgrad" koje se bavi izgradnjom i prodajom apartmana na spomenutom području, što nesumnjivo potiče na donošenje odluke o kupnji stanova za odmor i rekreaciju kod novih slovenskih vikendaša.

### The structure of the second home owners by the place of permanent residence

The places of permanent residence of the owners of dwellings for vacation and recreation<sup>15</sup> point to the direction as well as intensity of their mobility towards the island of Krk as a receiving second home area (Tab. 1).

It is manifest that the second home phenomenon on the island is domestic in nature. Over four fifths (80.49%) of all second home owners on the island of Krk reside in Croatia, which points to the traditional orientation of Croatian emissive second home regions towards Krk, but also to the fact that in the period of former Yugoslavia all foreigners, excluding inhabitants of former Yugoslavian republics, who at that time were domestic second home owners, and Croatian émigrés "temporarily employed" abroad, were not allowed to own real estate in Croatia. The proportion of domestic second home owners is higher in the coastal settlements of the island (83.03% of all dwellings for vacation and recreation in the coastal settlements of the island of Krk) than in the settlements in the hinterland where the percentage of the second homes whose owners have permanent residence in Croatia totals 70.68%. This "anomaly" can be explained by the geographical distribution of "Slovenian" second homes. The strong concentration of "Slovenian" second homes makes in the Municipality of Dobrinj the unit of local self-government with the highest proportion of dwellings for vacation and recreation (43.55%) whose owners reside abroad<sup>16</sup>. Since the

<sup>15</sup> In this analysis the places of residence of the owners of dwellings for vacation and recreation on the island of Krk are classified by county if the owner has registered his or her place of residence in Croatia, and by country if the owner of the second home on the island of Krk lives abroad.

<sup>16</sup> A large number of second home owners from Slovenia on the territory of Dobrinj is primarily the result of a considerable number of worker's holiday resorts in Šilo and in the bay of Soline which belong to Slovenian firms dating from the period of former Yugoslavia. Spending holiday in them has helped many visitors to form a positive impression and create an emotional attachment with the area where they acquired built dwellings for vacation and recreation. Some of them later "pulled" their friends from the emissive region and thus created an actual "colony" of Slovenian second home owners in the coastal settlements as well as in the inland part of the municipality of Dobrinj (OPAČIĆ, 2002b; GRŠKOVIĆ, 2004). In the modern, apartment phase of the development of the second home phenomenon in and around Dobrinj, one of the reasons for an increased demand for real estate in the region by the Slovenians is also the existence of the Slovenian building firm "Slovgrad" which builds and sells apartments in the region, which undoubtedly encourages prospective Slovenian owners to buy dwellings for vacation and recreation here.



Tablica 1. Broj vlasnika stanova za odmor i rekreaciju prema mjestima stalnoga prebivališta (županija/država) po jedinicama lokalne samouprave otoka Krka 2007. godine

Table 1 The number of the owners of dwellings for vacation and recreation by the place of permanent residence (county/country) by units of local self-administration on the island of Krk in 2007

ŽUPANIJA/ DRŽAVA	GRAD/OPĆINA								
	TOWN/MUNICIPALITY								
COUNTY/ COUNTRY	Baška	Dobrinj	Krk	Malinska- Dubašnica	Omišalj	Punat	Vrbnik	UKUPNO (OTOK KRK)	%
								TOTAL (ISLAND OF KRK)	
Grad Zagreb	522	271	762	833	636	540	180	3744	40,94
Primorsko- goranska	414	158	221	164	186	151	177	1471	16,09
Zagrebačka	92	83	113	180	78	81	20	647	7,07
Karlovačka	25	29	44	52	32	48	12	242	2,65
Varaždinska	19	18	35	53	17	17	3	162	1,77
Osječko- baranjska	28	6	28	47	24	21	7	161	1,76
Sisačko- moslavačka	13	15	37	24	21	34	5	149	1,63
Krapinsko- zagorska	19	8	30	44	16	13	5	135	1,48
Koprivničko- križevačka	26	13	24	19	9	9	7	107	1,17
Bjelovarsko- bilogorska	8	7	26	30	11	18	2	102	1,12
Međimurska	8	9	23	28	12	7	15	102	1,12
Brodsko- posavska	11	5	22	18	17	16	6	95	1,04
Požeško- slavonska	9	0	9	33	5	0	1	57	0,62
Istarska	10	5	14	8	4	8	7	56	0,61
Vukovarsko- srijemska	4	4	12	12	9	3	4	48	0,52
Virovitičko- podravska	9	5	5	13	6	3	2	43	0,47
Splitsko- dalmatinska	6	3	2	2	1	2	0	16	0,17
Ličko-senjska	1	0	3	5	2	0	2	13	0,14
Dubrovačko- neretvanska	1	0	0	2	2	1	0	6	0,07
Zadarska	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	3	0,03
Šibensko- kninska	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0,02
UKUPNO RH	1226	639	1410	1567	1092	972	455	7361	80,49
TOTAL CROATIA									

Slovenija	49	406	271	277	100	93	35	1231	13,46
Njemačka	52	52	62	58	15	2	1	242	2,65
Austrija	20	10	26	25	1	0	1	83	0,91
Mađarska	3	4	17	40	14	2	1	81	0,89
Srbija	28	6	4	4	5	9	1	57	0,62
Italija	5	6	9	9	0	1	0	30	0,33
Bosna i Hercegovina	3	0	4	7	2	1	0	17	0,19
Švicarska	4	1	3	1	0	0	1	10	0,11
Ujedinjeno Kraljevstvo	2	0	0	5	0	0	0	7	0,08
SAD	1	0	0	0	2	0	2	5	0,05
Francuska	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	4	0,04
Nizozemska	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	4	0,04
Češka	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	2	0,02
Kanada	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	0,02
Slovačka	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	0,02
Švedska	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0,02
Belgija	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0,01
Latvija	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0,01
Makedonija	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0,01
Norveška	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0,01
Poljska	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0,01
<b>UKUPNO INOZEMSTVO</b>	170	493	398	431	140	109	43	1784	19,51
<b>TOTAL ABROAD</b>									
<b>SVEUKUPNO</b>	1396	1132	1808	1998	1232	1081	498	9145	100
<b>TOTAL</b>									

Izvor: Dokumentacija Grada Krka te općina Baška, Dobrinj, Malinska-Dubašnica, Omišalj, Punat i Vrbnik, 2007.

Source: The administrative archive of the Town of Krk and the municipalities of Baška, Dobrinj, Malinska-Dubašnica, Omišalj, Punat and Vrbnik, 2007

"slovenske" vikendice, Klimno 43, Soline 25) i unutrašnja naselja (npr. Hlapa 96, Polje 58, Žestilac 37, Gostinjac 13, Županje 10) u općini, zbog njihove naglašene brojnosti na prostoru Dobrinjštine znatno se povećao udio vikendica u vlasništvu vikendaša iz inozemstva i u skupu svih unutrašnjih naselja na Krku.

Postotna zastupljenost pojedinih hrvatskih županija u strukturi vlasnika stanova za odmor i rekreaciju na otoku Krku jasno pokazuje da je domaći segment vikendaštva na otoku predisponiran ponajviše vikendaškom potražnjom iz triju županija: Grada Zagreba (40,94% svih vikendica na Krku), Primorsko-goranske županije (16,09%) te Zagrebačke županije (7,07%). Stanovnici tih triju županija vlasnici su gotovo dviju trećina (64,10%) svih stanova za odmor na otoku Krku. Kako vikendašku populaciju ponajprije čine stanovnici gradskih naselja, i to onih većih, nije teško pretpostaviti kako glavina vikendaške potražnje na otoku dolazi iz Zagreba, Rijeke te ostalih gradskih naselja Primorsko-goranske i Zagrebačke županije. Za razliku od vikendaša iz ostalih županija, u kontingentu vikendaša iz Primorsko-goranske županije, osim kupnje starih kuća te njihove prenamjene i adaptacije i samostalne namjenske izgradnje, u većoj mjeri zastupljeno je i nasljeđivanje kao način stjecanja današnjih stanova za odmor i rekreaciju. Naime, glavno odredište unutrašnjih migracija krčkoga stanovništva tradicionalno je bila Rijeka, najbliži makroregionalni centar, pa ne iznenađuje veći broj današnjih vikendaša iz Rijeke podrijetlom s otoka Krka. Isti proces vrijedi i Zagreb, ali ipak u znatno manjoj mjeri, s obzirom na ukupan broj Zagrepčana, vlasnika vikendica na Krku.

Od ostalih hrvatskih županija, prema domicilu vlasnika stanova sekundarnoga rekreacijskog stanovanja na otoku nešto su izraženije zastupljene županije Središnje Hrvatske, u kojima ukupno živi 10,94% vikendaša, a od ostalih Osječko-baranjska županija. Ponešto izraženiji broj vikendaša iz Osječko-baranjske županije, u usporedbi s ostalim slavonskim županijama, može se objasniti postojanjem velikoga grada, makroregionalnog središta, jačega generatora vikendaške potražnje, u usporedbi s nešto manjim gradovima u ostalim slavonskim županijama. Generalno, nešto manji broj vlasnika vikendica na otoku sa stalnim prebivalištem u Istočnoj Hrvatskoj rezultat je veće udaljenosti od otoka Krka nego što je to slučaj sa Središnjom Hrvatskom.

