

FIZIONOMSKE IMPLIKACIJE VIKENDAŠTVA U RECEPTIVNIM NASELJIMA – PRIMJER MALINSKE NA OTOKU KRKU

PHYSIOGNOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF THE SECOND HOME PHENOMENON IN THE RECEIVING SETTLEMENTS – THE CASE STUDY OF MALINSKA ON THE ISLAND OF KRK

VUK TVRTKO OPAČIĆ

Geografski odsjek, PMF, Zagreb / *Department of Geography, Faculty of Science, Zagreb*

Primljeno / *Received*: 2009-06-30

UDK 911.3:728.71(497.5Krk)

Izvorni znanstveni članak
Original scientific paper

U posljednjih pedesetak godina vikendaštvo je postalo jedna od najmarkantnijih prostornih pojava u priobalnom dijelu Hrvatske. Nakon hrvatskoga osamostaljenja i smirivanjem ratnih prilika, ulaskom u fazu apartmanizacije, sekundarno stanovanje se u posljednjih desetak, petnaestak godina u mnogim naseljima hrvatskoga priobalja afirmiralo kao dominantan čimbenik u oblikovanju pejzaža. U naseljima u kojima je evidentiran najjači transformatorski utjecaj vikendaštva u lokalnome stambenome fondu nastao je tipičan vikendaški pejzaž čija fizionomska obilježja ponajviše definira prisutnost stambenih jedinica za odmor i rekreaciju. Temeljni cilj ovoga istraživanja jest utvrditi i analizirati fizionomske implikacije vikendaštva u Malinskoj na otoku Krku. Kao tipičan primjer receptivnoga naselja u hrvatskom priobalju izabrana je Malinska zato jer je u njoj vikendaštvo prošlo kroz sve karakteristične razvojne faze – od prevlasti raskošnih vila i ljetnikovaca, preko dominacije individualnih obiteljskih kuća za odmor i rekreaciju (vikendica u užem smislu) pa sve do brojnih apartmanskih višestambenih objekata koji danas daju najmarkantniji pečat u obilježjima sekundarnoga stanovanja. Omasovljenjem sekundarnoga stanovanja u vrijeme socijalističke Jugoslavije, a osobito u "apartmanskoj" razvojnoj fazi u zadnjih petnaestak godina, Malinska je postala istinsko "vikendaško središte" otoka, u kojemu su se, više nego igdje drugdje na Krku, iskristalizirali direktni (fizionomski) i indirektni (ekonomski i sociokulturni) učinci sekundarnoga rekreacijskog stanovanja u prostoru, stvarajući eklatantan primjer vikendaškog pejzaža u hrvatskom priobalju. Rad metodološki počiva na kombinaciji obradbe relevantne literature o problematici prostornoga aspekta vikendaštva te terenskog istraživanja s neposrednim anketiranjem stalnoga stanovništva i vikendaša u Malinskoj, kartiranjem, fotografiranjem i opažanjem na temelju dugogodišnjeg poznavanja prostora istraživanja.

Ključne riječi: vikendica, vikendaštvo, receptivno vikendaško područje, vikendaški pejzaž, fizionomska transformacija prostora, otok Krk, Hrvatska

In the past fifty years the second home phenomenon has become one of the most distinguished geographical features in the Croatian littoral. After Croatia won its independence and after the cessation of war operations, with the start of the period of apartmentalisation, secondary dwelling emerged as the dominant factor in landscape definition in many settlements of the Croatian littoral in the past ten to fifteen years. In the settlements which recorded most significant transformational influence of the second home phenomenon, the local housing fund has experienced the development of a typical second home landscape whose physiognomic characteristics are primarily defined by the presence of building units for vacation and recreation. The main aim of this study is to establish and analyse physiognomic implications of the second home phenomenon in Malinska on the island of Krk. Malinska has been chosen as a typical example of a receiving settlement in the Croatian littoral because it has gone through all characteristic phases of the development of the second home phenomenon – from the prevalence of luxurious villas and resorts through the domination of individual family houses for vacation and recreation (second homes in the strict sense) to numerous multi-apartment buildings which today characterise, more than any other kind of buildings, secondary dwelling. Through the popularisation and growth of secondary dwelling in the period of the Socialist Yugoslavia, and particularly in the "apartmentalisation" phase in the last fifteen years, Malinska has become a true "second home centre" of the island which manifests, more vividly than any other settlement on the island of Krk, direct (physiognomic) and indirect (economic and socio-cultural) impact of secondary recreational dwelling on physical space, and provides an illustrative example of a second

home landscape in the Croatian littoral. The methodology is a combination of the analysis of relevant literature about the geographical aspect of the second home phenomenon and field research with direct survey of local population and second home owners in Malinska, mapping, photographing and deduction based on many years of direct acquaintance with the area included in the study.

Key words: second home, second home phenomenon, receiving second home area, second home landscape, physiognomic transformation of space, the island of Krk, Croatia

Uvod

Svojom prisutnošću kroz dugi niz godina vikendaštvo¹ je imalo važnu ulogu u prostornom razvoju otoka Krka. Njegov transformatorski utjecaj najjače je došao do izražaja u zadnjih tridesetak godina, kada je na mnogim dijelovima na otoku, primjerice na širem području Malinske, formiran tipičan vikendaški pejzaž, dakle pejzaž čija fizionomska obilježja u najvećoj mjeri određuje prisutnost funkcije sekundarnoga rekreacijskog stanovanja. Osim u fizionomiji receptivnih naselja,² kao i, ponegdje, čitavoga pejzaža, vikendaštvo je na Krku umnogome potaknulo korjenite promjene na ekonomskom i sociokulturnom planu. S pravom se, stoga, može konstatirati da je analizirana pojava postala jedan od ključnih faktora cjelokupnoga regionalnog razvoja otoka, čijem planiranju i optimalnom usmjeravanju u budućnosti valja pristupiti krajnje ozbiljno.

¹ 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" (OPAČIĆ, 2008a; 2008b). Intervjuiranjem vikendaša i lokalnog stanovništva u Malinskoj neposredno je "ispitano" njihovo razumijevanje pojma "vikendaštvo" u svakodnevnom govoru. Zanimljivo da, iako se riječ "vikendaštvo" ne pojavljuje u rječnicima hrvatskoga jezika, ni jedan od ispitanika u Malinskoj pri spomenu pojma "vikendaštvo" nije reagirao s određenom rezervom ostavljajući dojam da mu je sadržaj pojma nepoznat. S opravdanošću uvođenja ovoga pojma, kao i jasno definiranim njegovim značenjem te tvorbenom dosljednošću normi hrvatskoga jezika, složili su se i poznati jezikoslovci Tomislav Ladan i Nives Opačić.

² Pojam "receptivno naselje" u kontekstu vikendaštva označava stalno naselje, bilo da je riječ o gradskom ili pak seoskome, u kojemu je zabilježena pojava stambenih jedinica za odmor i rekreaciju.

Introduction

The presence of the second home phenomenon¹ over many years has exerted a strong influence on the socio-economic development of the island of Krk. Its transformational impact has been most evident in the last thirty or so years through the emergence - in many areas of the island, for instance in Malinska and its vicinity - of a typical second home landscape, that is, the landscape whose physiognomic traits are predominantly determined by the presence of the function of secondary recreational dwelling. Apart from physiognomy of receiving settlements², and, in places, the entire landscape, the second home phenomenon has occasioned radical changes on the island on economic and socio-cultural levels. One can thus rightly assert that the phenomenon under investigation has become one of the key factors of the overall regional development of the island. It requires careful planning in order to achieve optimal direction.

¹ The search for an appropriate generic term which in one word encompasses the phenomenon of secondary recreational dwelling has led to the conclusion that such a term cannot be found in Croatian dictionaries. It seems that the compound term "second home" ("vikendaštvo") might successfully fill that gap because of its immediate clarity and comprehensibility, and because at the same time it adheres to the morphological tradition of the Croatian language. The term "second home phenomenon" describes the totality of second homes (dwelling units for vacation and recreation), i.e. the phenomenon of secondary dwelling. It can designate second homes as a widespread phenomenon as well as organised activity of second home owners, that is, the totality of all manifestations and processes related to terms such as "second home", "object for vacation and recreation" and "secondary (occasional) dwelling" (OPAČIĆ, 2008a; 2008b). Interviews with second home owners and local population in Malinska directly "tested" their understanding of the term "second home phenomenon" in everyday speech. Even though the term "second home phenomenon" does not occur in Croatian dictionaries, it is indicative that not one individual included in research in Malinska betrayed any hesitance or incomprehension at the mention of the term "second home phenomenon". Renown linguists Tomislav Ladan and Nives Opačić have agreed with the arguments for the introduction of this term and with its clearly defined meaning and morphological consistency with the Croatian standard.

² In the context of the second home phenomenon the term "receiving settlement" designates a permanent settlement, urban or rural, which contains units for vacation and recreation.

Ovaj rad prilog je geografskim istraživanjima utjecaja i posljedica vikendaštva u receptivnim naseljima hrvatskoga priobalja. Iscrpna istraživanja sekundarnog rekreacijskog stanovanja na otoku Krku započela je P. NOVOSEL-ŽIC (1980-81; 1987.), analizirajući vikendašku izgradnju, tada nov element u transformaciji prostora, u komponenti prostora i vremena, kao i pojedina strukturna obilježja vlasnika vikendica na otoku (prema podijetlu i prema mjestu stalnoga boravka). Detaljnom analizom utjecaja i posljedica vikendaštva u lokalnoj sredini, na kojem je kao metoda, uz statističku obradbu kvantitativnih podataka, bilo primijenjeno i anketno istraživanje obuhvaćeni su, uz otok Krk (NOVOSEL-ŽIC, 1980-81; 1987; TURK, 2000; OPAČIĆ, 2002; 2008a; 2008b), jedino otok Hvar (PEPEONIK, 1975; 1977; 1978.), te otok Rab (TURK, 1989.). Spomenuta malobrojna istraživanja svakako nisu proporcionalna značenju vikendaštva u razvoju najvećeg broja obalnih naselja hrvatskoga priobalja, pa stoga ne treba biti iznenađen niti brojnim prostorno-planskim promašajima u njegovu (dosadašnjem) usmjeravanju.

Cilj, metodologija i prostorni okvir istraživanja

Temeljni cilj ovoga istraživanja jest utvrditi i analizirati fizionomske implikacije vikendaštva u reprezentativnom receptivnom naselju hrvatskog priobalja. U njegovu ostvarenju prijeko je potrebno ispitati i radnu hipotezu ovoga istraživanja, koja glasi: "Od svih transformatorskih utjecaja i posljedica vikendaštva u prostoru ponajviše je izražena skupina onih fizionomskih, koja je uglavnom negativno aspektirana."

Rad se metodološki zasniva na sinergiji filozofskih podloga pozitivističkog i humanističko-biheviorističkoga turističko-geografskog znanstvenog pristupa, što je razvidno i u isprepletanju različitih metode znanstvene analize. Metodologija istraživanja obuhvaća stoga: prikupljanje i obradbu teorijske i empirijske domaće i strane znanstvene i stručne literature iz geografije i ostalih srodnih znanosti, prikupljanje i obradbu podataka iz sekundarnih dokumentacija i izvora (npr. podatci o stanovima za odmor i rekreaciju iz popisne statistike iz 2001. godine, podatci o vlasnicima stanova za odmor i rekreaciju krčkih jedinica lokalne samouprave – Grad Krk te općine Baška, Dobrinj, Malinska-Dubašnica, Omišalj, Punat i Vrbnik), kao i

This study is a contribution to geographical studies of the impact and consequences of the second home phenomenon in the receiving settlements of the Croatian littoral. A thorough study of secondary recreational dwelling on the island of Krk was started by P. Novosel-Žic (1980-81; 1987) who analysed the building of second homes which was then a new element in the spatial transformation, taking into account space and time as well as separate structural characteristics of the second home owners on the island (by place of origin and by place of permanent dwelling). In addition to the island of Krk (NOVOSEL-ŽIC, 1980-81; 1987; TURK, 2000; OPAČIĆ, 2002; 2008a; 2008b), detailed analyses of the influences and consequences of the second home phenomenon in its local context, which in addition to statistical analysis of quantitative information also utilised survey and personal interviews, included only the islands of Hvar (PEPEONIK, 1975; 1977; 1978) and Rab (TURK, 1989). These scarce studies are certainly not proportional to the significance of the second home phenomenon in the development of most coastal settlements of the Croatian littoral, so it does not come as a surprise to note a large number of mistakes done in physical planning so far.

Aims, methodology and geographical framework of research

The main aim of this study is to establish and analyse physiognomic implications of the second home phenomenon in Malinska on the island of Krk. It will also test the hypothesis of this research which is: "Of all spatial transformational influences and consequences of the second home phenomenon, the most pronounced is a group of physiognomic factors which has received predominantly negative treatment."

The methodological foundation of the study is the synergy of philosophical underpinning of positivist and humanistic-behaviouristic tourism-geographical scientific approach, which is also evident in the interplay between different methods of scientific analysis. The research methodology thus includes: the collection and analysis of theoretical and empirical national and foreign academic and professional literature from the field of geography and other cognate disciplines; the collection and analysis of information from secondary databases and sources (e.g. information about dwellings for vacation and recreation from the 2001 Census statistics; information about owners of second homes for vacation and recreation of the Krk

terensko istraživanje s neposrednim anketiranjem,³ kartiranjem, fotografiranjem te opažanjem na temelju dugogodišnjeg poznavanja prostora istraživanja.