Slovenian second home owners have "invaded" both coastal (e.g. Čižići 83 "Slovenian" second homes, Klimno 43, Soline 25) and inland settlements (e.g.. Hlapa 96, Polje 58, Žestilac 37, Gostinjac 13, Županje 10) in the Dobrinj municipality, due to their high numbers in the Municipality of Dobrinj the proportion of second homes owned by foreigners has also increased in all settlements of the hinterland of the island of Krk.

The proportional representation of individual Croatian counties in the structure of the owners of dwellings for vacation and recreation on the island of Krk shows the preponderance of domestic second home owners on the island as relative to the demand in three counties: the City of Zagreb (40.94% of all second homes on Krk), Primorje-Gorski kotar County (16.09%) and Zagreb County (7.07%). The inhabitants of these three counties own almost two thirds (64.10%) of all dwellings for vacation and recreation on the island of Krk. As the second home population primarily consists of inhabitants of larger urban settlements, it is not difficult to presume that the bulk of the second home demand originates from Zagreb, Rijeka and other urban settlements in the Primorje-Gorski kotar and Zagreb counties. In contrast to second home owners from other counties, and relative to the sub-group of second home owners from the Primorje-Gorski kotar County, in addition to acquiring today's dwellings for vacation and recreation through the purchase of old houses and their subsequent conversion and adaptation, and through individual building of such dwellings, handing down property as inheritance is also quite prominent. This is because the primary and traditional destination of the local migrations of the Krk population has been Rijeka, the closest macroregional centre. Thus it is not surprising that a large proportion of today's second home owners from Rijeka originally come from Krk itself. The same is true of Zagreb, although in considerably smaller proportion considering the total number of the inhabitants of Zagreb who own second homes on the island of Krk.

With regard to the place of residence of the owners of secondary recreational dwellings on the island, the counties of Central Croatia score slightly higher. About 10.94% of all second home owners reside there. Among the remaining counties the Osijek-Baranja County stands out. A somewhat higher number of the second home owners from the Osijek-Baranja County in comparison with other Slavonian counties can be explained by the existence of a large city, a macroregional centre and a strong generator of the demand for second homes, in contrast to slightly smaller towns in other Slavonian counties. In general, the relatively lower



Najmanji broj vlasnika vikendica na Krku ima adresu stalnoga prebivališta u primorskim županijama, s iznimkom već spomenute Primorsko-goranske županije, koje je, uostalom, i otok Krk sastavni dio. Kao tek nešto značajnija grupacija javljaju se vlasnici vikendica iz susjedne Istarske županije, dok je pojava stanova za odmor i rekreaciju u vlasništvu žitelja ostalih primorskih županija uistinu sporadična i jedva zamjetna. Razlog leži u vikendaškoj upućenosti ostalih primorskih županija prema bližim, "svojim" receptivnim vikendaškim područjima, ali i u nešto manjoj vikendaškoj potražnji općenito u usporedbi s kontinentalnim županijama. Naime, logično je pretpostaviti da stanovništvo koje živi u priobalnom prostoru, nema toliko izraženu potrebu stjecanja (još jedne) kuće ili stana, tj. vikendice, u tipom istom ili sličnom vikendaškom rekreacijskom području. Iznimku čini gradska populacija, osobito većih urbanih središta, koja svoje rekreacijske, vikendaške potrebe najčešće iskazuje na preferiranim lokacijama bliže mjestu stalnoga stanovanja, što u slučaju dalmatinskih županija, zbog veće udaljenosti, gotovo nikada nije otok Krk.

Među vlasnicima stanova za odmor i rekreaciju na otoku Krku sa stalnim prebivalištem izvan granica Hrvatske uvjerljivo najbrojniju vikendašku populaciju čine Slovenci (13,46% svih vikendica na otoku). Slovenci vlasnici svoje su objekte za odmor i rekreaciju u najvećem broju slučajeva stekli u bivšoj Jugoslaviji, kada je svim njezinim građanima kupnja nekretnina bila moguća pod jednakim uvjetima u svim dijelovima bivše države, bez obzira na republičku pripadnost. Kako je otok Krk jedno od Sloveniji najbližih receptivnih vikendaških područja, te je, uz to, na njemu postojao velik broj radničkih odmarališta u vlasništvu slovenskih poduzeća, pojačana vikendaška potražnja nije mogla izostati. U strukturi slovenskih vikendaša prevladavaju oni iz zapadnoga dijela države, uključujući i ljubljansku gradsku regiju, najveće emitivno vikendaško područje slovenskih vikendaša, dok, s povećanjem udaljenosti, vikendaška potražnja prema istoku države slabi. Iznimka je ponajviše Maribor, najveće gradsko naselje istočnoga dijela države.

number of second home owners with permanent residence in Eastern Croatia is the consequence of greater distance from the island of Krk than is the case with Central Croatia.

The lowest number of the second home owners on the island of Krk resides in the counties of the littoral part of Croatia with the exception of those living in the already mentioned Primorje-Gorski kotar County of which the island of Krk forms a constituent part. A minimally more significant group comprises the second home owners from the neighbouring county of Istria while the residents from other countries in the Croatian littoral register as owners of dwellings for vacation and recreation only sporadically and are statistically insignificant. This is because they are oriented towards geographically closer, "their" receiving second home regions, but also because of their relatively lower demand for second homes in comparison with continental counties. It may be surmised that the population residing in the Croatian littoral would not display such great demand for (another) house or flat, i.e. a second home, in the region which is of similar type to their domicile region. The exception is the urban population, particularly those residing in larger urban regions, which manifests its need for recreational second homes most often in relation to locations closer to their place of residence which, in the case of the counties of Dalmatia, is hardly ever the island of Krk.

Among the owners of dwellings for vacation and recreation on the island of Krk who reside outside Croatia Slovenians constitute by far the largest group (13.46% of all second homes on Krk). They have acquired their dwellings for vacation and recreation mainly in the time of former Yugoslavia when all Yugoslavian nationals were allowed to buy real estate in all parts of the former country under the same conditions, irrespective of their republic of residence. As the island of Krk is to Slovenia one of the closest receiving second home regions, and as there existed a large number of workers' resorts on Krk which were owned by Slovenian companies, a large-scale demand for second homes was inevitable. The structure of the second home owners from Slovenia shows that the highest proportion come from Western Slovenia including the urban agglomeration of Ljubljana, the largest Slovenian emissive second home region. The increased distance eastward from the island of Krk is inversely proportional to the demand for second homes on the island of Krk. The only exception is Maribor, the largest urban settlement in Eastern Slovenia.

Uz Slovence, od vikendaša sa stalnim prebivalištem u inozemstvu najviše su zastupljeni oni iz Njemačke. Kao i u slučaju ostalih vikendaša s prebivalištim u drugim državama Europe (npr. Austriji, Švicarskoj, Italiji, itd.), osim onih s područja bivše Jugoslavije, u njihovim vikendaškim populacijama postoje dvije karakteristične skupine. Jedno su hrvatski državljani, odnosno državljani republika bivše Jugoslavije, "na privremenom radu u inozemstvu", koji su svoje vikendice na Krku stjecali ili u bivšoj Jugoslaviji ili nakon njezina raspada, dok drugu skupinu čine stranci, koji nakon postupne liberalizacije hrvatskoga tržišta nekretnina kupuju nekretnine na otoku i diljem hrvatskoga priobalja. U eri liberalizacije hrvatskoga tržišta nekretnina kao vlasnici vikendica na otoku se posljednjih godina sve više pojavljuju i državljani europskih država u kojima gotovo da i nema "naših gastarbajtera" (npr. Mađarska, Češka, Slovačka, Poljska), što znači da je širenje vikendaške potražnje prema njima krenulo kasnije, najvjerojatnije zahvaljujući njihovim sve češćim turističkim posjetima, koji su u pravilu prethodili kupnji nekretnina.

Struktura vlasnika stanova za odmor i rekreaciju na Krku doživjela je nakon hrvatskog osamostaljenja i Domovinskog rata znatne promjene. Promjene vlasništva povezane su prije svega uz vikendice, prije navedenih događaja u vlasništvu stanovnika istočnoga dijela bivše Jugoslavije (ponajviše Srbije, ali i Bosne i Hercegovine), koje su u većoj mjeri početkom 1990-ih promijenile vlasnike zbog nesigurne i neizvjesne budućnosti životnih prilika na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije.<sup>17</sup>

Detaljnija analiza strukture vlasnika stanova za odmor i rekreaciju na otoku Krku prema mjestu stalnoga prebivališta otkriva da se na

The next most numerous group of the second home owners who reside outside Croatia are those who live in Germany. As is the case with other second home owners who reside in other European countries (e.g. Austria, Switzerland, Italy, etc.), with the exception of those from the territory of former Yugoslavia, there are two characteristic sub-groups. One comprises Croatian citizens, and citizens of other republics of former Yugoslavia, who are "temporarily employed abroad," and who had acquired their second homes on the island of Krk either in the period of the former Yugoslavia or after its collapse. The second sub-group comprises foreign nationals who bought their real estate on the island or along the Croatian littoral after the gradual liberalisation of the Croatian real estate market. The period of liberalised Croatian legislation related to the purchase of real estate registers an increased number of nationals from European countries with almost no "Croatian temporary workers" (e.g. Hungary, Czech Republic, Poland), which means that the spreading of second home demand reached them later, most probably due to their more frequent tourist visits to the Croatian littoral, which as a rule precedes the purchase of real estate.

The structure of the owners of dwellings for vacation and recreation on the island of Krk underwent significant changes after Croatia's independence and the Homeland War. The changes are primarily related to the second homes which had until these events been owned by the inhabitants of the Eastern part of former Yugoslavia (mainly from Serbia but also from Bosnia and Herzegovina). In the early 1990 these second homes changed owners due to the uncertain and insecure future prospects on the territory of former Yugoslavia<sup>17</sup>.

A more thorough analysis of the structure of the owners of dwellings for vacation and recreation on the island of Krk by the place of residence reveals

<sup>17</sup> Istražujući vlasničku strukturu vikendica na otoku Krku prema mjestima stalnoga prebivališta, NOVOSEL-ŽIC (1980-81) iznosi podatak da je još 1975. godine, dakle, u vrijeme znatno manje brojnosti vikendica, 127 stanova za odmor i rekreaciju na Krku bilo u vlasništvu stanovnika uže Srbije, s Vojvodinom i Kosovom 155, dok je 46 vlasnika vikendica na otoku imalo stalno prebivalište na području Bosne i Hercegovine. Iako se u međuvremenu broj vikendica na Krku povećao oko pet puta, broj "srpskih" i "bosansko-hercegovačkih" vikendica znatno se smanjio. Prema recentnim podacima jedinica lokalne samouprave, 2007. godine na otoku je bilo 57 stanova za odmor i rekreaciju čiji vlasnik ima prijavljeno stalno prebivalište u Srbiji, odnosno samo 17 stanova za odmor i rekreaciju u vlasništvu stanovnika iz Bosne i Hercegovine.

<sup>17</sup> In the study of the structure of the second home owners on the island of Krk by the place of residence, Novosel-Žic (1980-81) mentions that as early as 1975, i.e. in the time when the number of second homes was much lower, 127 dwellings for vacation and recreation on the island of Krk were owned by owners from Serbia proper, 155 including owners from Vojvodina and Kosovo, while 46 second home owners on the island resided in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Although since then the number of second homes on the island of Krk increased fivefold, the number of "Serbian" and "Bosnian-Herzegovinian" second homes has significantly decreased. According to the recent statistics from the units of local self-administration, in 2007 there were 57 dwellings for vacation and recreation on the island whose owner has registered residence in Serbia, and only 17 dwellings for vacation and recreation owned by the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Krku zadržala tendencija grupiranja vikendaša iz istoga grada ili istoga emitivnog vikendaškog područja.<sup>18</sup> Novosel-Žic (1980-81) kao tipične takve "vikendaške kolonije" ističe, primjerice, Zagrepčane u Malinskoj, Slovence u Dobrinjštini te Beograđane oko Baške. Iako su se okolnosti od tada (tridesetogodišnje razdoblje) uvelike promijenile, navedene pravilnosti u distribuciji vikendaša prema mjestu stalnoga stanovanja djelomično se mogu prepoznati i danas. Osim navedenih, uočljive su i nešto slabije izražene tendencije grupiranja vlasnika iz istih županija/država na područjima određenih krčkih jedinica lokalne samouprave.

Zagrepčani (vlasnici 48,01% svih krčkih vikendica),<sup>19</sup> Rijčani (u analizi ubrojani u skupinu vikendaša sa stalnim prebivalištem u Primorsko-goranskoj županiji; 16,09%) i Slovenci (13,46%), tradicionalno su tri uvjerljivo najzastupljenije skupine vlasnika stanova za odmor i rekreaciju na otoku Krku, u čijem se vlasništvu nalazi više od tri četvrtine (77,56%) svih vikendica na otoku (Sl. 6.).

Postotni udio vikendaša s područja Grada Zagreba i Zagrebačke županije u jedinicama lokalne samouprave otoka Krka kreće se između 31,27% u općini Dobrinj i 57,95% u općini Omišalj. Osim u općini Omišalj (naselja Omišalj i Njivice), najizraženije koncentracije zagrebačkih vikendaša karakteristične su za općine Punat i Malinska-Dubašnica, u kojima su Zagrepčani, zbog jake potražnje i relativno male udaljenosti od emitivnoga vikendaškog područja, oduvijek činili glavninu vikendaša. Kako su Zagrepčani bili među prvima koji su s vikendaškog aspekta počeli vrjednovati rekreacijske pogodnosti otoka Krka, ne iznenađuje njihova visoka postotna

that the owners from the same town or emissive regions continued to cluster in the same location<sup>18</sup>. For instance, Novosel-Žic (1980-81) investigates typical "second home colonies" and mentions as typical the settlement of the inhabitants from Zagreb in Malinska, Slovenians in the area of Dobrinj and the inhabitants from Belgrade around Baška. Even though the circumstances have significantly changed in the period of three decades, these regularities in the distribution of the second home owners according to their place of residence can to some degree be discerned even today. In addition, one can also observe the trend, albeit somewhat less pronounced, of the owners from the same county/country to cluster in the territories of certain units of local self-government on the island of Krk.

The inhabitants of Zagreb (owners of 48.01% of all second homes on Krk)<sup>19</sup>, Rijeka (the analysis includes them in the group of second home owners with permanent residence in the Primorje-Gorski kotar County; 16.09%) and Slovenia (13.46%), are traditionally three most numerous groups of second home owners of dwellings for vacation and recreation on the island of Krk who own more than three fourths (77.56%) of all second homes on Krk (Fig. 6).

The proportion of second home owners from the City of Zagreb and the Zagreb County in the units of local self-government on the island of Krk ranges from 31.27% in the Municipality of Dobrinj to 57.95% in the Municipality of Omišalj. Apart from the Municipality of Omišalj (the settlements Omišalj and Njivice), the most pronounced concentrations of the second home owners from Zagreb are found in the municipalities of Punat and Malinska-Dubašnica, where the inhabitants of Zagreb have always comprised the majority in the body of the second home owners due to

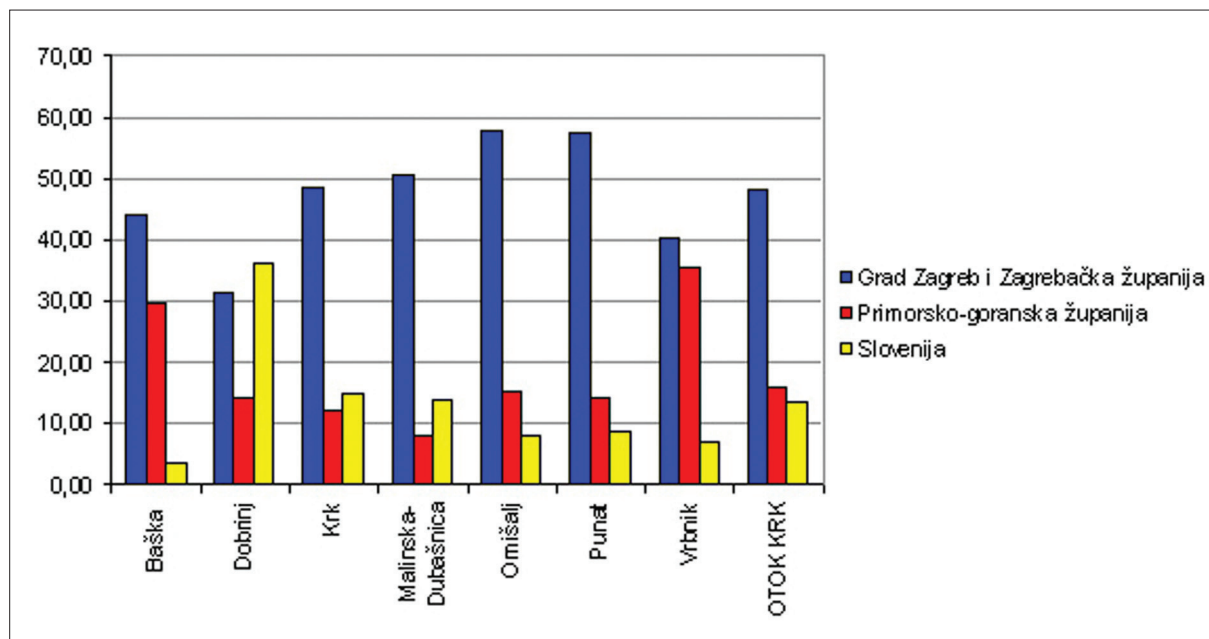
<sup>18</sup> NOVOSEL-ŽIC (1980-81) ističe kako upravo grupiranje vikendaša iz istoga kraja dokazuje kako je mjesto stalnoga stanovanja važniji kohezivni element vikendaške populacije u receptivnom vikendaškom području od rodbinskoga grupiranja, koje jest izraženo, ali ipak u manjoj mjeri.