Rana pojava sekundarnoga stanovanja i njegova izražena koncentracija (sa 10 212 vikendica⁴ evidentiranih Popisom stanovništva, kućanstava i stanova 2001. godine, otok Krk vodeći je hrvatski otok prema brojnosti stanova za odmor i rekreaciju), otok Krk predodredila je kao reprezentativno receptivno obalno vikendaško područje u Hrvatskoj, pa ga se stoga opravdano može izabrati kao zahvalnu studiju slučaja i za analizu fizionomskih implikacija sekundarnog stanovanja na lokalnoj razini.

Terenskim istraživanjem obuhvaćeno je naselje Malinska, poznato turističko mjesto na zapadnoj obali otoka.⁵ Zbog povoljnoga prometno-geografskoga i turističko-geografskog položaja, kao i pogodnosti turističke i rekreacijske atrakcijske osnove, Malinska se rano afirmirala

units of local self-government – the Town of Krk and municipalities Baška, Dobrinj, Malinska-Dubašnica, Omišalj, Punat and Vrbnik); as well as field research with direct survey and interviewing³, mapping, photographing and deduction based on many years of direct acquaintance of the area included in the study.

The early emergence of secondary dwelling and its distinguished concentration (with 10 212 second homes⁴ registered in the 2001 Census the island of Krk is the leading Croatian island by the number of dwellings for vacation and recreation) have qualified the island of Krk as a representative receiving coastal second home area in Croatia. Thus it is rightly chosen as a useful case study and for the analysis of physiognomic implications of secondary dwelling on the local level.

The field research covered the settlement of Malinska, a well-known tourist centre on the West coast of the island⁵. Due to its favourable geographical location, good communications and predispositions for tourist economy, as well as for

³ Osim kvantitativnih podataka službi lokalne samouprave, u analizi su se, radi potpunijega sagledavanja fizionomskih implikacija vikendaštva, potrebnima pokazali i kvalitativni podatci, pa je zato u Malinskoj ljeti 2003. godine provedeno neposredno anketno istraživanje lokalnoga stanovništva (domaćinstva) i vikendaša. Anketiranje lokalnoga stanovništva i vikendaša provedeno je metodom sistematskoga slučajnog uzorka uz manja odstupanja, a obuhvatilo je 61 od 584 stalno nastanjenih stanova u Malinskoj evidentiranih popisom stanovništva 2001. te 105 od 1046 stambenih jedinica u Malinskoj čiji su vlasnici, prema tada aktualnim internim podatcima Općine Malinska-Dubašnica, imali prijavljeno boravište izvan otoka Krka. Kako su vikendice oblik povremeno rabljenih stambenih jedinica, u istraživanju stavova različitih socijalnih grupa "na strani mještana" bilo je potrebno uzorak formirati na bazi stalno nastanjenih stanova, a ne stalnoga stanovništva. U obje kategorije uzorkom je obuhvaćeno nešto više od 10% ukupnoga kontingenta analiziranih stambenih jedinica.

⁴ 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).

⁵ U definiranju prostora neposrednoga kartiranja i anketiranja pod pojmom "Malinska" razumijevat će se područje statističkih naselja Malinska, Bogovići, Milčetići, Radići i Zidarići. Navedena naselja čine fizionomsku i funkcionalnu cjelinu, neprekinutu urbaniziranu zonu, *de facto* jedinstveno naselje, pa ih se i u svakodnevnom govoru, ali i službenim općinskim dokumentacijama,

³ In addition to quantitative information provided by relevant offices of local self-government, the more thorough analysis of the physiognomic implications of the second home phenomenon necessitated the use of qualitative information. For this reason a survey of permanent local population and second home owners was conducted in Malinska in the Summer of 2003. This survey was based on the method of systematic accidental sampling with minor deviations, and included 61 out of 584 permanently occupied flats in Malinska registered in the Census of population from 2001, and 105 out of 1046 dwelling units in Malinska whose owners, according to the then valid internal information of the municipality of Malinska-Dubašnica, registered their permanent dwelling outside the island of Krk. Second homes are a form of occasionally utilised dwelling units. Therefore when the investigation of the opinion of different social groups focused on "domestic population", it had to define the sample on the basis of permanently occupied flats, and not permanent population. The sample used in the research of both of these categories included over 10% of the total contingent of dwelling units included in the analysis.

⁴ In this study the term "second home" includes all dwelling units for vacation and recreation/secondary dwelling, whether they be flats or houses, which are used either on weekends either during shorter holiday periods, or for longer stays for the purpose of vacation and recreation, or are used for commercial purposes. Thus the term "second home" will not be used in this study for an object defined by its morphological characteristics, but by its recreational function irrespective of whether the dwelling unit in question appears as a house or flat (apartment).

⁵ In defining the area covered by the immediate mapping and survey, the term "Malinska" will include the statistics for the area which includes the settlements Malinska, Bogovići, Milčetići, Radići and Zidarići. These settlements form a physiognomic and functional unit, an undivided urbanised zone, a *de facto* united settlement, which is why they are simply called Malinska

i kao jedno od vodećih turističkih i kao jedno od vodećih vikendaških receptivnih naselja na otoku Krku, ali i na Kvarneru, pa i u čitavom hrvatskom priobalju. Turistički razvoj bio je praćen i razvojem povremenoga rekreacijskog stanovanja u svim njegovim karakterističnim razvojnim etapama u Hrvatskoj – od prostranih ljetnikovaca i vila s prijelaza 19. u 20. stoljeće, preko neusporedivo skromnijih, obiteljskih vikendica nakon Drugoga svjetskog rata, sve raskošnijih individualnih kuća za odmor građenih 1970-ih i 1980-ih do suvremene faze intenzivne apartmanske, višestambene izgradnje koja svakodnevno proširuje dosadašnje granice građevinskog područja naselja Malinske (OPAČIĆ, 2009.). Njegovim znatnim omasovljenjem u vrijeme socijalističke Jugoslavije, a osobito u "apartmanskoj" razvojnoj fazi u zadnjih petnaestak godina, Malinska je postala istinsko "vikendaško središte" otoka, u kojemu su se, više nego igdje drugdje na Krku, iskristalizirali direktni (fizionomski) i indirektni (ekonomski i sociokulturni) učinci sekundarnoga rekreacijskog stanovanja u prostoru, stvarajući eklatantan primjer vikendaškog pejzaža u hrvatskom priobalju. Sve navedeno govori u prilog odluci o izboru Malinske kao reprezentativnoga receptivnog naselja hrvatskog priobalja za detaljno istraživanje fizionomskih utjecaja i posljedica vikendaštva.

Fizionomski utjecaji i posljedice vikendaštva u receptivnom naselju

Fizionomski utjecaji i posljedice vikendaštva u receptivnom prostoru neraskidivo su povezani s vrstom stambenih jedinica za odmor i rekreaciju, njihovim brojem te načinom, odnosno motivom njihove upotrebe (GARTNER, 1987.). Navedeni elementiključno određuju direktnu transformaciju prostora pod utjecajem vikendaštva. Iako ocjena fizionomskih utjecaja i posljedica vikendaštva varira od slučaja do slučaja, valja istaknuti činjenicu da vikendice u pravilu zauzimaju najkvalitetnije, estetski najatraktivnije dijelove obalnih, brdsko-planinskih i ruralnih područja,

jednostavno naziva Malinskom, dok se ostala četiri navedena toponima danas shvaćaju kao njezini sastavni dijelovi, iako *de iure* predstavljaju statistički rudiment nekadašnjega (predturističkog, predvikendaškog) vremena. Formiranje reprezentativnog uzorka pri anketiranju domaćega stanovništva (odnosno kućanstava) i vikendaša također se temeljilo na shvaćanju Malinske u fizionomsko-funkcionalnom smislu, a ne u statističkom smislu.

its comprehensive offer of tourist and recreational attractions, at an early stage Malinska emerged as one of the leading second home receiving settlements on the island of Krk, in the wider Kvarner region as well as in the whole Croatian littoral. The tourism development was accompanied by the development of occasional recreational dwelling, which underwent all developmental phases typical of Croatia in general – from spacious resorts and villas at the turn of the 19th century through incomparably more modest family second homes after the Second World War to more luxurious self-standing homes for vacation built in 1970s and 1980s to the modern phase of multi-apartment recreational buildings which daily extend current boundaries of the urbanised area of the settlement of Malinska (OPAČIĆ, 2009). The popularisation and growth of secondary dwelling in the period of Socialist Yugoslavia, and particularly in the "apartmentalisation" phase in the last fifteen years, Malinska has become a true "second home centre" of the island which manifests, more vividly than any other settlement on the island of Krk, direct (physiognomic) and indirect (economic and socio-cultural) consequences of the secondary recreational dwelling on physical space, and provides an illustrative example of a second home landscape in the Croatian littoral. All this supports the choice of Malinska as a representative receiving settlement in the Croatian littoral for a detailed study of physiognomic impact and consequences of the second home phenomenon.

Physiognomic influences and consequences of the second home phenomenon in the receiving settlement

The physiognomic influences and consequences of the second home phenomenon in the receiving second home area are firmly connected with the type of dwelling units for vacation and recreation, their number and the manner of their use, i.e. their purpose (GARTNER, 1987). These elements are the key in determining direct spatial transformation influenced by the second home phenomenon. Although the assessment of physiognomic influences

in everyday speech as well as official municipal documents. The other four mentioned toponyms are considered today as its constituent parts although they *de iure* represent the statistical rudiment of ancient (pre-tourist, pre-second home) times. The definition of the representative sample used in the survey of local population (i.e. households) and second home owners was also based on this physiognomic-functional and not statistical understanding of Malinska.

što nerijetko rezultira sukobom s ostalim djelatnostima koje pretendiraju na isti prostor, poput turizma, poljoprivrede (PLUT, 1977.) ili šumarstva. Pretjeranim aglomeriranjem raznolikih djelatnosti u istom prostoru ugrožava se njegova nosivost (*carrying capacity*) i izgledi za njegov daljnji razvoj u skladu s postulatima održiva razvoja.

Prije razmatranja fizionomskih utjecaja i posljedica vikendaštva u receptivnim naseljima, valja napomenuti kako je vrlo teško detektirati pojedinačni utjecaj sekundarnoga stanovanja, osobito u gradovima, kao i u slučaju preklapanja vikendaških i turističkih receptivnih područja (npr. obalna, brdsko-planinska), jer spomenute dvije pojave često ostavljaju sličan prostorni odraz, a i samo vikendaštvo, kako je ranije istaknuto, djelomično zadire u domenu turizma. Budući da vikendaštvo jače utječe na preobrazbu manjih naselja u receptivnim vikendaškim područjima, za koja je, uostalom, češće i vezano, u njima je često i glavni element fizionomske i funkcionalne preobrazbe, pa je i njegov vidljiv, direktan odraz u prostoru u takvim naseljima znatno lakše uočiti.

Gosar (1987.) izdvaja četiri glavne vrste utjecaja vikendaštva na oblik i funkciju receptivnoga naselja. To su: a) utjecaj na raspored i obilježja (stalna ili povremena) naseljenosti, b) utjecaj na prostornu strukturu naselja, c) utjecaj na funkcije naselja i stupanj njegova centraliteta, te d) utjecaj na upotrebu prostora u kulturnom pejzažu u receptivnim naseljima i izvan njih. Izražavajući negodovanje činjenicom kako, u prvom redu geografi s prostora bivše Jugoslavije, u svojim dotadašnjim istraživanjima nisu detaljnije obuhvatili geografski, prostorni aspekt vikendaštva, Gosar (1987.), ističe kako u geografsku domenu istraživanja fizionomskih utjecaja i posljedica vikendaštva svakako treba ući sljedeća problematika: promjena tlocrta receptivnoga naselja, transformacija njegove prostorne strukture, kao i vidljive posljedice funkcionalne preobrazbe receptivnoga naselja (npr. od pretežno stalno, do pretežno povremeno naseljenoga naselja, od prevlasti poljoprivrednoga, do dominacije uslužnoga sektora djelatnosti itd.).

Generalno gledajući, vikendaštvo će u prostoru ostaviti vidljiviji biljeg u receptivnim naseljima gdje prevladavaju namjenski izgrađeni objekti za odmor i rekreaciju nego u onima gdje je dominantno obilježeno prenamjenama postojećega

and consequences of the second home phenomenon varies from one case to another, one ought to stress the fact that second homes as a rule occupy best quality, esthetically most attractive locations in the coastal, mountain and rural areas, which infrequently results in conflict with other activities which aspire to the same physical space, such as tourism, agriculture (PLUT, 1977) or forestry. The excessive agglomeration of different activities in the same territory jeopardises its carrying capacity and the prospects for its further development according to the postulates of sustainable development.

Before we consider physiognomic influences and consequences of the second home phenomenon on receiving settlements, it must be noted that it is extremely difficult to detect the one major influence of secondary dwelling, particularly in cities and in regions where there exists significant overlap between second home and tourism influences (e.g. in coastal and mountain receiving areas), because these two phenomena often cause a similar geographical reflection, and because the second home phenomenon itself, as has already been emphasised, partially invades the tourist domain. Since the second home phenomenon exerts stronger influence on the transformation of smaller settlements in the receiving second home areas, with which it often has stronger ties anyway, it is often the principle element of physiognomic and functional transformation, which is why it is easier to detect its visible, direct impact in those settlements.