<sup>19</sup> Budući da je nakon Grada Zagreba i Primorsko-goranske županije Zagrebačka županija uvjerljivo treća hrvatska županija po broju vlasnika stanova za odmor i rekreaciju na otoku Krku te budući da najveći broj vikendaša iz te županije živi u satelitskim gradovima zagrebačke aglomeracije (Velika Gorica, Zaprešić, Samobor) i da su im vikendaška motivacija i relacije vikendaških kretanja najčešće gotovo iste kao i vikendašima iz Grada Zagreba, u analizi njihove prostorne distribucije na Krku čini se opravdanim sagledavati ih zajedno s vlasnicima vikendica s područja Grada Zagreba.

<sup>18</sup> Novosel-Žic (1980-81) points out that precisely the grouping of second home owners from the same region proves the place of residence to be a significant element of cohesion of the second home population in the receiving region, more important than belonging to an extended family which is indeed present but in a lesser degree.

<sup>19</sup> Since the Zagreb County occupies a convincing third place in the number of owners of dwellings for vacation and recreation on the island of Krk, after the City of Zagreb and the Primorje-Gorski kotar County, and since the largest number of second home owners from that county lives in the satellite towns of the Zagreb agglomeration (Velika Gorica, Zaprešić, Samobor) and their motivation and direction of their demand for second homes are usually identical to those of the inhabitants of the City of Zagreb, it has seemed appropriate to group them all together in the analysis of their geographical distribution on the island of Krk.





Slika 6. Broj vlasnika stanova za odmor i rekreaciju s područja Grada Zagreba i Zagrebačke županije, Primorsko-goranske županije te Slovenije, po jedinicama lokalne samouprave otoka Krka 2007. godine (%)

Izvor: Dokumentacija Grada Krka te općina Baška, Dobrinj, Malinska-Dubašnica, Omišalj, Punt i Vrbnik, 2007.

Figure 6 The number of owners of dwellings for vacation and recreation on the territory of the City of Zagreb and the Zagreb County, Primorje-Gorski kotar County and Slovenia, by units of local self-government on the island of Krk in 2007 (%)

Source: *The administrative archive of the Town of Krk and the municipalities of Baška, Dobrinj, Malinska-Dubašnica, Omišalj, Punt and Vrbnik, 2007*

zastupljenost u svih šest krčkih općina i Gradu Krku, osobito u obalnim naseljima na zapadnoj i jugozapadnoj obali otoka, koja su najranije i "otkrili".

Raspon postotnih udjela vlasnika stanova za odmor i rekreaciju iz Primorsko-goranske županije, ponajviše iz Rijeke, kreće se između samo 8,21% u općini Malinska-Dubašnica i 35,54% u općini Vrbnik. Iza općine Vrbnik, najvećim postotnim udjelom vikendaša iz Primorsko-goranske županije ističe se općina Baška (29,66%), dok su ostale jedinice lokalne samouprave na otoku daleko "iza". Vrijedi pravilo: što je veći udio vikendica u jedinici lokalne samouprave nastao nasljeđivanjem starih kuća i njihove kasnije prenamjene i adaptacije, to je zastupljeniji kontingent riječkih vikendaša, zavičajno povezanih s receptivnim vikendaškim područjem. Kako su Vrbničani, tradicionalno manje od stanovnika ostalih krčkih naselja, bili skloni prodaji svojih nekretnina vikendašima, a i prirodne su pogodnosti za razvoj vikendaštva (npr. strma, stjenovita, manje pristupačna obala, oskudnija vegetacija, izloženost buri,

high demand and the relative proximity from the emissive second home region. As the inhabitants of Zagreb were among the first who appreciated the recreational advantages of the island of Krk from the aspect of second homes, their high proportional representation in all six municipalities and the Town of Krk is not surprising, particularly in the coastal settlements on the Western and Southwestern coast of the island which were "discovered" first.

The number of the owners of dwellings for vacation and recreation the Primorje-Gorski kotar County, primarily from Rijeka, ranges from as few as 8.21% in the Municipality of Malinska-Dubašnica to 35.54% in the Municipality of Vrbnik. After Vrbnik, the municipality with the highest representation of the second home owners from the Primorje-Gorski kotar County is the Municipality of Baška (29.66%), while other units of local self-government fall far "behind." The following general rule can be extrapolated: the number of the second home owners from Rijeka who originate from the receiving second home region is proportional to the number of second homes in any unit of local self-administration which were inherited and subsequently converted and adapted as second

kraća osunčanost zbog istočne ekspozicije obale itd.) bile nešto skromnije nego na zapadnoj i jugozapadnoj obali otoka, "naježda" vikendaša u općini Vrbnik nije poprimila tolike razmjere kao drugdje na otoku. Stoga je i udio vikendica stečenih nasljeđivanjem znatno veći nego u drugim dijelovima otoka. Baška, kao jedno od iseljavanjem najranije zahvaćenih naselja na otoku, također je zamjetan udio napuštenoga stambenog fonda "predala u nasljedstvo" potomcima svojih iseljenika, od kojih se dobar dio nastanio u Rijeci. U jedinicama lokalne samouprave gdje je namjenska (apartmanska) izgradnja, kao način jačanja vikendaštva, bila izražena u najvećoj mjeri (npr. Malinska-Dubašnica) udio riječkih vlasnika stanova za odmor i rekreaciju znatno je manji.

U strukturi vikendaša prema mjestu stalnoga prebivališta u jedinicama lokalne samouprave otoka Krka postotni udio Slovenaca varira između 3,51% u općini Baška i 35,87% u općini Dobrinj. Osim na dobrinjskome području, naglašenija koncentracija slovenskih vikendaša zamjetna je na području Grada Krka (npr. naselje Pinezići na području Šotoventa – 106 "slovenskih" vikendica; Krk – 63; Kornić – 38) te u općini Malinska-Dubašnica (Vantačići – 110; Malinska – 101). Kao što je već spomenuto, važan faktor njihove prostorne distribucije jest postojanje odmarališta brojnih slovenskih poduzeća nastalih u razdoblju "sindikalne" faze hrvatskoga turizma. Osim toga, slovenski vikendaši, čini se, izrazitije od ostalih preferiraju receptivna vikendaška područja u kojima je jedan od glavnih atraktivnih faktora očuvani prirodni ambijent. Upravo stoga, uz ranije navedene razloge, njihova je koncentracija veća u najmanje izgrađenim dijelovima otoka – u Dobrinjštini i na Šotoventu.

homes. As the inhabitants of Vrbnik have been less willing than the inhabitants of other settlements on Krk to sell their real estate to the second home buyers, and since the natural factors conducive to the development of the second home phenomenon (e.g. steep, rocky and less accessible coast, more modest vegetation, greater exposure to the wind bora, shorter period of exposure to sunlight due to the Eastern location and orientation of the coast, etc.) have been somewhat more modest than those on the Western and Southwestern coast of the island, the "invasion" of the second home buyers on the Municipality of Vrbnik have not been as pronounced as elsewhere on the island. As a result, the proportion of second homes acquired through inheritance is significantly higher than in other parts of the island. Baška, as a settlement which was among the first to be hit by emigration, also "handed over as inheritance" a sizeable proportion of the abandoned housing fund to the descendents of its émigrés, some of which settled in Rijeka. In the units of local self-government where the second home phenomenon developed mostly through the planned construction of purpose-built apartment buildings, (e.g. Malinska-Dubašnica), the proportion of the owners of dwellings for vacation and recreation from Rijeka is significantly lower.

The proportion of the inhabitants of Slovenia in the structure of the second home owners by their place of residence in the units of local self-government on the island of Krk varies from 3.51% in the Municipality of Baška to 35.87% in the Municipality of Dobrinj. Apart from the Dobrinj area, the concentration of the Slovenian second home owners is registered in the Town of Krk (e.g. the village of Pinezići in the area of Šotovento – 106 "Slovenian" second homes; Krk – 63; Kornić - 38) and in the Municipality of Malinska-Dubašnica (Vantačići – 110; Malinska – 101). As has already been mentioned, a factor important for their spatial distribution is the existence of resting centres of numerous Slovenian firms which came into being in the "sindical" period of Croatian tourism. Further, it appears that the Slovenian second home owners more than others prefer those receiving second home areas with well preserved natural environment as one of the main features. For this reason, in addition to the already mentioned reasons, their concentration is higher in the least developed parts of the island – in the area of Dobrinj and on Šotovento.

Tablica 2. Broj stanova za odmor i rekreaciju prema udaljenosti od naselja stalnog prebivališta po jedinicama lokalne samouprave otoka Krka 2007. godine

Table 2 The number of dwellings for vacation and recreation by the distance between the place of permanent residence by the units of local self-government on the island of Krk in 2007

GRAD/OPĆINA TOWN/ MUNICIPALITY	UDALJENOST STALNOGA PREBIVALIŠTA OD STANA ZA ODMOR I REKREACIJU (km) DISTANCE BETWEEN THE PERMANENT RESIDENCE AND SECOND HOME (km)									
	< 100	%	100- -250	%	250- -500	%	> 500	%	Ukupno Total	%
Baška	414	29,66	741	53,08	136	9,74	105	7,52	1396	100
Dobrinj	162	14,31	791	69,88	97	8,57	82	7,24	1132	100
Krk	220	12,17	1314	72,68	176	9,73	98	5,42	1808	100
Malinska- Dubašnica	164	8,21	1508	75,48	209	10,46	117	5,86	1998	100
Omišalj	192	15,58	910	73,86	95	7,71	35	2,84	1232	100
Punat	149	13,78	817	75,58	99	9,16	16	1,48	1081	100
Vrbnik	176	35,34	263	52,81	52	10,44	7	1,41	498	100
UKUPNO (OTOK KRK)	1477	16,15	6344	69,37	864	9,45	460	5,03	9145	100
TOTAL (ISLAND OF KRK)										

Izvor: Dokumentacija Grada Krka te općina Baška, Dobrinj, Malinska-Dubašnica, Omišalj, Punat i Vrbnik, 2007.

Source: The administrative archive of the Town of Krk and the municipalities of Baška, Dobrinj, Malinska-Dubašnica, Omišalj, Punat and Vrbnik, 2007

### Struktura vlasnika prema udaljenosti naselja stalnoga prebivališta od receptivnoga vikendaškog područja

Prethodno razmotrena struktura vlasnika stanova za odmor i rekreaciju prema mjestima stalnoga prebivališta direktno se odražava na sljedeću analiziranu strukturu vikendaša na Krku – prema udaljenosti naselja stalnoga prebivališta od receptivnoga vikendaškog područja (Tabl. 2.).<sup>20</sup>

Glavnina krčkih vikendaša živi na udaljenosti do 250 km od svojih vikendica na otoku. Naime, unutar 100 km od receptivnoga naselja nalazi se stalno prebivalište 16,15% svih vikendaša na otoku, dok na udaljenosti od 100 do 250 km od njihovih stanova za odmor i rekreaciju na

<sup>20</sup> Nastojeći prikazati što realniju sliku udaljenosti prvoga i drugoga doma u kontekstu vikendaštva na otoku Krku, u analizu su uzete cestovne udaljenosti između naselja stalnoga prebivališta i naselja na otoku Krku gdje se nalazi vikendica. Na temelju cestovne udaljenosti, naime, može se procijeniti i realno vrijeme putovanja između stalnoga prebivališta i stana za odmor i rekreaciju, dakle, detaljnije utvrditi karakter vikendaških kretanja prema otoku Krku.

### The structure of owners by the distance between the place of permanent residence and the receiving second home region

The above analysis of the structure of the owners of dwellings for vacation and recreation by the place of residence is directly related to the following analysis of the structure of the second home owners on the island of Krk by the distance between the place of residence and the receiving second home area (Tab. 2).<sup>20</sup>

The majority of the Krk second home owners live within 250 km from their second homes on the island. 16.15% of all second home owners on the island live within 100 km from the receiving settlement, while 69.37% live at the distance between 100 and 250 km from their dwellings for

<sup>20</sup> In the attempt to present the most realistic picture of the distance between the first and second homes in the context of the second home phenomenon on the island of Krk, the analysis includes all road distances between places of residence and settlements on the island of Krk where second homes are located. The road distance can help realistically to assess the time of travel between the place of residence and the dwelling for vacation and recreation and thus give a more precise character of the second home migrations towards the island of Krk.



Krku živi 69,37% vikendaša. Na udaljenostima između 250 km i 500 km od stana za odmor i rekreaciju živi 9,45% krčkih vikendaša, dok tek 5,03% vlasnika stanova za odmor i rekreaciju koji posjeduju vikendice na Krku do njih putuju na relacijama dužim od 500 km.

Takva raspodjela emitivnih vikendaških područja s obzirom na udaljenost od receptivnih naselja na otoku Krku usko je povezana sa strukturom vlasnika stanova za odmor i rekreaciju prema mjestu stalnoga prebivališta. Najveći broj vlasnika vikendica na otoku u razredu između 100 i 250 km od stalnoga prebivališta posljedica je prije svega velikoga broja vikendaša iz Zagreba i drugih regionalnih središta Središnje Hrvatske (npr. Karlovac, Sisak, Varaždin), kao i iz Slovenije (npr. Ljubljana). Kako se na udaljenosti do 100 km od otočnih receptivnih naselja uglavnom nalaze emitivna vikendaška područja Primorsko-goranske županije na čelu s Rijekom, ne iznenađuje gotovo potpuna podudarnost postotnog udjela vlasnika vikendica s područja Primorsko-goranske županije (16,09%) i broja vikendaša koji žive na navedenoj udaljenosti od svojih vikendica na Krku (16,15%). Između 250 i 500 km od otoka Krka udaljena su emitivna vikendaška područja poput Istočne Hrvatske, dijela Južnoga hrvatskog primorja, istočnoga dijela Slovenije te bližih dijelova Italije, Austrije, Mađarske i Bosne i Hercegovine. Zbog znatnije udaljenosti od svojih vikendica na Krku udio vikendaša iz navedenih emitivnih vikendaških područja smanjuje se proporcionalno s povećanjem udaljenosti (ukupno 9,45% vikendaša na otoku živi u navedenom razredu s obzirom na cestovnu udaljenost od vikendice). Ostala emitivna vikendaška područja (npr. Njemačka, dio Austrije, Italije, Mađarske, Srbija itd.) mogu se ubrojiti u razred "iznad 500 km" s obzirom na udaljenost od otoka. Njihov najmanji postotni udio u strukturi vikendaša na otoku (5,03%) jasno potvrđuje pravilo o smanjenju vikendaške potražnje s porastom udaljenosti emitivnoga od receptivnoga vikendaškog područja.

U svim jedinicama lokalne samouprave na otoku zamjetna su tek manja odstupanja od navedenih srednjaka za otok u cjelini. Razlozi manjih odstupanja najčešće leže u nekim specifičnostima strukture vlasnika vikendica prema mjestima stalnoga prebivališta. Tako je, primjerice, u općinama Baška i Vrbnik nešto zastupljenija skupina vikendaša udaljena od svojih vikendica na Krku do 100 km zbog naglašenije vikendaške prisutnosti Riječana, dok

vacation and recreation on the island of Krk. 9.45% of the Krk second home owners live at the distance between 250 and 500 km from their dwelling for vacation and recreation, and only 5.03% of those who own dwellings for vacation and recreation on the island of Krk travel more than 500 km.

This distribution of the emissive second home areas by the distance from receiving settlements on the island of Krk is closely related to the structure of the owners of dwellings for vacation and recreation by the place of their residence. The fact that the majority of the second home owners on the island belong to the group of those whose place of residence is between 100 and 250 km from their second homes is the result of a large number of second home owners from Zagreb and other regional centres from Central Croatia (e.g. Karlovac, Sisak, Varaždin) and Slovenia (e.g. Ljubljana). The Primorje-Gorski kotar County with its centre Rijeka is the main emissive second home region within 100 km from the receiving settlements on the island. It is not surprising, then, that the proportional representation of the second home owners from the Primorje-Gorski kotar County (16.09%) is almost identical with the proportional representation of the second home owners residing at this distance from their second homes on the island of Krk (16.15%). The emissive second home regions which are located between 250 and 500 km from the island of Krk are parts of Eastern Croatia and Southern Croatian littoral, Eastern Slovenia and closer regions of Italy, Austria, Hungary and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Due to the greater distance from their second homes on the island of Krk the number of second home owners from those emissive regions diminishes in proportion to the increased distance (the total of 9.45% second home owners on the island belong to this category of owners defined by the road distance from their second homes). Other emissive second home regions (e.g. Germany, parts of Austria, Italy, Hungary, Serbia, etc.) fall in the category "over 500 km" relating to the distance from the island. Their lowest percentage within the structure of the second home owners (5.03%) confirms the observation that the demand for second homes decreases in proportion to the increase in the distance between the emissive and receiving second home area.

Units of local self-government demonstrate only minor deviation from the average value for the island as a whole. The reasons for these minor deviations are to be found in certain peculiarities related to the structure of the second home owners analysed by the place of residence. For example, the municipalities of Baška and Vrbnik have a slightly higher percentage of second home owners who live

je u općini Malinska-Dubašnica, zbog male, ali ipak jače zastupljenosti inozemnih vikendaša (npr. Nijemaca, Austrijanaca i Mađara), pomalo izraženiji kontingent vikendaša koji živi na udaljenosti većoj od 500 km od svojih vikendica na otoku.