Gosar (1987) singles out four main kinds of impact of the second home phenomenon on the shape and function of a receiving settlement. They are: a) the influence on the ordering and characteristics (permanent or temporary) of settlement, b) the influence on the physical structure of the settlement, c) the influence on the function of the settlement and the degree of centralisation, and d) the influence on the land use in the cultural landscape in receiving settlements and outside of them. Gosar (1987) expresses his dissatisfaction at the fact that the geographers from the territory of the former Yugoslavia, in the first place, did not pay sufficient attention in their studies to a more detailed analysis of the geographical, spatial aspects of the second home phenomenon, and emphasises that the following topics must be included in geographical studies of the physiognomic influences and consequences of the second home phenomenon: the alteration of the topography of the receiving settlement, the transformation of its geographical structure as well as the visible consequences of the functional transformation of the receiving settlement

ili napuštenoga fonda stambenih i gospodarskih objekata. U naseljima gdje je jačanje vikendaštva povezano s namjenskom vikendaškom izgradnjom može doći do širenja njihovih građevinskih područja, odnosno stvaranja novih građevinskih zona (vikendaških zona, tj. vikendaških četvrti), ili pak, ako su posrijedi interpolacije, do povećanja izgrađenosti u granicama postojećih građevinskih područja naselja. U područjima izraženih pogodnosti za rekreaciju i turizam (npr. priobalni dio Hrvatske), zbog jake vikendaške potražnje, vikendaštvo se najčešće razvijalo i interpolacijama vikendaških novogradnji unutar postojećih granica građevinskih područja naselja, ali i daljnjim proširivanjima granica izgrađenog dijela naselja zbog izgradnje novih vikendaških zona (četvrti). U novoformiranim vikendaškim četvrtima receptivnoga naselja, osim širenja građevinskih područja naselja i povećavanja izgrađenosti prostora, razvija se i nova mreža usluga (komunalna infrastruktura, trgovina, ugostiteljstvo, ostale usluge) namijenjena ponajprije vikendašima, koja uvelike mijenja postojeću funkcionalno-prostornu strukturu receptivnoga naselja.

Na temelju iznesenog mogu se izdvojiti tri glavna tipa naselja transformiranih pod utjecajem vikendaštva:

- a) naselja kojima su se građevinska područja pod utjecajem vikendaštva proširila
- b) naselja kojima su građevinski gabariti ostali isti, ali je zbog vikendaških interpolacija došlo do bitnih promjena u njihovoj prostornoj strukturi s naglaskom na povećanju stupnja izgrađenosti naselja
- c) naselja koja su pod utjecajem vikendaštva doživjela i prostornu ekspanziju novih građevinskih (vikendaških) zona i povećanje izgrađenosti u starim građevinskim zonama.

U receptivnim naseljima gdje je prenamjena/adaptacija postojećega, rabljenoga ili napuštenoga, fonda stambenih i gospodarskih objekata bila temeljni proces pojave i razvoja vikendaštva, prisutnost vikendica može se prepoznati ili kao fizionomska devastacija ili pak kao estetska revitalizacija receptivnoga naselja, što ima za posljedicu obnovu ili devastaciju kulturnoga pejzaža, a time i cjelokupnoga lokalnog identiteta.

Ocjenjujući utjecaj vikendaštva na preobrazbu naselja, Jeršič (1987.) ističe nekoliko negativnih i pozitivnih posljedica. Kao najistaknutiju

(e.g. from a predominantly permanently occupied to the predominantly occasionally occupied settlement, from the prevalence of agricultural function to the prevalence of service sector activities, etc.).

In general, the second home phenomenon will leave more visible trace in the receiving settlements characterised predominantly by purpose-built objects for vacation and recreation than in those settlements which are characterised predominantly by the transformation of the existing or abandoned dwelling fund and commercial buildings. The settlements in which the increase of the second home phenomenon is connected with the construction of purpose-built second homes may experience the expansion of the existing building zones, i.e. the creation of new building zones (second home zones, i.e. second home districts) or, in cases of interpolation, the increased urbanisation within the boundaries of the existing building zones of the settlement. Due to the intensive second home demand in areas with offering advantageous circumstances for recreation and tourism (e.g. Croatian littoral), the phenomenon has most often developed also through the interpolations of the second home newly build dwellings within the boundaries of the existing building zones, but also in further expansion of the boundaries of the built segments of the settlement through the building of new second home districts. In addition to the expansion of the building zones and the degree of the urbanisation of space, the newly formed second home districts of the receiving settlements also develop a new network of services (public utility services, commerce, catering industry, other services) which primarily serves second home owners and which introduces considerable changes to the existing functional-spatial structure of the receiving settlement.

All this points to three main types of settlements transformed through the influence of the second home phenomenon:

- a) settlements with expanded building zones due to the influence of the second home phenomenon,
- b) settlements in which the boundaries of the building zones remained the same, but in which the second home interpolations created essential changes in their spatial structure, i.e. led to the higher degree of urbanisation of the settlement,
- c) settlements in which the second home phenomenon caused spatial expansion of new building (second home) zones and the higher degree of urbanisation in old building zones.

In receiving settlements in which the emergence and development of the second home phenomenon

negativnu implikaciju navodi fizionomsku devastaciju. Fizionomska devastacija najčešće nastaje ako je gradnja vikendica prepuštena neplanskom razvoju i inicijativi vlasnika – pojedinaca. Tada, naime, zbog pomanjkanja stručnog nadzora, u istoj vikendaškoj zoni (četvrti) često dolazi do upotrebe različitih građevinskih materijala, pa izgradnja vikendica međusobno različitih veličina i oblika dovodi do ambijentalnoga nesklada. Fizionomska devastacija nije karakteristična samo za individualne graditelje nego do nje može doći i kod planske (kolektivne) izgradnje višestambenih apartmanskih objekata, kada zbog izražene želje investitora za što većim profitom takvi objekti nerijetko poprimaju predimenzionirane i arhitektonski neprihvatljive oblike.

Promjena tradicionalnog arhitektonskog izraza može biti i rezultat neuspjelih renovacija starih kuća ili gospodarskih objekata, kada novi vlasnici – zbog želje za većim komforom stanovanja, ili težnje za ostvarenjem vlastitih (laičkih) graditeljskih vizija – istodobno radikalno mijenjaju tradicionalne građevinske elemente. S druge strane, kao pozitivne fizionomske posljedice vikendaštva u transformaciji receptivnih naselja mogu se istaknuti očuvanje tradicionalne arhitekture, a time i lokalne baštine u slučaju uspješnih prenamjena napuštenih kuća i gospodarskih objekata u vikendice⁶ te lakše održavanje infrastrukture u receptivnom naselju (npr. ceste) u uvjetima većega broja (povremenih) stanovnika, što indirektno utječe i na uređenost okoliša.

Do uvjetno pozitivnih fizionomskih posljedica sekundarnoga rekreacijskog stanovanja u transformaciji receptivnih naselja može doći i u slučaju namjenske izgradnje vikendica, ako se one grade na dovoljnoj udaljenosti jedna od druge, uz obvezno uređeno zelenilo koje oplemenjuje okoliš, ili pak u slučaju namjenski podignutih kuća za odmor i rekreaciju, koje u

⁶ Kvalitetne prenamjene/adaptacije napuštenih kuća i gospodarskih objekata u vikendice, kao element očuvanja autohtone graditeljske baštine, zagovara i Pepeonik (1977). Istražujući prostorne promjene na otoku Hvaru nastale izgradnjom kuća ili stanova za odmor, na primjeru Staroga Grada isti autor zaključuje da je "konstantan broj adaptiranih kuća možda i najpozitivniji dio procesa ove specifične građevinske aktivnosti jer se tako sprečava daljnje propadanje brojnih već napuštenih i ruševnih stambenih ili čak gospodarskih zgrada te se istovremeno pridonosi uređenju mjesta".

depended primarily on the adaptation of the existing, used or abandoned, fund of residential dwellings and commercial objects, the presence of second homes can be recognised either as physiognomic devastation or as esthetical revitalisation of the receiving settlement, which results in the renewal or devastation of cultural landscape, and thus also of the local identity as a whole.

In assessing the influence of the second home phenomenon on the transformation of settlements, Jeršič (1987) highlights several negative and positive consequences. For him the most pronounced negative implication is physiognomic devastation. Most often it is the outcome of unchecked and unplanned building of second homes by individual second home owners. In such cases, the absence of professional oversight often results in the use of different building materials in the same second home zone (district) so that the erection of second homes of different sizes and shapes leads to disharmony of the landscape. Physiognomic devastation is not typical only of individual constructors, but it can also be the result of planned (collective) building of multi-apartment buildings, as the excessive desire of investors for ever higher profit infrequently causes such objects to be built too large and take architecturally unacceptable shape.

The change of the traditional architectural expression can also be a result of unsuccessful renovation of old residential dwellings or commercial buildings when new owners – out of desire for greater comfort of living or seeking fulfilment of their own inexpert building visions – at the same time also radically alter traditional architectural elements. On the other hand, one can point to the preservation of traditional architecture as one of physiognomic impacts of the second home phenomenon in the transformation of the receiving settlement. This also includes the preservation of local heritage in cases of successful conversion of abandoned houses and commercial objects into second homes⁶ and easier maintenance of infra-structure in the receiving settlement (e.g. roads) in the circumstances of a

⁶ Pepeonik (1977) also advocates the high quality adaptation of abandoned houses and agricultural/industrial facilities and their transformation into second homes for the purpose of the protection of autochthonous building heritage. In his research of geographical changes on the island of Hvar occasioned by the building of houses or flats for vacation and recreation, the study of Stari Grad led the author to conclude that "the steady number of adapted houses is perhaps the most positive part of the process of this specific construction activity because it stops the process of further dereliction of numerous already abandoned and ruinous buildings, both those intended for dwelling and those used for commercial purposes, and furthers the urban ordering of the settlement."

fizionomskom oblikovanju slijede, odnosno uspješno oponašaju, tradicionalni arhitektonski izraz kraja u kojem se nalaze.⁷

Osim na transformaciju samoga receptivnog naselja, vikendaštvo utječe i na preobrazbu kulturnoga pejzaža receptivnih vikendaških područja i izvan receptivnih naselja. Iako se rasprave o fizionomskim implikacijama vikendaštva u prostoru ponajprije odnose na ocjenu njegova uklapanja ili neuklapanja u autohtoni pejzaž, odnosno ambijent, ova grupa prostornih utjecaja i posljedica obuhvaća i problematiku prostornog odraza odnosa vikendaštva s ostalim djelatnostima koje pretendiraju na isti prostor. Vikendice, osim što u pravilu okupiraju fizionomski najatraktivnije i najkvalitetnije dijelove prostora,⁸ zbog obilježja privatnoga vlasništva, što im je karakteristika "po definiciji", pridonose pretvaranju javnoga prostora, javnoga dobra u privatni te njegovu ograničenom pristupu (npr. nedostupnost obale mora ili jezera zbog "vikendaške privatizacije"), što je osobito opasno u državama sa zakonom zajamčenim javnim pristupom obali (KUŠEN, 1983; 1987.), kao što su, primjerice, Hrvatska ili skandinavske države, čime dolaze u sukob s ostalim zainteresiranima za njegovu upotrebu.

⁷ Slučajevi "namjenskih imitacija" u vikendaštvu u Hrvatskoj najčešći su u Istri, osobito u njezinu unutrašnjem dijelu, gdje su uglavnom iscrpljene "zalihe" autohtonih kamenih kuća, pa su poduzetnici počeli graditi nove u istom stilu (nove "stare" istarske kuće). Iako je tradicionalni građevinski materijal, kamen, zamijenjen primjerice opekam, njegova upotreba na fasadnim oplatom namjenski izgrađenih kuća za odmor ostavlja dojam tradicionalne istarske arhitekture.

⁸ Zbog sve naglašenije komodifikacije (*commodification*) prostora, odnosno njegova pretvaranja u proizvod potpomognutog sve jačim marketingom (*place marketing, selling places, geographical marketing*) (LUKIĆ, ZUPANC, 2005), jača vikendaška potražnja za najatraktivnijim lokacijama, zbog čega dolazi do porasta cijena nekretnina, koju mnoge ostale djelatnosti i aktivnosti zainteresirane za taj prostor ne mogu pratiti.

higher number of (temporary) inhabitants, which has an indirect impact on the organisation of the surrounding land.

Relatively positive consequences of secondary recreational dwelling in the transformation of receiving settlements can also occur in case of building purpose-built second homes if they are built at sufficient distance from each other, with necessary greenery, which adds value to the surrounding land, or in case of building purpose-built second homes for vacation and recreation which in their physiognomy follow, or better successfully emulate, traditional architectural expression of the area in which they are located⁷.

In addition to the transformation of the receiving settlement, the second home phenomenon also influences the transformation of the cultural landscape of the receiving second home areas. Although discussions about physiognomic implications of the second home phenomenon primarily refer to the assessment of how much they fit or do not fit into the autochthonous landscape, that is context, this group of geographical influences and consequences also includes issues related to the geographical reflection of the relationship between the second home phenomenon and other activities which aspire to utilise the same physical space. Second homes, which as a rule occupy physiologically the most attractive and best quality segments of land⁸, due to their "intrinsic" quality as private ownership, contribute to the transformation of public space, or public good, to private property, and limit public access to it (e.g. the inaccessibility of sea or lake shore due to the "second home privatisation") , which is particularly dangerous in countries which by law guarantee public access to the shore (KUŠEN, 1983; 1987), such as, for instance, Croatia and the Scandinavian countries. This easily leads to conflict with others who seek to use this land.

⁷ The cases of "purpose-built imitations" in the area of second homes in Croatia are most common in Istria, particularly in its hinterland, where the "stock" of existing autochthonous stone houses has already been "depleted". For this reason, entrepreneurs have started building new houses after the same pattern (new "old" Istrian houses). Although stone, traditional building material, has been replaced by e.g. brick, its use in the facades of the "purpose-built" houses for vacation and recreation creates the impression of traditional Istrian architecture.