Ako se prostornoj i vremenskoj udaljenosti kao temeljnim faktorima koji definiraju karakter vikendaških kretanja, pridoda još i element potencijalne frekvencije upotrebe stanova za odmor i rekreaciju, vikendaška kretanja na otoku Krku pokazuju sljedeće strukturne karakteristike. Cestovna udaljenost vikendice od mjesta stalnoga prebivališta do 100 km (otprilike 90 minuta vožnje automobilom pri normalnim uvjetima odvijanja prometa) može se smatrati zonom dnevne upotrebe, odnosno vikend-rekreacije. U navedenu zonu ušla bi emitivna vikendaška područja Primorsko-goranske županije, ponajprije grad Rijeka. Udaljenost stalnoga prebivališta između 100 i 250 km (otprilike 90 do 150 minuta vožnje) od vikendica na Krku podudara se sa zonom upotrebe vikendima (npr. Zagreb i veći dio Središnje Hrvatske, zapadni dio Slovenije s Ljubljanom itd.), između 250 i 500 km (ugrubo više od 150 minuta vožnje) sa zonom upotrebe vikendica za kraćih i dužih praznika (npr. Istočna Hrvatska, Južno hrvatsko primorje, istočni dio Slovenije, bliži dijelovi Italije, Austrije, Mađarske itd.), dok se udaljenost prvoga od drugoga doma veća od 500 km (otprilike više od 400 minuta vožnje) može ubrojiti u zonu sezonske upotrebe, odnosno upotrebe za dužih praznika (ostala emitivna vikendaška područja Europe i svijeta).

Prostorna i vremenska udaljenost stana za odmor i rekreaciju od vikendice, kao i s njima povezana frekvencija dolazaka i dužina boravka u njoj, u izravnoj je vezi s potrošnjom vikendaša u receptivnom vikendaškom području. Može se pretpostaviti kako vikendaši na Krku sa stalnim prebivalištem unutar Primorsko-goranske županije - zbog blizine mjesta stalnoga stanovanja, veće učestalosti dolaska i kraćega prosječnog boravka u vikendici - većinu potreština donose sa sobom, pa kako ne povećavaju zamjetnije potrošnju u receptivnom vikendaškom području, relativno slabo utječu na ekonomske efekte vikendaštva u lokalnoj zajednici. Vikendaši iz susjednih regija (npr. Središnja Hrvatska, zapadni dio Slovenije) unutar zone vikend-upotrebe stanova za odmor i rekreaciju na Krku zbog blizine mjesta stalnoga prebivališta, kada je boravak u vikendici vremenski ograničen na

within the distance of 100 km from their second homes on the island of Krk. This is due to the more pronounced presence of the second home owners from Rijeka. On the other hand, the Municipality of Malinska-Dubašnica has a relatively higher index of representation of second home owners from abroad (e.g. Germans, Austrians and Hungarians), which increases the number of second home owners who live at a distance greater than 500 km from their second homes on the island.

If the element of the estimated frequency of the usage of dwellings for vacation and recreation is added to the spatial and temporal distance, basic factors which define the character of the second home phenomenon mobility, the second home mobility on the island of Krk reveals the certain structural characteristics. The road distance between the second home and the place of residence of under 100 km (approximately 90 minutes by car in normal traffic conditions) can be considered the zone of daily usage, that is of weekend recreation. This zone includes emissive regions of the Primorje-Gorski kotar County, mainly the city of Rijeka. The road distance between the second home and the place of residence between 100 and 250 km (approximately between 90 and 150 minutes by car) overlaps with the weekend usage of second homes (e.g. Zagreb and the main part of Central Croatia, Western Slavonia, Western Slovenia with Ljubljana, etc.). The road distance between 250 and 500 km (approximately over 150 minutes by car) implies the zone of usage of second homes over the period of shorter and longer holidays (e.g. Eastern Croatia, Southern Croatian littoral, Eastern part of Slovenia, nearer parts of Italy, Austria, Hungary, etc.), while the distance between the first and second home over 500 km (approximately over 400 minutes by car) can be classed as the zone of seasonal usage, i.e. during longer holidays (other emissive second home areas in Europe and the world).

The spatial and temporal distance of the dwellings for vacation and recreation and the related frequency of visits and their duration are directly related to the volume of spending of the second home owners in the receiving second home areas. It may be assumed that the second home owners who reside in the Primorje-Gorski kotar County - due to the proximity of the place of residence, greater frequency of visits and shorter average stay in the second home - bring with them the majority of provisions they need. Since they do not significantly affect commerce and trade in the receiving second home area, their effect on the economic circumstances relative to the second home industry on the local economy is negligible.

svoga nekoliko dana, također ne ostvaruju veću potrošnju u receptivnim vikendaškim područjima Krka, kakva je karakteristična za vikendaše čija su vikendaška kretanja većega prostornog dometa, pa im je i frekvencija dolazaka manja, ali dužina boravka u vikendici (tijekom kraćih i dužih praznika, odnosno sezone) neusporedivo veća. Njihova potrošnja trebala bi, analogno tome, biti uvjerljivo najveća, baš kao i njome izazvani pozitivni ekonomski učinci u lokalnoj ekonomiji otoka Krka. U skupinu "većih potrošača" s jačim utjecajem na lokalnu ekonomiju mogu se ubrojiti i vikendaši iz zone vikend-upotrebe, odnosno i dnevne upotrebe, kada u vikendicama kontinuirano borave za kraćih i dužih praznika ili čitave sezone.

### **Struktura vlasnika sa stalnim prebivalištem u Hrvatskoj prema veličini naselja stalnoga prebivališta**

Analiza strukture vlasnika stanova za odmor i rekreaciju na otoku Krku sa stalnim prebivalištim u Hrvatskoj, prema veličini naselja stalnoga prebivališta prijeko je potrebna za prihvaćanje pretpostavke kako glavina vikendaške potražnje dolazi iz redova stanovništva velikih i većih gradova, izloženijeg stresnijem načinu života, ali, u pravilu, i većih primanja od stanovništva seoskih naselja (Tabl. 3.).<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> U analizu veličine naselja stalnoga prebivališta ušli su oni stanovi za odmor i rekreaciju na otoku (njih 7359) čiji vlasnici imaju prijavljenu adresu stalnoga prebivališta u Hrvatskoj. Naime, radi pojednostavnjivanja interpretacije statističkih podataka o broju stanovnika pojedinoga naselja (različite metodologije i vrijeme popisa stanovništva), iz analize su izuzeti vikendaši s adresom stalnoga prebivališta u inozemstvu, što, čini se, značajnije ne mijenja konačne rezultate. Naselja stalnoga prebivališta krčkih vikendaša klasificirana su prema veličini na osnovi njihova broja stanovnika 2001. godine u sljedeće veličinske razrede: a) do 2000 stanovnika (manja naselja), b) 2000 – 15 000 (mali gradovi, lokalni centri), c) 15 000 – 40 000 (srednji gradovi – regionalni centri), d) 40 000 – 90 000 (srednje veliki gradovi – regionalni centri), e) 90 000 - 200 000 (veliki gradovi, makroregionalni centri), te f) više od 200 000 (Zagreb, nacionalna metropola).

The second home owners from the neighbouring areas (e.g. Central Croatia, Western Slovenia) who use dwellings for vacation and recreation on the island of Krk over weekends are still relatively close to the place of residence. When their stay in the second home is limited to just a few days, they do not significantly affect the local economy of the receiving second home areas either. This stands in stark contrast to the second home owners who travel from greater distances. Although the frequency of their visits is lower, the duration of their stay is incomparably greater (during shorter and longer holidays and seasonal breaks). Consequently, their commercial input should be convincingly greater as should be the positive economic consequences for the local economies of the island of Krk. The group of "significant customers" with tangible influence on local economies also includes the second home owners who use their second homes only on weekends or even daily providing that they spend time in their second homes on a regular basis during shorter and longer holidays or throughout the season.

### **The structure of owners with permanent residence in Croatia by the size of place of permanent residence**

The analysis of the structure of the owners of dwellings for vacation and recreation on the island of Krk with permanent residence in Croatia, by the size of place of permanent residence is necessary in order to corroborate the hypothesis that the bulk of the demand for second homes originates from the ranks of the population inhabiting large cities and larger towns, the population more exposed to stressful life but also the population with higher earnings than that of rural settlements (Tab. 3)<sup>21</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> The analysis of the size of places of residence included those dwellings for vacation and recreation on the island of Krk (7359) whose owners registered their places of residence in Croatia. In order to simplify the interpretation of statistical information about the number of inhabitants of a given settlement (different methodologies and the time of the population census), the analysis does not include second home owners who reside abroad, which, as it appears, does not significantly alter final results. The places of residence of the Krk second home owners are classified by the size based on their number of inhabitants in 2001 into the following groups: a) up to 2000 inhabitants (smaller settlements), b) 2000 - 15 000 (small towns, local centres), c) 15 000 - 40 000 (medium size towns – regional centres), d) 40 000 - 90 000 (medium large towns – regional centres), e) 90 000 - 200 000 (large cities, macroregional centres), and f) over 200 000 (Zagreb, national metropolis).