⁸ The increased commodification of space, that is, its transformation into a product supported by increased marketing (place marketing, selling places, geographical marketing) (LUKIĆ, ZUPANC, 2005), has resulted in increased demand for second homes in most attractive locations, which has in turn occasioned the rise in the cost of real estate, which has accelerated to such an extent that many other activities related to the area in question cannot keep pace with it.

Kao najnegativniju implikaciju prisutnosti vikendaštva u pejzažu, Jeršič (1987.) izdvaja trajni gubitak područja s visokom kulturnom i rekreacijskom vrijednošću te njegovu privatizaciju, čime se uskraćuje slobodna upotreba svim zainteresiranim rekreativcima.⁹ Ovome valja dodati i problem neracionalne uporabe prostora "pod vikendaštvom", jer se takav prostor rabi vrlo intenzivno vikendima i u sezoni, dok je u ostalom dijelu godine slabo ili nikako iskorišten, što lokalnome stanovništvu, koje u samim vikendaškim zonama (četvrtima) ili u njihovoj neposrednoj blizini živi cijele godine, stvara nepovoljno socijalno okruženje izoliranosti, zaboravljenosti. Osim toga, takva sporadična upotreba vikendica otvara i pitanja vezana uz racionalnost izgradnje skupe komunalne infrastrukture, koja se u većini receptivnih vikendaških područja iskorištava nedovoljno s obzirom na cijenu ulaganja (OPAČIĆ, 2008a).

U problem neracionalne uporabe prostora ulaze i dimenzije i standard opremanja vikendica, koje su nerijetko (pre)velikih dimenzija i (pre)luksuzno su opremljene s obzirom na dužinu boravka u njima, što osim negativnih fizionomskih implikacija može potaknuti i nepoželjne tenzije domaćega stanovništva prema vikendašima.

Osim masovnosti, odnosno upravo i zbog masovnosti, u zadnje vrijeme u mnogim dijelovima svijeta vikendaštvo sve izraženije pokazuje još jednu svoju karakteristiku – elitizam. Ne želeći u slobodno vrijeme za svojega odmora proživljavati ambijent i životni stil koji u područjima masovnoga, "kolektivnog" vikendaštva sve više podsjeća na emitivno vikendaško područje – dakle grad iz kojega su, uostalom, vikendaši i "pobjegli" ili su željeli pobjeći – oni imućniji vikendaši sve se češće nastoje izdvojiti na osamljene lokacije, čime povremeno rekreacijsko stanovanje poprima i obilježje ekskluzivnosti (tzv. "pejsaž moći" – *landscape of power*) (HALSETH, 2004; SELWOOD, TONTS, 2004.).

⁹ Zbog namjenske vikendaške izgradnje ili prenamjene upotrebe zemljišta pod utjecajem vikendaštva, estetska dimenzija prostora može se obezvrijediti i time nepovratno izgubiti važan segment turističke, odnosno rekreacijske, atrakcijske osnove. Obezvrijeđivanje je posljedica lociranja vikendica na markantnim lokacijama (npr. vrhovi, grebeni, proplanci, uz obalu mora, rijeke, jezera) ili na zemljištima vrlo pogodnima za rekreacijske aktivnosti na otvorenome (JERŠIĆ, 1987.).

As a most negative implication of the presence of the second home phenomenon in the landscape, Jeršič (1987) singles out the permanent loss of territory with high cultural and recreational value and its privatisation with the concurrent loss of free access and use by all interested occasional visitors⁹. In addition, there is the problem of non-rational use of land "occupied by second homes" since that land is used intensively over the weekends and during tourist seasons, but throughout the rest of the year it is used poorly or not at all. The impact on the local population, who live in the second home zones (districts) or in their immediate vicinity over the whole year, is the creation of social context marked by insulation and forgetfulness. Further, such sporadic use of second homes also raises questions about the rationale for building expensive community infra-structure the use of which is too low in most receiving second home areas compared with the funding invested in their construction (OPAČIĆ, 2008a).

The problem of non-rational use of land also includes the dimensions of second homes and the standard of their equipment. Second homes are often (too) spacious and equipped (too) luxuriously (considering the duration of time their owners stay in them), which, in addition of negative physiognomic implications, can also incite undesired tensions between the local population and the second home owners.

In addition to the massive scale of the second home phenomenon - that is, precisely because of its massive scale – in recent times in many parts of the world the second home phenomenon manifests yet another characteristic: elitism. In order to spend their free time outside the context and lifestyle characterising mass-, "collective", second home phenomenon which increasingly resembles emissive second home area – i.e. urban centres which the second home owners are attempting to flee anyway – those second home owners with more considerable means increasingly seek insulated locations, which gives occasional recreational dwelling a mark of exclusivity (the so called landscape of power) (HALSETH, 2004; SELWOOD, TONTS, 2004).

⁹ Purpose-building of second homes and the conversion of land use caused by the second home phenomenon can devalue the esthetical dimension of space and thus irretrievably destroy a significant segment of tourism, i.e. recreational, attractions. This devaluing is the consequence of the erection of second homes in distinguished locations (e.g. on peaks and ridges, in clearings, on the shores of a sea, river or lake) or on locations supportive of outdoor recreational activities (JERŠIĆ, 1987.).

Ipak, od svih fizionomskih karakteristika, nekontrolirana i bespravna gradnja¹⁰ za većinu je autora najnegativnija implikacija vikendaštva. Osim estetske devastacije pejzaža, takva gradnja ima za posljedicu i čitav niz nepoželjnih ekoloških posljedica, poput: neplaniranoga povećanja otpada, onečišćenja voda itd., što je osobito opasno u atraktivnim turističkim područjima. Osim toga, bespravna i "divlja" gradnja snizuje cijene legalno sagrađenih nekretnina u receptivnim vikendaškim područjima, čime se uočava njezin negativni utjecaj na cjelokupnu sliku receptivnih vikendaških područja.

Naglašavajući kako su posljedice gradnje "na crno" često društveno neprihvatljive te kako ih treba sanirati, Gosar (1981.) nabroja najčešće njezine posljedice. To su: a) zauzimanje dominantnih površina izrazito markantnom, mastodontskom izgradnjom na velikim parcelama, b) manjkava i nesigurna komunalna infrastruktura (npr. kanalizacija, onečišćenje vode temeljnica), c) "divlja" izgradnja pristupnih cesta, d) kičast arhitektonski izgled objekata, e) pretjeran i, s infrastrukturnog aspekta, neplaniran priljev povremenoga stanovništva u sezoni, te f) (povremeno) naseljavanje područja koja nikada prije nisu bila naseljena niti su bila planirana za naseljavanje.

S druge strane, očuvanje kulturnoga pejzaža u područjima zahvaćenim deagrarizacijom najpozitivnija je fizionomska posljedica vikendaštva

However, of all physiognomic characteristics, the most authors consider uncontrolled and illegal building¹⁰ to be the most negative consequence of the second home phenomenon. In addition to the esthetical devastation of landscape, the consequences of such building include the whole series of undesirable ecological effects such as unplanned waste increase and water pollution, etc., which is particularly dangerous in attractive tourist areas. Furthermore, illegal and "uncontrolled" building brings down the cost of legally built real estate in receiving second home areas, which points to its negative impact on the overall picture of receiving second home areas.

Asserting that the consequences of "uncontrolled" building are often socially unacceptable and how their impact needs to be corrected, GOSAR (1981) lists their most frequent implications. They are: a) the usurpation of best land and the erection of conspicuous, gigantic structures on large plots of land, b) deficient and insecure communal infrastructure (e.g. sewage system, the pollution of water base), c) "unplanned" construction of access roads, d) architecturally pretentious appearance of objects, e) excessive and, from the point of view of infrastructure, unplanned influx of temporary population during seasons, and f) (occasional) settlement in regions which have never had permanent population and for which no building plans exist.

On the other hand, the preservation of cultural landscape in areas suffering from deagrarisation

¹⁰ Valja razlikovati pojmove "bespravna gradnja", tj. "ilegalna gradnja", "gradnja na crno" i "stihijska", odnosno "divlja", gradnja. Stihijska, odnosno "divlja", gradnja, čini se, širi je pojam. Naime, taj pojam obuhvaća svu bespravnu, dakle ilegalnu, gradnju, ali i segment legalne, odnosno naknadno legalizirane, gradnje koji se razvijao spontano, stihijski, neplanski ili u skladu s nekvalitetnim prostornim planovima. Koliko god neki dijelovi hrvatske obale bili izgrađeni u skladu sa svim (ponegdje i lošim, za "stihijsku gradnju" poticajnim) prostorno-planskim aktima, nemoguće ih je zvati drugačije nego "divljom gradnjom". Primjerice, iako je donošenjem novoga općinskog prostornog plana velika većina "divlje" gradnje naknadno legalizirana ("isforsirana legalna gradnja" ili "prisiljena legalizacija"), teško je u kontekstu otoka Vira, hrvatskoj javnosti najpoznatijega takvog slučaja u nas, za takav razvoj vikendaštva rabiti bilo koji drugi termin od već ponuđenih "stihijski" ili "divlji". Dakle, iako su na prvi pogled pojmovi "bespravna gradnja" i "divlja gradnja" sinonimi, detaljnijim uvidom razabire se da nije tako.

¹⁰ A distinction should be made between terms "unlawful" or "illegal housing building", "under the counter construction" and "chaotic", that is "wild", building. "Chaotic" or "wild" building seems to be a more comprehensive term. This term includes all unlawful, i.e. illegal, building but also a segment of legal, i.e. subsequently legalised building which developed spontaneously, chaotically, in an unplanned manner or according to low quality spatial plans. Although some parts of the Croatian coast have been build according to all plans and regulations (in some places inadequate and encouraging "chaotic building"), one must characterise them as examples of "wild building". For instance, even though the adoption of the new municipal physical plan after the fact legalised the majority of buildings erected in this manner ("imposed legal building" or "forced legalisation"), in the case of the island of Vir, the case best known in this context to the Croatian public, it is difficult to characterise this sort of development of second homes by any other term but the already mentioned terms "chaotic" or "wild". Thus, even though the terms "illegal building" and "wild building" appear synonymous, a closer scrutiny demonstrates that that is not the case.

u receptivnim vikendaškim područjima.¹¹ Uz navedenu, među pozitivnim fizionomskim implikacijama valja istaknuti i dolazak kvalitetnije komunalne i prometne infrastrukture u receptivno vikendaško područje.

Vikendice kao sastavnica stambenoga fonda u jedinicama lokalne samouprave otoka Krka

Podatak da 2001. godine u čak 39, od ukupno 68, naselja na otoku Krku vikendice brojnošću nadmašuju stalno nastanjene stanove, kao i odnos broja stanova za odmor i rekreaciju i stalno nastanjenih stanova 10 212 : 6563 u korist vikendica na otoku, jasno upućuje na činjenicu da su vikendice danas postale dominantan dio stambenoga fonda na otoku (OPAČIĆ, 2008b). Takav odnos dviju glavnih sastavnica stambenoga fonda u krčkim naseljima vodi ka zaključku o njihovoj izraženoj transformatorskoj ulozi u oblikovanju prostorne strukture naselja, ali i pejzaža općenito.

Osim usporedbe same brojnosti stalno nastanjenih stanova i stanova za odmor i rekreaciju, u analizi njihovih transformatorskih implikacija ilustrativno je komentirati i promjene prosječne površine stanova iz obje skupine od 1971. do 2001. godine (Tab. 1.).

Prosječna površina stanova za stalno stanovanje na otoku Krku osjetno se povećala u tridesetogodišnjem razdoblju (sa 61,65 m²

¹¹ Iako se generalno može prihvatiti teza da vikendaštvo u depopulirajućim i deagrarizirajućim područjima pozitivno utječe na očuvanje fizionomije kulturnoga pejzaža, valja imati na umu i sljedeći primjer. Naime, fizionomija vikendaškoga pejzaža može biti i rezultat percepcije vikendaša o receptivnom vikendaškom području, formirane npr. za ranijega turističkog posjeta, koji je prethodio stjecanju vikendice, što ne mora odgovarati stvarnoj njegovoj "slici". Mnogi vikendaši u želji za stjecanjem vikendice u receptivnom području stvaraju "romantičarsku" ruralne idile koja ne odgovara stvarnosti. Istražujući utjecaj njemačkih vikendaša na transformaciju ruralnoga prostora Švedske, Müller je (1999) došao do zanimljiva zaključka da njemački vikendaši nerijetko oblikuju svoju vikendicu i okućnicu na temelju vlastite, idealizirane, slike o fizionomiji švedskoga ruralnog pejzaža, pa nastaje vikendaški pejzaž, znatno uređeniji i pitomiji nego što ta "ruralna idila" koja je njemačke vikendaše i privukla zapravo jest.

is the most positive physiognomic consequence of the second home phenomenon in receiving second home areas¹¹. In addition positive physiognomic implications include the development of better quality communal and communication infrastructure in the receiving second home area.

Second homes as the component of the housing fund in units of local self-government on the island of Krk

The information that in 2001 in as many as 39 out of the total of 68 settlements on the island of Krk the number of second homes outnumbered permanently occupied dwellings, and that the ratio of dwellings for vacation and recreation and permanently occupied dwellings was 10 212 : 6563 in favour of second homes on the island, clearly points to the conclusion that second homes have today become the dominant segment of the dwelling fund on the island (OPAČIĆ, 2008b). This ratio between the two main components of the dwelling fund in the settlements on the island of Krk points to their distinguished transformational role in the shaping of the spatial structure of settlements as well as the landscape in general.

In addition to the numerical value of the permanently occupied dwellings and dwellings for vacation and recreation, the analysis of their transformational implications will also profit from a comment about the change in the average flat floor area for both groups from 1971 and 2001 (Tab. 1).

¹¹ Although one can generally agree with the claim that the second home phenomenon in areas marked by depopulation and deagrarisation has a positive influence on the preservation of the physiognomy of the cultural landscape, one should consider the following example. The physiognomy of the second home area landscape can also be a result of the perception of the second home owners about the receiving second home area which had been formed e.g. during a previous tourist visit to the place prior to the acquisition of a second home, which does not necessarily have to correspond to its actual "image". In their wish to acquire a second home many second home owners create in a receiving area a "romanticised" picture of rural idyll which does not correspond to reality. Studying the influence of German second home owners on the transformation of the rural areas of Sweden, Müller (1999) came to the interesting conclusion that German second home owners often shape their second homes and the surrounding land on the basis of their own idealised picture of the physiognomy of the Swedish rural landscape. The resulting second home landscape is considerably more ordered and tamer than the "rural idyll" which attracted German tourists in the first place.

Tablica 1. Prosječna površina (m²) stalno nastanjenih stanova (A)¹² i stanova za odmor i rekreaciju (B) u jedinicama lokalne samouprave otoka Krka 1971., 1981., 1991. i 2001. godine

Table 1 Average floor area (m²) of permanently occupied dwellings (A)¹² and dwellings for vacation and recreation (B) in units of local self-government on the island of Krk in 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001

Grad / općina Town / Municipality	1971.		1981.		1991.		2001.	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
Baška	52,68	39,12	62,32	43,51	70,43	56,90	74,89	53,33
Dobrinj	59,26	52,16	64,50	62,25	75,47	68,91	74,02	59,47
Krk	65,15	51,03	66,74	62,37	73,07	62,12	78,36	63,75
Malinska-Dubašnica	80,45	54,25	85,70	76,08	80,13	82,55	84,18	69,55
Omišalj	68,13	54,74	75,67	70,43	79,58	68,89	77,00	61,50
Punat	59,44	47,78	63,91	55,72	75,00	60,84	79,12	63,77
Vrbnik	52,02	40,68	54,51	44,98	61,06	49,00	69,00	53,79
Ukupno (Otok Krk) Total (Island of Krk)	61,65	47,79	67,26	59,93	74,21	65,95	77,54	62,56

Izvori: *Popis stanovništva i stanova 1971.*, Stanovi, korišćenje i nastanjena lica, Rezultati po naseljima i opštinama, Knjiga 1, Savezni zavod za statistiku, Beograd, 1972.; *Popis stanovništva i stanova 1971.*, Stanovi, veličina, svojina, domaćinstva i lica, Rezultati po naseljima i opštinama, Knjiga 2, Savezni zavod za statistiku, Beograd, 1972.; *Popis stanovništva i stanova 1971.*, Stanovi za odmor i rekreaciju, Rezultati po naseljima i opštinama, Knjiga 6, Savezni zavod za statistiku, Beograd, 1973.; *Popis stanovništva, domaćinstava i stanova 31. 3. 1981.*, Domaćinstva i stanovi, tabele po naseljima za pojedine općine, Stanovi i površina stanova prema korištenju i druge nastanjene prostorije i osobe u njima, SRH, RZS, Zagreb, 1982.; *Popis stanovništva, domaćinstava, stanova i poljoprivrednih gospodarstava, 31. 3. 1991.*, Stanovi prema korištenju i druge nastanjene prostorije, po naseljima, Dokumentacija 888, DZS, Zagreb, 1995.; *Popis stanovništva, domaćinstava, stanova i poljoprivrednih gospodarstava, 31. 3. 1991.*, Stanovi za odmor i rekreaciju po naseljima, Dokumentacija 929, DZS, Zagreb, 1996.; *Popis stanovništva kućanstava i stanova 31. 3. 2001.*, Stanovi prema načinu korištenja po gradovima/općinama, Drugo izdanje, DZS, Zagreb, 2003.; <http://www.dzs.hr/Popis%202001/popis20001.htm>

Sources: *Census of Population and Dwellings, 1971*, Dwellings for Vacation and Recreation, Results by Settlements and Municipalities, Book 1, SZS, Beograd, 1972; *Census of Population and Dwellings, 1971*, Dwellings for Vacation and Recreation, Results by Settlements and Municipalities, Book 2, SZS, Beograd, 1972; *Census of Population and Dwellings, 1971*, Dwellings for Vacation and Recreation, Results by Settlements and Municipalities, Book 6, SZS, Beograd, 1973; *Census of Population, Households and Dwellings, 31st March 1981*, Households and Dwellings, Tables by Settlements for Individual Municipalities, Dwellings and Dwelling Areas by Their Usage and Other Occupied Rooms and Persons in Them, SRH, RZS, Zagreb, 1982; *Census of Population, Households, Dwellings and Agricultural Households, 31st March 1991*, Dwellings for Vacation and Recreation by Settlements, Document 888, DZS, Zagreb, 1995; *Census of Population, Households, Dwellings and Agricultural Households, 31st March 1991*, Dwellings for Vacation and Recreation by Settlements, Document 929, DZS, Zagreb, 1996; *Census of Population, Households and Dwellings, 31st March 2001*, Dwellings by the Manner of Usage by Towns/Municipalities, Second edition, DZS, Zagreb, 2003; <http://www.dzs.hr/Popis%202001/popis20001.htm>

1971. godine na 77,54 m² 2001.), a njezino je povećanje zabilježeno u svakom međupopisnom razdoblju. Navedeno povećanje može se objasniti povećanjem standarda stalnoga stanovništva u razdoblju njegove snažne socioekonomske transformacije (prijelaz iz primarnoga sektora u tercijarni sektor djelatnosti), kao i proširivanjem stambenoga prostora, koji je u sezoni nerijetko namijenjen iznajmljivanju turistima, premda se i dalje vodi kao prostor za stalno stanovanje.

¹² Budući da u popisnim podacima za 1971. godinu nije izdvojena kategorija stalno nastanjenih stanova, za navedenu popisnu godinu navedena je prosječna površina stanova za stalno stanovanje, a ne prosječna površina stalno nastanjenih stanova. Iako kategorija "stanovi za stalno stanovanje" obuhvaća veći dio stambenoga fonda od kategorije "stalno nastanjeni stanovi", podatci se, usprkos neminovnoj metodološkoj nedosljednosti, mogu uspoređivati na razini informativnosti.

An average floor area of dwellings for permanent occupancy on the island of Krk has significantly increased in the period of thirty years (from 61.65 m² in 1971 to 77.54 m² in 2001). Increase has been recorded in each intercensus period. This increase can be explained by the rise in standard of living of permanent population in the period of its vigorous socio-economic transformation (the transition from primary to tertiary sector of activity), as well as the expansion of dwelling space which is often used for letting to tourists in tourist seasons,

¹² Since the census statistics for 1971 does not contain permanently occupied dwellings as a separate category, the figure listed for that year represents the average area of dwellings for permanent dwelling and not the average area of permanently occupied dwellings. Although the category "dwellings for permanent dwelling" includes a larger proportion of the dwelling fund from the category "permanently occupied dwellings", despite their inevitable methodological inconsistency the available statistics can be compared for general orientation.

Prosječna površina stanova za odmor i rekreaciju na Krku mijenjala se ponešto drugačije. Nakon "skoka" sa 47,79 m² 1971. godine na 65,95 m², koliko je iznosila 1991., u zadnjem međupopisnom razdoblju smanjila se na 62,56 m². Istodobno u zadnjem međupopisnom razdoblju (od 1991. do 2001.) broj se vikendica na Krku povećao sa 7379 na 10 212 (OPAČIĆ, 2008b). Smanjenje prosječne površine u zadnjem međupopisnom razdoblju može se, stoga, pripisati strukturnim promjenama vikendaštva na otoku. Naime, nakon obnove, mahom manjih, ispraznjenih stambenih objekata u ranijoj razvojnoj fazi (1950-ih i 1960-ih), pristupilo se individualnoj namjenskoj izgradnji (1970-ih i 1980-ih), a u razdoblju nakon raspada nekadašnje Jugoslavije glavninu vikendaštva na Krku obilježila je snažna apartmanizacija. Budući da su namjenski građene obiteljske kuće za odmor i rekreaciju (vikendice u užem smislu) u pravilu veće kvadrature od apartmana u namjenskim višestambenim objektima za odmor i rekreaciju, ne iznenađuje smanjenje prosječne površine vikendica na Krku u recentnom razdoblju. Činjenica da je apartmanizacija postala vodeći proces u kontekstu vikendaštva na otoku uvelike određuje i njegove fizionomske učinke i posljedice.

Recentna struktura stanova za odmor i rekreaciju na otoku Krku prema izdvojenim površinskim kategorijama pokazuje najveću zastupljenost manjih stambenih jedinica (Tab. 2.).¹³

Na otoku je tako, prema podacima jedinica lokalne samouprave, zabilježeno najviše vikendica u površinskom razredu od 35 do 60 m² (39,62% svih vikendica na Krku), a potom u razredu do 35 m² (23,43%). S povećanjem površine, broj stanova za odmor i rekreaciju se smanjuje, pa je tako u razredu od 60 do 100 m² registrirano 22,70% svih vikendica na otoku, u razredu od 100 do 150 m² njih 8,94%, dok je u razredu "više od 150 m²" evidentirano tek 5,30% krčkih vikendica.

¹³ Podacima dobivenima iz dokumentacija krčkih jedinica lokalne samouprave (stanje ožujak/travanj 2007. godine), nužnima za analizu površina stanova za odmor i rekreaciju na otoku, obuhvaćeno je 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 registriranog 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.

although it continues to be registered as space for permanent occupancy.

The average floor area of flats for vacation and recreation on the island of Krk has changed in a somewhat different manner. After the "jump" from 47.79 m² in 1971 to 65.95 m² in 1991, it fell to 62.56 m² in the last intercensus period. At the same time, in the last intercensus period (from 1991 to 2001) the number of second homes on the island of Krk increased from 7379 to 10 212 (OPAČIĆ, 2008b). The decrease in the average floor area in the last intercensus period can thus be ascribed to structural changes within the second home phenomenon on the island. The conversion of mostly smaller, vacated dwelling objects in the earlier phase of development (1950s and 1960s) was followed by individual purpose-built construction (1970s and 1980s), and in the period after the break-up of former Yugoslavia the majority of second homes on the island of Krk was marked by intensive apartmentalisation. Since the purpose-built family houses for vacation and recreation (second homes in the narrow sense) as a rule have larger floor area than apartments in purpose-built multi-apartment buildings for vacation and recreation, the decrease in the average floor area of second homes on the island of Krk in the most recent period is not surprising. The fact that apartmentalisation has become the dominant trend in the context of the second home phenomenon on the island also significantly determines its physiognomic impact and consequences.

The recent structure of flats for vacation and recreation on the island of Krk by specified area categories reveals the prevalence of smaller dwelling units (Tab. 2.).¹³

Therefore, according to the information from the units of local self-government, the largest number of second homes on the island is registered in the floor area category from 35 to 60 m² (39.62% of all second homes on Krk), followed by the category up

¹³ Information obtained from the offices of the units of local self-government on the island of Krk (valid in March/April 2007), necessary for the analysis of the area of dwellings for vacation and recreation on the island, contains 9145 residential buildings whose owners have registered their permanent residence outside of the island of Krk, which is considerably less than the number of flats for vacation and recreation on the island of Krk registered in the Census of 2001 (10 212). As it is highly unlikely that the number of dwellings for vacation and recreation on the island of Krk experienced a sudden drop between 2001 and 2007 (on the contrary, the intensified building of apartment blocks could only have increased their number), it is obvious that different methodologies were used in their identification by municipal administration and the nation-wide Census.

Tablica 2. Broj stanova za odmor i rekreaciju prema površinskim kategorijama (m²) u jedinicama lokalne samouprave otoka Krka 2007. godine

Table 2 The number of dwellings for vacation and recreation by floor area categories (m²) in units of local self-government on the island of Krk in 2007.

Grad / općina Town / Municipality	≤ 35,00	35,01-60,00	60,01-100,00	100,01-150,00	> 150,00	Ukupno Total
Baška	629	463	207	52	45	1396
Dobrinj	284	453	299	69	27	1132
Krk	221	602	512	298	175	1808
Malinska-dubašnica	240	948	465	213	132	1998
Omišalj	225	468	338	127	74	1232
Punat	385	450	179	44	23	1081
Vrbnik	159	239	76	15	9	498
Ukupno (Otok Krk) Total (Island of Krk)	2143	3623	2076	818	485	9145

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

Na razini jedinica lokalne samouprave redosljed površinskih razreda prema broju vikendica ponešto se razlikuje. Naime, u općinama Dobrinj, Malinska-Dubašnica (TURK, 1999.) i Omišalj, kao i na području Grada Krka, broj vikendica u razredu od 60 do 100 m² veći je od broja stanova za odmor i rekreaciju u razredu "do 35 m²". Uzroke ovakvu redosljedu površinskih razreda valja potražiti u znatno izraženijoj zastupljenosti namjenskih podignutih obiteljskih vikendica (npr. u Malinskoj, Njivicama, Krku, na području Dobrinjštine i Šotoventa¹⁴) od stanova za odmor i rekreaciju nastalih prenamjenom i adaptacijom ispražnjenoga stambenog fonda, koji su u pravilu manjih površina.