Tablica 3. Broj stanova za odmor i rekreaciju prema veličini naselja stalnog prebivališta vlasnika sa stalnim prebivalištem u Hrvatskoj po jedinicama lokalne samouprave otoka Krka 2007. godine

Table 3 The number of dwellings for vacation and recreation by the size of places of permanent residence of the owners with permanent residence in Croatia by the units of local self-government on the island of Krk in 2007

GRAD/ OPĆINA TOWN/ MUNICIPALITY	BROJ STANOVNIKA NASELJA STALNOGA PREBIVALIŠTA VLASNIKA STANA ZA ODMOR I REKREACIJU						Ukupno
	NUMBER OF INHABITANTS OF SETTLEMENTS OF PERMANENT RESIDENCE OF THE SECOND HOME OWNERS						Total
	< 2000	2000- -15 000	15 000- -40 000	40 000- -90 000	90 000- -200 000	> 200 000	
Baška	118	93	90	41	373	511	1226
Dobrinj	81	106	34	35	122	261	639
Krk	121	174	108	92	188	727	1410
Malinska-Dubašnica	165	194	173	119	135	781	1567
Omišalj	91	91	79	61	157	613	1092
Punat	72	86	84	65	138	527	972
Vrbnik	39	64	16	14	145	177	455
UKUPNO (OTOK KRK)	687	808	584	427	1258	3597	7361
TOTAL (ISLAND OF KRK)							

Izvor: Dokumentacija Grada Krka te općina Baška, Dobrinj, Malinska-Dubašnica, Omišalj, Punat i Vrbnik, 2007.

Source: The administrative archive of the Town of Krk and the municipalities of Baška, Dobrinj, Malinska-Dubašnica, Omišalj, Punat and Vrbnik, 2007

Već i letimičan pogled na podatke predočene u Tabl. 3. jasno otkriva povećanje apsolutnoga broja vikendica na otoku Krku s porastom veličine emitivnoga naselja. U skladu s očekivanjima, najveći broj vlasnika vikendica na otoku Krku s adresom stalnoga stanovanja u Hrvatskoj dolazi iz Zagreba (48,87%), jedinoga hrvatskog grada s više od 200 000 stanovnika, koliko, uostalom, iznosi donja granica "najgornjeg" razreda. Prema brojnosti slijedi skupina vlasnika iz hrvatskih makroregionalnih središta (Split, Rijeka, Osijek), u kojima živi 17,09% domaćih vlasnika vikendica na otoku. Naravno da glavni ponder brojnosti vikendica u ovom razredu daju vikendaši iz Rijeke, mnogostruko zastupljeniji među vikendašima na Krku od Osječana i, pogotovo, Splitskana.

Pregledom daljnjih veličinskih razreda mogu se ustanoviti određene "anomalije", odnosno odstupanja od potpunoga potvrđivanja pravilnosti da se paralelno sa smanjenjem veličine naselja smanjuje i broj stanova za odmor i rekreaciju, odnosno vikendaška potražnja. Naime, analiza pokazuje nešto veći broj vikendica u vlasništvu stanovnika srednjih gradova (15 000 – 40 000 stanovnika; 7,93% svih vikendica na otoku) nego srednje velikih gradova (40 000 – 90 000 stanovnika; 5,80%) te još veći broj vikendica što

A cursory glance at the statistics from Table 3 clearly reveals the increase in the absolute number of second homes on the island of Krk which is relative to the increase in the size of the emissive settlement. As expected, the majority of the second home owners on the island of Krk who reside in Croatia come from Zagreb (48.87%), the only Croatian city with over 200 000 inhabitants, which marks the lower threshold of the "top" class. Next follows the group of owners from Croatian macroregional centres (Split, Rijeka, Osijek), which accommodates 17.09% of all domestic second home owners. The bulk of the second home owners in this group naturally comes from Rijeka. Their number exceeds the number of the second home owners from Osijek several times, let alone those from Split.

The examination of subsequent settlement size classes reveals certain "anomalies", that is, deviations from the rule that the smaller settlement implies a lower number of owners of dwellings for vacation and recreation, i.e. the demand for second homes. The analysis reveals a somewhat higher number of second homes owned by the inhabitants of medium sized towns (15 000 - 40 000 inhabitants; 7.93% of all second homes on the island) than is the case with medium-large sized towns (40 000 - 90 000 inhabitants; 5.80%) and even higher number

ih posjeduju žitelji malih gradova (2000 – 15 000 stanovnika; 10,98%). Vlasnici iz manjih naselja (do 2000 stanovnika) u domaćem segmentu vikendaštva na Krku bili su zastupljeni s relativno visokih 9,33% od ukupnoga broja stanova za odmor i rekreaciju na otoku.

Kako objasniti takvu, pomalo neočekivanu, zastupljenost broja vikendica s obzirom na veličinu naselja stalnoga prebivališta vlasnika krčkih vikendica? Pri analizi korelacije brojnosti vlasnika vikendica i veličine naselja, u realnom prostoru nikada se ne može očekivati postojanje pravilnog urbanog sustava s obzirom na hijerarhiju gradova u njemu, odnosno njihovu zastupljenost. U konkretnom urbanom sustavu uvijek je broj gradova određene veličine neproporcionalno velik ili malen u odnosu na njegovu idealnu hijerarhijsku strukturu. Tako je i u slučaju emitivnih vikendaških područja otoka Krka. Relativna blizina Zagreba uvjetovala je iznadprosječnu zastupljenost broja vikendaša u odnosu na gradove nižih veličinskih kategorija. Broj vikendaša iz makroregionalnih središta Hrvatske u slučaju sekundarnoga stanovanja na Krku gotovo da se može poistovjetiti s brojem vlasnika stanova za odmor i rekreaciju iz Rijeke, Krku najbližega makroregionalnog središta. S obzirom na broj stanovnika gradova, koncentracija Osječana i Splitsana među vlasnicima vikendica na Krku u izrazitoj je disproportiji.

Spomenute se "anomalije", dakle, u broju vikendica prema veličini grada, u većoj mjeri mogu objasniti neproporcionalnom zastupljenošću (manjom ili većom od idealne) gradova određene veličine u emitivnom vikendaškom području (u "krčkom slučaju" zamjetna je ispodprosječna vikendaška zastupljenost stanovništva iz srednje velikih gradova u odnosu na natprosječno izraženu vikendašku zastupljenost stanovništva iz malih gradova, kojih je očito veći broj unutar emitivnoga vikendaškog područja) nego izjednačavanjem rekreacijskih potreba, materijaliziranih kroz povećanu vikendašku potražnju stanovnika manjih i većih naselja. U uzrocima spomenute neproporcionalnosti glavnu ulogu ima postojanje čitavoga niza malih (npr. Dugo Selo, Jastrebarsko, Duga Resa, Krapina, Vrbovec itd.) i srednjih gradova (npr. Sisak, Bjelovar, Koprivnica, Velika Gorica, Samobor, Zaprešić, Čakovec itd.) na prostoru Središnje Hrvatske, u kojima je gradski način življenja oblikovao jaku potrebu za rekreacijom i vikendašku potražnju tamošnjega stanovništva, dok je broj srednje velikih gradova na tom glavnom ishodišnom

of second homes owned by the inhabitants of small towns (2000 - 15 000 inhabitants; 10.98%). The owners from smaller settlements (up to 2000 inhabitants) from the domestic segment of the second home phenomenon were represented by the relatively high percentage of 9.33% of the total number of dwellings for vacation and recreation on the island.

How to explain this somewhat unexpectedly high number of second homes in relation to the size of the place of residence of their owners? Any analysis of the correlation between the number of the second home owners and the size of settlements cannot presume to uphold a hypothesis of a real, non-hypothetical space relative to the hierarchy of cities within it, that is their even distribution. In a real, non-hypothetical urban system the number of towns of a certain size is always unproportionally high or low in relation to their ideal hierarchical structure. The same is the case of the emissive second home regions of the island of Krk. The relative proximity of Zagreb has occasioned the above average representation of the number of the second home owners in relation to the towns of lower size categories. In the case of the secondary dwelling on the island of Krk the number of the second home owners from Croatian macroregional centres almost completely overlaps with the number of owners of dwellings for vacation and recreation from Rijeka, the macroregional centre closest to Krk. Taking into account the number of inhabitants, the concentration of the inhabitants from Osijek and Split among the second home owners on the island of Krk is remarkably disproportional.