Vikendaštvo je u obalnim krčkim naseljima potaknulo mnoge promjene u fizionomiji, odnosno u njihovoj funkcionalnoj naseljskoj strukturi. Budući da je glavnina stanova za odmor i rekreaciju na Krku smještena u obalnim naseljima (OPAČIĆ, 2008b), logično je pretpostaviti kako su ona doživjela i najizraženiju naseljsku preobrazbu pod utjecajem sekundarnoga rekreacijskog stanovanja. Zbog namjenske vikendaške, a kasnije i apartmanske, izgradnje, obalna naselja znatno su proširila svoja građevinska područja, najčešće nauštrb poljoprivrednoga zemljišta. Istodobno, interpolirani objekti sekundarnoga rekreacijskog stanovanja "popunili" su preostale slobodne parcele unutar izgrađenih dijelova naselja, pa su na taj način prodrli i u zonu stalnoga stanovanja

¹⁴ Uvriježeni, prema neslužbeni, toponim Šotovento (tal. "ispod vjetra", zavjetrina), za zapadni dio otoka Krka rabila je i Novosel-Žic (1987.). Autorica 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.

to 35 m² (23.43%). The number of flats for vacation and recreation diminishes with the increase in the floor area, so that the category from 60 to 100 m² registers 22.70% of all second homes on Krk, the category from 100 to 150 m² 8.94%, and in the category "over 150 m²" contains only 5.30% of all second homes on the island of Krk.

The order of floor area categories according to the number of second homes is somewhat different on the level of units of local self-government. In the municipalities of Dobrinj, Malinska-Dubašnica (TURK, 1999) and Omišalj, as well as on the territory of the Town of Krk, the number of second houses in the category from 60 do 100 m² exceeds the number of dwellings for vacation and recreation in the category "up to 35 m²". The causes for this ordering of floor area categories are to be sought in the considerably more pronounced percentage of purpose-built family second homes (e.g. in Malinska, Njivice, Krk, in the Municipality of Dobrinj and Šotovento¹⁴) than the number of dwellings for vacation and recreation created through the conversion of the vacated dwelling fund, which include objects with generally smaller floor areas.

The development of the second home phenomenon in the coastal settlements of the island of Krk has encouraged numerous changes in physiognomy, that is, in their functional structure. Since the majority of flats for vacation and recreation on the island of Krk is located in coastal settlements (OPAČIĆ,

¹⁴ Novosel-Žic (1987) also used the widespread although informal toponym Šotovento (Italian for "under the wind", leeward) in reference to the Western part of the island of Krk. The author explains that it reflects the "privileged location of that part of the island in relation to the *bora*", which is a highly significant factor in the orientation of houses and even whole settlements on the island of Krk.

domicilnoga stanovništva. Iz navedenih činjenica može se zaključiti kako obalna naselja na otoku pripadaju naseljima koja su pod utjecajem vikendaštva doživjela i prostornu ekspanziju novih građevinskih (vikendaških) zona, kao i povećanje izgrađenosti u prijašnjim građevinskim područjima. Istovjetni proces sukcesivnoga proširivanja građevinskih gabarita naselja i vikendaških interpolacija unutar postojećih građevinskih zona naselja, uglavnom u nešto manjoj mjeri, mogu se uočiti i u većini naselja u unutrašnjosti otoka.

Fizionomske implikacije vikendaštva u Malinskoj

Naselje Malinska¹⁵ (607 stanovnika 2001. godine; s fizionomski i funkcionalno povezanim naseljima Bogovići, Milčetići, Radići i Zidarići – 1600 stanovnika) smješteno je na sjeverozapadnoj obali otoka, u prostranom zaljevu između rta Čuf (u literaturi se navodi i kao Čuf, op. a.) na sjeveru i Pelova na zapadu (Sl. 1.).

Prema aktualnom administrativno-teritorijalnom ustroju, Malinska je sjedište općine Malinska-Dubašnica, koja okuplja veći dio prostora Dubašnice (manji, južni, dio administrativno pripada Gradu Krku). Rani razvoj turizma (u najranijoj fazi radilo se o lovnom i lječilišnom turizmu) Malinska može zahvaliti parobrodskim linijama po Kvarneru, ali i po čitavom hrvatskom priobalju, koje su redovito pristajale u njoj (TURK, TURK-ŠARIĆ, 2002.). U doba velikih ekonomskih kriza (na prijelazu 19.

¹⁵ Naselje je ime dobilo po riječi "malin" (mlin), koji je kao vodenica postojao u središtu današnjeg naselja gdje teče izvorska slatka voda (RADIĆ, 1984; GALOVIĆ, 2004.). Tradicionalno je središte Dubašnice, kraja koji čini dvadesetak okolnih sela i zaselaka. Selo Malinska prvi se put spominje u 15. stoljeću, a prvi stanovnici bile su hrvatske i vlaške obitelji s kontinenta, koje je na ovaj prostor između 1451. i 1463. naseljavao krčki knez Ivan VII. Frankopan (GALOVIĆ, 2004). U 15. i 16. stoljeću, zbog zaklonjena položaja u širokom, uvučenom zaljevu, u Malinskoj se postupno počinje formirati luka. Naselje se počelo jače razvijati početkom 19. stoljeća, kada je izvoz drva (Dubašnica je dobila ime po riječi "dub" (hrast), iz čega je jasno da se radi o prostoru prekrivenom gustom šumskom vegetacijom) prešao iz susjednoga sela Porat u Malinsku (RADIĆ, 1984). Radić (1984) ističe da je Malinska imala bolju cestovnu vezu za dovoz šumskih i poljoprivrednih proizvoda iz unutrašnjosti otoka, a uz to je bila i zaštićenija od jakih vjetrova, osobito bure.

2008b), it is logical to suppose that they have also experienced most pronounced transformation under the influence of secondary recreational dwelling. Due to the construction of purpose-built second homes, and later purpose-built multi-apartment buildings, coastal settlements have considerably expanded their building land, most often at the expense of agricultural land. At the same time, the interpolated objects of secondary recreational dwelling have "filled in" the remaining free lots inside urbanised parts of the settlements, and in this way also invaded the zone of permanent dwelling of domicile population. These facts lead to the conclusion that the coastal settlements on the island belong to the category of settlements which have also experienced spatial expansion of new building (second home) zones under the influence of the development of the second home phenomenon, as well as the increased degree of urbanisation in older building areas. The identical process of the successive expansion of building framework of settlements and second home interpolations within the existing building zones can also be observed, albeit in a slightly smaller degree, in the majority of settlements in the island hinterland.

Physiognomic implications of the second home phenomenon in Malinska

The settlement of Malinska¹⁵ (607 inhabitants in 2001; with physiognomically and functionally connected settlements Bogovići, Milčetići, Radići and Zidarići - 1600 inhabitants) is located on the Northwest coast of the island, in a spacious inlet between the cape of Čuf (in literature spelled also as Čuf) in the North and Pelova in the West (Fig. 1).

¹⁵ The settlement got its name from the word "malin" ("mlin," i.e. mill), which existed as a water mill in the middle of the modern settlement at the location of the clear-water well (RADIĆ, 1984; GALOVIĆ, 2004). It is a traditional centre of Dubašnica, the area encompassing about twenty neighbouring villages and hamlets. The village of Malinska was first mentioned in the 15th century, and the first inhabitants were Croatian and Wallach families from the mainland which were settled here between 1451 and 1463 by the Krk prince Ivan VII Frankopan (GALOVIĆ, 2004). The 15th and 16th centuries witnessed a gradual development of the harbour in Malinska which enjoyed a protected location in the wide, elongated inlet. The settlement experienced faster development at the beginning of the 19th century when lumber export industry (Dubašnica got its name from the term "dub" (oak), which clearly indicates that the area was covered in dense forest vegetation) was relocated to Malinska from the neighbouring village of Porat (RADIĆ, 1984). Radić (1984) emphasises that Malinska had better road connection for transporting lumber and agricultural goods from the hinterland area of the island, and was also better protected from strong winds, particularly the *bora*.



Slika 1. Geografski položaj Malinske
Figure 1 Geographical position of Malinska

u 20. stoljeće i između dva svjetska rata) stanovit broj mještana iselio se u SAD (najviše New York), dok je emigracijska struja prema Južnoj Americi, Zapadnoj Europi i Australiji bila nešto slabije izražena. Stanovništvo Malinske kroz prošlost višekratno je proživljavalo socioekonomsku preobrazbu. U početku su se mještani uglavnom bavili poljoprivredom, ribarstvom i pomorstvom, potom trgovinom, brodarstvom i obrtom, te naposljetku turizmom i ugostiteljstvom. U najnovije vrijeme vikendaštvo se sve više afirmira i kao unosna grana gospodarstva, koja neposredno i posredno utječe na povećanje zaposlenosti u Malinskoj.

Zbog povoljnoga prometno-geografskog i turističko-geografskog položaja, kao i pogodnosti turističke i rekreacijske atrakcijske osnove, Malinska se rano afirmirala i kao jedno od vodećih turističkih i kao jedno od vodećih vikendaških mjesta na Krku, ali i na Kvarneru

According to the current administrative-territorial organisation, Malinska is the seat of the Municipality of Malinska-Dubašnica which gathers a larger proportion of the territory of Dubašnica (the smaller, Southern part administratively belongs to the Town of Krk). The early development of tourism in Malinska (in the earliest phase it was tourism based on hunting and recuperation) was based on steam-boat lines in the Kvarner but also along the whole Croatian littoral. These steam-boats maintained regular connections with Malinska (TURK, TURK-ŠARIĆ, 2002). In periods of great economic crisis (at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries and between the two World Wars) a certain number of local inhabitants emigrated to the States (mostly to New York), while the emigration to South America, Western Europe and Australia was slightly less pronounced. Throughout the history, the population of Malinska experienced multiple socio-economic transformations. In the beginning the main occupations were in agriculture, fishing and

Slika 2. Faze razvoja vikendaštva u Malinskoj¹⁶Figure 2 The phases of the development of second homes in Malinska¹⁶

općenito (RADIĆ, 1984; NOVOSEL-ŽIĆ, 1987; RADIĆ, 1994a; RADIĆ, 1994b; TURK, 2002; TURK, TURK-ŠARIĆ, 2002.). U drugoj polovici 20. stoljeća snažan turistički razvoj odrazio se na povećanje stupnja centraliteta Malinske, koja je - postavši jedno od najjačih turističkih mjesta na otoku - u lokalnome gravitacijskom smislu privukla k sebi i neka naselja izvan svojega administrativnog područja (NOVOSEL-ŽIĆ, 1987.).

¹⁶ Ucrtane tri zone približno se poklapaju s razdobljima vikendaške izgradnje u Malinskoj. U njima je, naravno, zastupljena i funkcija stalnoga stanovanja, koja se, uostalom, u "zoni izgrađenoj prije Drugog svjetskog rata", kao i u dijelu "zone izgrađene između 1945. i 1990.", pojavila i prije funkcije sekundarnoga rekreacijskog stanovanja. U legendi istaknuta klasifikacija odnosi se na etape vikendaške valorizacije pojedinih dijelova Malinske, što znači da se npr. funkcija stalnoga stanovanja u samom središtu Malinske ("zona izgrađena između 1945. i 1990.") pojavila znatno prije 1945., kada u navedenu zonu počinju dolaziti vikendaši, koji će je potom uvelike transformirati. Važno je napomenuti kako granice zona valja shvatiti okvirno te da u svakoj postoje i primjeri vikendaške izgradnje prije, odnosno poslije, navedenoga razdoblja.

crafts, and sailing, then in commerce, shipbuilding and crafts, and eventually in tourism and catering industry. In most recent times the second home industry gains greater significance as a lucrative branch of catering industry, with direct and indirect impact on the increase in employment in Malinska.

Due to its favourable geographical location, good communications and predispositions for tourism,

¹⁶ The three zones on the map roughly correspond to the periods of the second home building in Malinska. They certainly also include the function of permanent dwelling which appeared in the "zone built before the Second World War" as well as in a segment of the "zone built between 1945 and 1990", preceding the function of secondary recreational dwelling. The accompanying classification refers to the periods of the second home valorisation of various parts of Malinska, which means, for instance, that the function of permanent dwelling in the very centre of Malinska ("the zone build between 1945 and 1990") emerged considerably prior to 1945 when second home owners began arriving into this zone to eventually transform it to a large degree. It is worth mentioning that the borders of the zones should be understood provisionally and that each zone contains examples of second home dwellings which came into being before as well as after the indicated period.



Slika 3. Između uvala Portić i Draga – jedna od najstarijih zona vikendaštva u Malinskoj (foto: VUK TVRTKO OPAČIĆ, 30. 3. 2007.)

Figure 3 Between the inlets of Portić and Draga – one of the oldest second home zones in Malinska (Photo: VUK TVRTKO OPAČIĆ, 30th March 2007)



Slika 4. Jedne od posljednjih preostalih starih kuća u Milčetićima, danas dijelu Malinske (foto: VUK TVRTKO OPAČIĆ, 30. 3. 2007.)

Figure 4 Several of the last remaining old houses in Milčetići, today a part of Malinska (Photo: VUK TVRTKO OPAČIĆ, 30th April 2007)

Turistički razvoj bio je praćen i razvojem povremenoga rekreacijskog stanovanja, čiji se početci u Malinskoj mogu zamijetiti još krajem 19. i početkom 20. stoljeća (OPAČIĆ, 2008b). Njegovim znatnim omasovljenjem u vrijeme socijalističke Jugoslavije (od 1959., kada je uspostavljena trajektna linija Crikvenica – Šilo, a pogotovo nakon izgradnje Krčkoga mosta 1980.), a osobito u "apartmanskoj" razvojnoj fazi u zadnjih petnaestak godina, Malinska je postala istinsko "vikendaško središte" otoka, u kojemu su se, više nego igdje drugdje na Krku, iskristalizirali direktni i indirektni učinci sekundarnoga rekreacijskog stanovanja u prostoru.

U pionirskoj razvojnoj fazi vikendaštvo je zahvatilo najatraktivnije obalne zone, u kojima su tada izgrađene raskošne vile i ljetnikovci okruženi bujnim, njegovanim zelenilom (Sl. 2.).

Zona vila i ljetnikovaca nije se protezala kontinuirano duž čitave obalne linije današnje Malinske, pa se mogu prepoznati dvije vikendaške jezgre iz toga vremena – uz uvale Portić i Draga (Sl. 3.) te između uvala Vrtača i Cukličevo.

U početnoj fazi masovnijega dolaska vikendaša (1960-ih) vikendaštvo se koncentriralo ponajviše u obalnoj zoni, uz samu morsku obalu, i u neposrednom zaleđu (do petstotinjak metara u unutrašnjosti). Kako je i Malinsku, kao uostalom i ostala naselja na otoku, zahvatio proces

as well as its comprehensive offer of tourism and recreational attractions, Malinska has also emerged fairly early as one of the leading receiving tourism and second home centres on the island of Krk and in the wider Kvarner region (RADIĆ, 1984; NOVOSEL-ŽIĆ, 1987; RADIĆ, 1994a; RADIĆ, 1994b; TURK, 2002; TURK, TURK-ŠARIĆ, 2002). In the second half of the 20th century, intensive development of tourism supported a central position of Malinska which became one of the strongest tourism centres on the island and through local gravitational pull absorbed several settlements which were located outside of its original administrative jurisdiction (NOVOSEL-ŽIĆ, 1987).

This development was accompanied by the development of occasional recreational dwelling, whose beginnings in Malinska can be observed as early as the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries (OPAČIĆ, 2008b). The popularisation and growth of secondary dwelling in the period of Socialist Yugoslavia, and particularly in the "apartmentalisation" phase in the last fifteen years, Malinska has become a true "second home hot spot" of the island which manifests, more vividly than any other settlement on the island of Krk, direct (physiognomic) and indirect (economic and socio-cultural) consequences of the secondary recreational dwelling.

In its pioneering phase, the second home phenomenon spread to the most attractive coastal parts of the island. Luxurious villas and resorts



Slika 5. Vikendaška četvrt obiteljskih kuća za odmor i rekreaciju okruženih vrtovima u blizini hotela Malin (foto: VUK TVRTKO OPAČIĆ, 30. 3. 2007.)

Figure 5 A second home district of family houses for vacation and recreation surrounded by gardens in the vicinity of hotel Malin (Photo: VUK TVRTKO OPAČIĆ, 30th March 2007)

emigracijom uvjetovane depopulacije, prvi bi vikendaši jeftino kupovali stare napuštene kuće i gospodarske objekte te zapuštena zemljišta uz more, za koje lokalno stanovništvo nije pokazivalo interes (Sl. 4.).

Jača individualna vikendaška izgradnja započinje 1970-ih godina, kada se u prostornoj strukturi naselja formiraju prve vikendaške četvrti. Najstarija vikendaška zona (četvrt) obiteljskih kuća, koja je svoje temeljne fizionomske karakteristike zadržala do danas, nastala je iza hotela Malin, u neposrednom zaleđu uvala Draga. U pejzažu dominiraju veće i manje obiteljske vikendice s uglavnom prostranim vrtovima, čije je zelenilo pozitivno utjecalo na ukupnu atraktivnost ovoga dijela Malinske, gdje je prije dolaska vikendaša prevladavalo zapušteno poljoprivredno zemljište mahom zaraslo u drač (Sl. 5.). Teško je pouzdano reći koliko je blizina hotela Malin presudno utjecala na donošenje odluke o izboru specifične lokacije malinskarskih vikendaša, ali svakako se uređenje plaže i nova ponuda usluga namijenjena hotelskim gostima (npr. ugostiteljstvo, sportski tereni) u blizini vikendaške četvrti može smatrati njezinom lokacijskom prednošću.

Premda vikendaštvo u novoformiranim vikendaškim četvrtima receptivnoga naselja, osim širenja građevinskih površina te povećavanja

were built there, surrounded by luscious, groomed greenery (Fig. 2).

The zone including villas and resorts did not spread continuously along the whole coastal line of today's Malinska, which makes it possible to differentiate between two second home nuclei from that period – one alongside the inlets of Portić and Draga (Fig. 3) and the other between the inlets of Vrtača and Cuklićevo.

In the initial phase of a more numerous arrival of second home owners (in 1960s), the second home phenomenon concentrated primarily in the coastal area, by the sea shore, and in the immediate hinterland (up to five hundred metres from the sea). As Malinska was caught up in the process of emigration and depopulation, together with other settlements on the island, the early second home owners would purchase, at relatively low cost, old abandoned houses and commercial objects and abandoned land by the sea, for which there was no interest on the part of local population (Fig. 4).

More significant individual building of second houses started in the 1970s, when earliest second home districts were formed within the spatial structure of Malinska. The oldest second home zone (district) of family houses, which has retained its basic physiognomic characteristics until today, emerged behind hotel Malin in the immediate hinterland of the inlet Draga. The landscape is dominated by larger and smaller family second homes, predominantly with spacious gardens, whose greenery exerted positive impact on the overall attractiveness of this part of Malinska. Before the arrival of second home owners, this area was dominated by waste agricultural land mostly overgrown with thorn bush (Fig. 5). It is difficult to state with absolute certainty how decisive was the vicinity of hotel Malin for the decision by the second home owners in favour of buying property in this specific location in Malinska, but the arranged beach and the array of services offered to hotel guests (e.g. catering, sport facilities) in the proximity of the second home district certainly can be considered to have been an advantage.

Although in addition to the expansion of building land, and the urbanisation of space, the second home phenomenon in the newly-formed second home districts of the receiving settlement

¹⁷ Kanalizacija je u Malinsku uvedena tek 1996. godine, gotovo 40 godina nakon prvih masovnijih dolazaka vikendaša.

¹⁷ Sewage system was built in Malinska only in 1996, almost 40 years after the first organised mass settlements of the second home owners.

izgrađenosti prostora, utječe na razvoj nove mreže usluga (npr. komunalna infrastruktura, trgovina, ugostiteljstvo, ostale usluge itd.) namijenjene ponajprije vikendašima, koja uvelike modificira postojeću funkcionalno-prostornu strukturu receptivnog naselja, širenje vikendaštva u Malinskoj nije bilo praćeno istodobnim širenjem komunalne infrastrukture (voda, struja, asfaltirane ceste), koja je u pravilu kasnila za vikendaškom izgradnjom.¹⁷

U razdoblju socijalističke Jugoslavije individualna vikendaška izgradnja zahvatila je gotovo sve dijelove Malinske, znatno utječući na njezino prostorno širenje, ali i stupanj izgrađenosti. S Malinskom već tada srastaju sela Milčetići, Bogovići i Zidarići, čime se ona širi prema vikendaški također "jakim" Vantačićima na zapadu širokoga malinskarskog zaljeva (NOVOSEL-ŽIC, 1987).¹⁸ Prema sjeveroistoku, Malinska se zbog vikendaške izgradnje približava selu Sveti Vid Miholjice, a kasnije s njim gotovo i spaja (JAKOMINIĆ-TURK, TURK, 1990.), pa nekadašnja cesta sve više nalikuje na ulicu (uređeni nogostup, rasvjeta itd.). Ipak, zbog propisa o maksimalnom stupnju izgrađenosti građevinske parcele, svi individualni investitori toga vremena bili su obvezni svoje kuće za odmor i rekreaciju graditi na parcelama dostatne površine, pa su i udaljenost objekata i stupanj izgrađenosti prostora, bili u skladu s rekreacijskom nosivošću prostora. Usprkos širenju granica građevinskih područja u Malinskoj, može se reći da je utjecaj vikendaštva na uređenje prostora u fizionomskom smislu bio više pozitivan nego negativan. Većina se vikendica nastojala što kvalitetnije uklopiti u prostornu strukturu turističkoga mjesta, obogaćujući ga hortikulturnim uređenjem, što se pozitivno odražavalo i na turističku privlačnost Malinske.

¹⁸ Razlog zašto se Malinska do današnjih dana nije potpuno fizionomski spojila s obližnjim Vantačićima leži u činjenici da je taj dio atraktivne, šumovite obale u prostornim planovima oduvijek bio rezerviran za turističku izgradnju (NOVOSEL-ŽIC, 1987). U aktualnom prostornom planu Općine Malinska-Dubašnica taj je, jedan od posljednjih neizgrađenih dijelova zaljeva, definiran kao "zona mješovite (pretežno turističke) izgradnje", što znači da bi jedan dio stambenih jedinica trebao biti namijenjen iznajmljivanju, dok bi se drugi mogao rabiti za sekundarno rekreacijsko stanovanje njegovih vlasnika. U praksi, riječ je o kombinaciji komercijalnoga i rekreacijskoga vikendaštva, s – u fizionomskom pogledu – gotovo identičnim prostornim implikacijama kao i u slučaju rekreacijskoga vikendaštva.

contributes also to the development of the new network of services (e.g. community infrastructure, commerce, catering, other services, etc.) primarily aimed at second home owners, which to a large degree modifies the existing functional-spatial structure of the receiving settlement, the spreading of the second home phenomenon in Malinska was not accompanied by simultaneous expansion of communal infrastructure (water, electricity, roads covered with asphalt), which as a rule lagged behind the development of second homes¹⁷.

In the period of Socialist Yugoslavia, the individual building of second homes spread through almost all parts of Malinska and made a significant impact on its spatial expansion and its level of urbanisation. At that time Malinska absorbed the villages of Milčetići, Bogovići and Zidarići, and as a result expanded in the direction of the village Vantačići, which has a strong concentration of second homes and is located in the West of the wide inlet of Malinska (NOVOSEL-ŽIC, 1987)¹⁸. Due to the building of second homes in the Northeast, Malinska draw near to, and later almost completely connected with, the village of Sveti Vid Miholjice (JAKOMINIĆ-TURK, TURK, 1990). The old road connecting these settlements more and more looks like a street (built sidewalk, public lights, etc.). However, the laws about the maximum degree of urbanisation of a plot of land stipulated that all individual investors of that time had to build their homes for vacation and recreation on plots of land of sufficient size, so that the distances between objects, and the degree of urbanisation of each lot, were appropriate to the recreational weight of that lot. In spite of the expansion of the boundaries of building land in Malinska, it can be stated that the influence of the second home phenomenon on the ordering of space in physiognomic sense was more positive than negative. Most second homes sought to blend optimally into the spatial structure of the settlement

¹⁸ The reason why to this day Malinska has not fully physiognomicly connected with the neighbouring Vantačići lies in the fact that that part of the attractive, wooded coast has in physical plans always been earmarked for tourism development (NOVOSEL-ŽIC, 1987). In the present physical plan of the municipality of Malinska –Dubašnica this, one of the last unbuilt parts of the inlet, is defined as the "zone of mixed (predominantly tourism) development", which means that a segment of dwelling units should be designated for letting, while the other could be used for secondary recreational dwelling of their owners. In practice it is a combination of commercial and recreational second home usage with almost identical geographic implications, from the physiognomic point of view, as in the case of recreational second home phenomenon.



Slika 6. Apartmanske interpolacije u samom središtu Malinske znatno povećavaju izgrađenost prostora (foto: VUK TVRTKO OPAČIĆ, 30. 3. 2007.)

Figure 6 Apartment interpolations in the very centre of Malinska considerably increase the urbanisation of space (Photo: VUK TVRTKO OPAČIĆ, 30th March 2007)



Slika 7. Gotovo se svakodnevno proširujući, zona apartmana danas pomiče granice prostornih gabarita Malinske; u pozadini: nekada odvojeno, a danas, zbog snažne vikendaške izgradnje, gotovo s Malinskom sraslo naselje Sveti Vid Miholjice (foto: VUK TVRTKO OPAČIĆ, 29. 3. 2007.)

Figure 7 With almost daily expansion, the zone of multi-apartment buildings today moves the boundaries of spatial framework of Malinska. In the background: the settlement of Sveti Vid Miholjice, once separated but today, due to intensive building of second homes, almost integrated with Malinska (Photo: VUK TVRTKO OPAČIĆ, 29th March 2007)

Znatno grublji odnos prema prostoru i upitno pejzažno uklapanje objekata sekundarnoga rekreacijskog stanovanja nastupa nakon 1990., a osobito nakon smirivanja ratnih prilika (približno od 1997. godine), kada se javlja novi fizionomski oblik vikendaštva – višestambene apartmanske zgrade, kojima vikendaštvo iz individualne pojave prelazi u kolektivnu društvenu pojavu. Prvi apartmani u Malinskoj izgrađeni su u "privatnom aranžmanu" nakon raspada socijalističkoga sustava (1992.). Naime, za razliku od danas, u vrijeme socijalističke Jugoslavije zakon je privatnoj osobi dopuštao izgradnju samo dviju stambenih jedinica u samostalnom objektu, dok se veći broj stambenih jedinica mogao nalaziti jedino u kolektivnom vlasništvu. Prelaskom na tržišne uvjete poslovanja, u građevinarstvu se javlja privatno poduzetništvo, zainteresirano za što veću dobit po jedinici površine. U isti mah formira se i slobodno tržište nekretnina, što automatski povećava njihovu cijenu u Malinskoj.