Therefore, these "anomalies" in the number of second homes relative to the size of towns of origin of the second home owners can be explained by the disproportional representation (higher or lower than ideal) of towns of a certain size in the emissive second home area (the "Krk case study" reveals a below average representation of the inhabitants of medium-large towns in relation to the above average representation of the inhabitants of small towns, which obviously represents a larger number within an emissive second home area) rather than by equalising recreational needs, materialised in the increased demand for second homes among the inhabitants of smaller and larger settlements. The main among causes of the above disproportion is the existence of a number of small (e.g. Dugo Selo, Jastrebarsko, Duga Resa, Krapina, Vrbovec, etc.) and medium-size towns (e.g. Sisak, Bjelovar, Koprivnica, Velika Gorica, Samobor, Zaprešić, Čakovec, etc.) in Central Croatia in which the urban way of life has formed a strong need for recreation and the demand

prostoru vikendaških kretanja prema Krku ipak ograničen samo na Karlovac (49 082 stanovnika 2001. godine), Sesvete (44 914) i Varaždin (41 434 stanovnika).

### Zaključak

Zbog rane pojave vikendaštva te njegove vrlo izražene koncentracije, otok Krk reprezentativan je primjer obalnoga receptivnoga vikendaškog područja za analizu strukturnih obilježja vikendaških kretanja u hrvatskom priobalju. Nakon faze prenamjene i adaptacije (najviše 1960-ih i 1970-ih) postojećega stambenog fonda u vikendice, kao i drugdje u hrvatskom priobalju, i na otoku Krku uslijedila je faza namjenske izgradnje obiteljskih vikendica (1970-ih i 1980-ih), koja se ogleda u kupnji i pretvaranju poljoprivrednoga zemljišta u građevinsko, u početku na najatraktivnijim lokacijama u blizini obale, a kasnije i na onima manje privlačnima u unutrašnjosti otoka. Od sredine 1990-ih otok Krk, osobito neki njegovi dijelovi poprište su snažne apartmanizacije, tj. izgradnje višestambenih objekata za odmor i rekreaciju, koja je uzrokovala korjenitu transformaciju prostora.

Brojem vikendica 2001. godine ponajviše se ističu najveća i turistički najrazvijenija obalna naselja, npr. Krk, Njivice, Punat, Baška, Omišalj, Malinska te, nešto manje, Vrbnik. Usprkos izraženijoj koncentraciji vikendica u obalnim naseljima, evidentno je disperzno širenje vikendaštva i u unutrašnjosti otoka, što potvrđuju i zameci apartmanizacije u naseljima u unutrašnjosti u neposrednom obalnom zaleđu. U većini krčkih naselja broj stanova za odmor i rekreaciju 2001. godine bio je veći od broja stalno nastanjenih stanova. Prevlast funkcije sekundarnoga rekreacijskog stanovanja nad funkcijom stalnoga stanovanja zabilježena je u svim većim otočnim naseljima, čak i u Krku, osim u Vrbniku i Omišlju. Najjaču transformaciju stambenoga fonda doživjela su manja naselja, neovisno o tome radilo se o onima smještenima uz obalu ili pak onima u unutrašnjosti otoka.

Analizom strukturnih obilježja vikendaša na otoku prema mjestu stalnoga prebivališta ustanovljeno je da velika većina krčkih vikendaša živi u Hrvatskoj. Kao glavnim ishodištima domaće vikendaške potražnje jedno od najbližih obalnih receptivnih vikendaških područja, otok Krk tradicionalno je receptivno vikendaško područje stanovnika Zagreba i okolice.

for second homes among the local population, while the number of medium-large towns in the primary originating space of the second home migrations towards Krk is after all limited to the sole case of Karlovac (49 082 inhabitants in 2001), Sesvete (44 914) and Varaždin (41 434).

### Conclusion

Due to the early emergence of the second home phenomenon and its early concentration, the island of Krk is a superb example of the receiving second home region on the Croatian littoral, and as such is conducive to an analysis of the structural characteristics of the second home mobility in the Croatian littoral. After the period of the conversion and adaptation (mostly in 1960s and 1970s) of the existing housing fund into second homes on the island of Krk as well as elsewhere in the Croatian littoral, there followed a period of the purpose-build construction of family houses (1970s and 1980s) which is marked by the purchase and conversion of agricultural land into building sites. This process first hit most attractive locations along the coast, followed by those less attractive in the hinterland of the island. From mid 1990s the island of Krk, and particularly some parts of it, experienced intensive apartmentalisation, i.e. the building of multi-apartment dwellings for vacation and recreation which occasioned a fundamental transformation of the landscape.

The coastal settlements with the highest number of second homes in 2001 were largest coastal settlements with most developed tourism, e.g. Krk, Njivice, Punat, Baška, Omišalj, Malinska and to a lesser degree Vrbnik. Despite the pronounced concentration of second homes in the coastal settlements, the dispersive spread of the second home phenomenon is also evident in the hinterland, which is confirmed by germane apartmentalisation in the settlements in the inland areas of the island but adjacent to the coast. The number of dwellings for vacation and recreation in most settlements on the island of Krk in 2001 was higher than the number of flats with permanent occupancy. The prevalence of the function of secondary recreational dwelling over the function of permanent residence is recorded in all larger settlements on the island, even in Krk, but with the exception of Vrbnik and Omišalj. Small settlements experienced the strongest transformation of the housing fund, irrespective of their location on the coast or in the hinterland.

The analysis of structural characteristics of the second home owners on the island by the place of



Izgradnjom Krčkoga mosta te autocestovnim povezivanjem Zagreba i Rijeke, otok Krk zadnjih se godina sve više ističe kao integralni dio zone vikend-rekreacije Zagreba. Osim toga, povoljan prometno-geografski položaj bio je jedan od presudnih privlačnih faktora pri izboru lokacije za stjecanje vikendice na Krku i brojnim Riječanima, kao i Slovencima, koji zajedno sa Zagrepčanima predstavljaju tri vodeće skupine vikendaša s obzirom na mjesto stalnog prebivališta. Detaljnija analiza strukture vlasnika stanova za odmor i rekreaciju na otoku Krku prema mjestu stalnoga prebivališta otkriva da se na Krku zadržala ranija tendencija grupiranja vikendaša iz istoga grada ili istoga emitivnog vikendaškog područja (npr. Zagrepčani u Malinskoj, Slovenci na području Dobrinjštine).

Glavnina vikendaša živi na udaljenosti do 250 km od svojih vikendica na otoku. Iz navedenoga proizlazi zaključak kako su vikendaška kretanja usmjerena prema otoku Krku uglavnom interregionalnoga karaktera te se odvijaju između pojedinih hrvatskih županija. Intraregionalna kretanja unutar Primorsko-goranske županije također se ističu u strukturi vikendaških kretanja prema prostornom dometu. Internacionalna vikendaška kretanja nešto su manje naglašena, s iznimkom obližnje Slovenije, iz koje bi se, prema prostornom dometu da nije riječ o državnoj granici, vikendaška kretanja dobrim dijelom mogla klasificirati u interregionalna vikendaška kretanja. Liberalizacijom hrvatskog tržišta nekretnina prema Krku zadnjih godina sve više jača i strana vikendaška potražnja.

Nosioci domaće vikendaške potražnje i u apsolutnim, ali i u relativnim, mjerilima i dalje ostaju gradovi, ponajprije veliki gradovi (Zagreb, Rijeka), čije je stanovništvo, uz, u pravilu veća primanja, izloženije stresnijem i ubrzanijem stilu življenja od žitelja manjih naselja, pa mu je i vikendaška motivacija izraženija.

residence has revealed that the large proportion of the Krk second home owners lives in Croatia. As one of the coastal receiving second home regions nearest to the main emissive regions of domestic demand for second homes, the island of Krk has been a traditional receiving second home region of the inhabitants of Zagreb and its environs. After the building of the Krk bridge and the motorway which connected Zagreb and Rijeka in the past several years the island of Krk has gradually become an integral part of the weekend recreation zone of Zagreb. Further, the advantageous transport-geographical position has been one of the most decisive factors in choosing a location for the second home on the island of Krk. This applied also to numerous inhabitants of Rijeka and Slovenia who together with the inhabitants of Zagreb represent the three leading groups of second home owners by place of residence. A thorough analysis of the structure of owners of dwellings for vacation and recreation on the island of Krk by place of residence reveals the perseverance of the earlier trend of grouping of second home owners from the same town or same emissive second home region (e.g. the inhabitants of Zagreb in Malinska, Slovenians in the area of Dobrinj).

The majority of the second home owners lives up to 250 km from their second homes on the island. This leads to the conclusion that the second home mobility directed towards the island of Krk has a predominantly interregional character and that the mobility occurs between certain Croatian counties. Intraregional mobilities within the Primorje-Gorski kotar County also stand out within the structure of the second home mobilities analysed by spatial range. International second home migrations are less pronounced with the exception of the nearby Slovenia. With regard to the actual distance the migrations from Slovenia would be classed as interregional second home migrations if there was no state border. The liberalisation of the Croatian real estate market has intensified in the past several years the demand for second homes on Krk.

The main protagonists of the domestic demand for second homes in both absolute and relative terms continue to be cities, mainly large cities (Zagreb and Rijeka) whose inhabitants, in addition to higher income, are more exposed to a more stressful and quicker lifestyle than the inhabitants of smaller settlements, which results in a more pronounced demand for acquiring a second home.

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