Uvjetima "sumraka prostornoga planiranja" u drugoj polovici 1990-ih apartmanizacija je u Malinskoj uzela maha, gotovo naočigled pomičući granice građevinskoga područja naselja te ispunjavajući gotovo svaki komadić

and enriched it through landscaping and well-groomed greenery, which also reflected positively on the tourism attractiveness of Malinska.

The period after 1990, and particularly after the cessation of war activities (approximately after 1997), is marked by a significantly more violent treatment of space which has resulted in questionable blending of objects of secondary recreational nature into general landscape. At this time a new physiognomic form of second homes emerged: multi-apartment buildings. They mark the transition from individual second home phenomenon to a communal social phenomenon. The first apartment buildings in Malinska were built as "private enterprises" after the break-up of the Socialist system (1992). In contrast to the present, in the period of the Socialist Yugoslavia the law allowed a private person to build only two dwelling units in a self-standing object, while a large number of dwelling units could only exist in collective ownership. The transition to the market economy gave rise to private enterprise in the building industry whose sole interest lies in greater income per dwelling unit. Free real estate market was created simultaneously, which automatically increased the price of dwelling units in Malinska.

slobodna prostora u stambenim dijelovima naselja (Sl. 6.).¹⁹

Apartmanska izgradnja potaknuta interesima sve moćnijega građevinskog lobija uglavnom se koncentrirala u rubnim dijelovima Malinske, podalje od mora, formirajući karakteristični "apartmanski obod" oko naselja (npr. apartmanske zone Karinovo, Pavus itd.). Apartmanskom izgradnjom, nekadašnje ceste prema dubašljanskim selima (npr. prema Svetom Vidu Miholjicama, Milovčićima ili Kremenićima) postupno dobivaju fizionomiju ulica, pa se sukladno tome i imenuju. Sljedeći korak prostornoga širenja Malinske bit će potpuna integracija obližnjih dubašljanskih sela u jedinstvenu, amorfnu, naseljsku cjelinu, dakle po istom scenariju koji je prije nekoliko desetljeća izbrisao fizionomske granice Malinske i Bogovića, Milčetića, Radića i Zidarića, pretvorivši ih u četvrti jedinstvene vikendaške aglomeracije (Sl. 7.).

Jedan od indikatora prostornoga širenja Malinske u recentnom razdoblju jest i osjetno povećanje broja ulica. U samo nekoliko godina (najviše sedam)²⁰ broj ulica u Malinskoj povećao se sa 69 na čak 90. Dakle, za manje od jednoga desetljeća Malinska je dobila čak 21 novu ulicu (30,43% ukupnoga broja ulica u naselju). Iako veći broj ulica ne mora *a priori* značiti i prostorno širenje naselja, jer se, primjerice, pojedina duža ulica može podijeliti na više kraćih, ili se potreba imenovanja može javiti zbog povećavanja izgrađenosti unutar postojećih granica izgrađenoga dijela naselja, u slučaju Malinske neupitno je riječ o pomicanju granica građevinskih područja naselja ponajprije vikendaškom, apartmanskom izgradnjom. Navedenu konstataciju potkrjepljuje i činjenica da se gotovo sve novoimenovane ulice nalaze u novijim, rubnim dijelovima Malinske, koje obilježava apartmanska izgradnja najnovijega datuma. Kako je ona osvajala do tada neizgrađeno zemljište i proširivala granice građevinskoga područja, pojavila se i potreba

¹⁹ Do 1999. godine, kada je donesena prva promjena općinskoga prostornoga plana, nije se s prostorno-planskog aspekta učinilo gotovo ništa kako bi se unapredovali proces apartmanizacije stavio pod kontrolu. Kako zone višestambene apartmanske izgradnje, baš kao ni stupanj izgrađenosti građevinske parcele, nisu bili definirani, apartmanizacija je zahvatila gotovo sve dijelove Malinske.
²⁰ Najrecentniji plan Malinske (KARTA OPĆINE MALINSKA-DUBAŠNICA, 2005.), koji je izdala Turistička zajednica Općine, datira iz 2005. godine. Preposljednji plan Malinske nema zapisanu godinu objavljivanja, ali s obzirom na prikazani prostorni obuhvat Malinske, nikako nije izdan prije 2000. godine.

In "the twilight of urban and regional planning" in the second half of 1990s, apartmentalisation ran amok in Malinska. It moved the boundaries of building land of the settlement almost visibly to the naked eye, and filled almost every part of free space in residential parts of the settlement (Fig. 6).¹⁹

The building of multi-apartment buildings, supported by the interests of ever stronger building lobby, predominantly concentrated in the border parts of Malinska, away from the sea, formed a characteristic "apartment circle" around the settlement (e.g. apartment zones Karinovo, Pavus, etc.). With the building of multi-apartment buildings, erstwhile roads to the villages of the region of Dubašnica (e.g. towards Sveti Vid Miholjice, Milovčići or Kremenići) gradually take the shape of streets and are being appropriately named. The next step in the spatial expansion of Malinska will be complete integration of the neighbouring villages of Dubašnica into a whole, amorphous, united settlement, thus keeping to the same scenario which several decades ago obliterated the physiognomic boundaries between Malinska and Bogovići, Milčetići, Radići and Zidarići and transformed them into districts of one united second home agglomeration (Fig. 7).

One of the indicators of geographical expansion of Malinska in recent time is also the perceptible increase in the number of streets. In only several years (seven at most)²⁰, the number of streets in Malinska has increased from 69 to as many as 90. Therefore, in less than one decade, Malinska acquired as many as 21 new streets (30.43% of the total number of streets in the settlement). Although the increased number of streets does not *a priori* have to indicate the spatial expansion of the settlement since, for instance, a longer street can be divided into several shorter streets, or the need for naming may emerge because of the greater urbanisation within the existing boundaries of the built part of the settlement, in the case of Malinska

¹⁹ Until 1999, when the first change of municipal spatial plan was adopted, almost no effort was made to put under control the already developed process of apartmentalisation. Since the zones for the construction of multi-apartment buildings were not defined, as was not the degree of building development of a building site, the process of apartmentalisation spread through almost all parts of Malinska.

²⁰ The most recent map of Malinska (KARTA OPĆINE MALINSKA-DUBAŠNICA, 2005), which was published by the Tourist board of the Municipality, dates from 2005. The immediately preceding map of Malinska does not list the year of publication, but the area covered by the map implies that it could not have been published before 2000.



Slika 8. Neuseljeni i zatvoreni poslovni prostori pojačavaju atmosferu "grada duhova" u apartmanskom naselju Dub izvan sezone (foto: VUK TVRTKO OPAČIĆ, 30. 3. 2007.)

Figure 8 Unoccupied and closed commercial premises increase the atmosphere of a "ghost town" in the apartment resort Dub out of season (Photo: VUK TVRTKO OPAČIĆ, 30th March 2007)

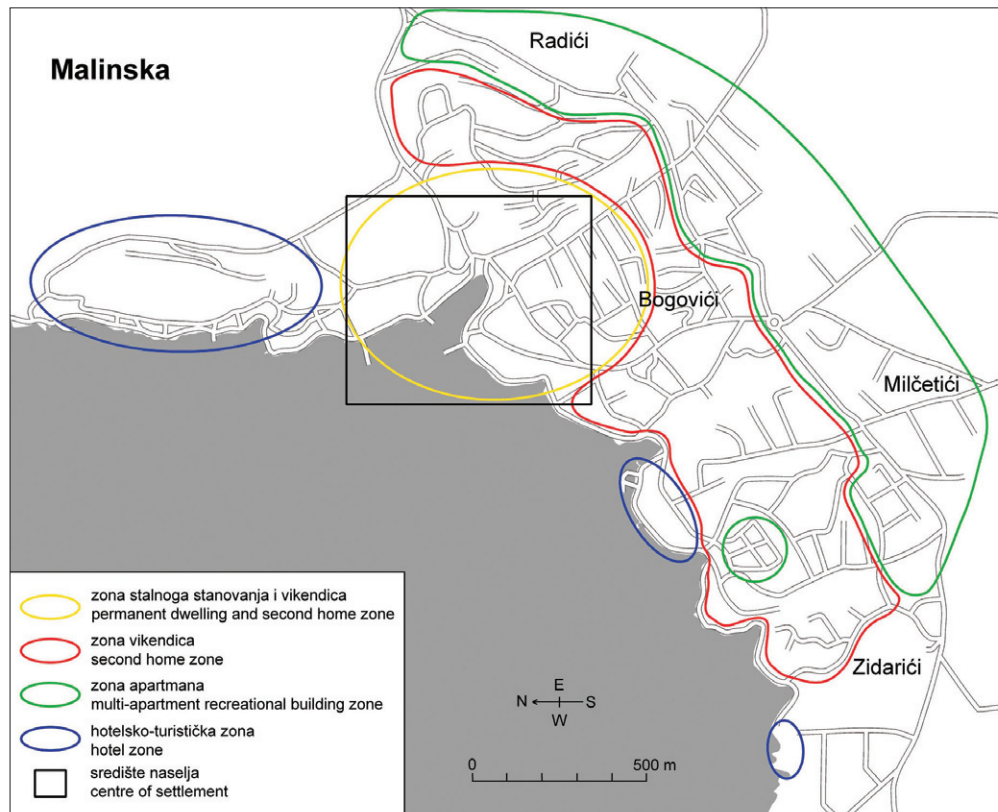
za integracijom novoizgrađenoga "vikendaškog tkiva" u organiziranu naseljsku cjelinu, pri čemu je važan korak bio imenovanje novih ulica.

Nesumnjivo najgrublji primjer apartmanske interpolacije u Malinskoj jest izgradnja apartmanske zone, odnosno čitavoga planski podignutoga apartmanskog naselja Dub, unutar starije zone obiteljskih vikendica. Apartmansko naselje Dub izgrađeno je uz uvalu Vrtača na mjestu nekadašnjeg odmarališta "Željezare Sisak". U tom neprimjerenom nasrtaju na prostor posječena je hrastova šumica u kojoj su se nalazili manji drveni bungalovi u sklopu radničkog odmarališta, da bi se izgradio betonski kompleks višestambenih apartmanskih blokova, posve neprihvatljivih dimenzija, čime su devastirani i fizionomija i miran ambijent okolne zone obiteljskih vikendica s njegovanim vrtovima. Paradoksalno, hrast, odnosno dub, sačuvao se samo u imenu apartmanskog naselja. Osim negativnih fizionomskih posljedica, apartmansko naselje Dub pokazalo se i kao promašaj u funkcionalnom smislu. Naime, u prizemljima apartmanskih zgrada planirani su poslovni

it is undoubtedly the case of shifting the boundaries of building land of the settlement primarily through the building of second homes, more precisely multi-apartment buildings. This claim is further corroborated by the fact that almost all newly-named streets are located in newer, border parts of Malinska and are marked by the more recent construction of multi-apartment buildings. As Malinska invaded land which had hitherto been unbuilt, and expanded the borders of building land, this occasioned the need for the integration of the newly-built "second home tissue" into an organised and united settlement. One important step in this direction was the naming of new streets.

Indubitably the most violent example of the interpolation of multi-apartment buildings in Malinska is the building of the multi-apartment building zone, that is, the whole district of multi-apartment resort Dub, built with proper building documentation, within the older zone of family second homes. The apartment resort Dub has been erected along the inlet Vrtača in place of the former vacation home of the "Sisak ironworks" company. In this inappropriate invasion of space the oak forest was cut down which contained smaller wooden bungalows belonging to this workers' vacation facilities. This was done in order to build a concrete multi-apartment complex of utterly unacceptable dimensions, which caused devastation of both physiognomy and peaceful context of the neighbouring zone of family houses with their well-kept gardens. It is paradoxical that the reference to oak i.e. *dub*, has been preserved only in the name of the resort of multi-apartment buildings. Apart from the negative physiognomic consequences, the Dub resort of multi-apartment buildings also proved to be a failure in the functional sense. The ground floor premises in the apartment buildings were originally intended as business offices, predominantly for catering and commercial firms. Their economic justification is best demonstrated by the fact that the planned catering activities in the majority of premises never materialised, and the few agencies that do operate are open for business only in the Summer, which confirms their low business productivity (Fig. 8).

The building of the Dub resort of multi-apartment buildings has increased the number of second home owners in that part of Malinska by several times, which has created too strong pressure on recreational resources, such as beaches, whose capacity is, of course, unchangeable. This has had negative impact on the level of enjoyment by the users of the beach, with a further consequence



Slika 9. Vikendice u prostornoj strukturi Malinske
Figure 9 Second homes in the spatial structure of Malinska

prostori, uglavnom ugostiteljske i trgovinske namjene. O njihovoj ekonomskoj opravdanosti najbolje govori činjenica da planirane uslužne djelatnosti u velikoj većini lokala nikada nisu ni zaživjele, a nekoliko njih koliko ih posluje otvoreno je isključivo ljeti, čime se potvrđuje njihova niska poslovna isplativost (Sl. 8.).

Izgradnja apartmanskoga naselja Dub nekoliko je puta povećala broj vikendaša u tom dijelu Malinske, što je stvorilo prevelik pritisak na rekreacijske resurse, primjerice plaže, čiji je prihvatni kapacitet, naravno, nepromjenjiv. Na taj način uvelike se smanjuje doživljaj korisnika plaže, što za posljedicu povlači i negativne sociokulturne odnose između vikendaša i mještana, vikendaša i turista te "starih" vikendaša i "novih vikendaša". Razvoj kvalitetnijega turizma u budućnosti, barem u navedenoj apartmanskoj zoni, teško da se može smatrati realnim.

S obzirom na prevladavajući tip objekta za odmor i rekreaciju, vikendice se u prostornoj strukturi Malinske pojavljuju u nekoliko karakterističnih zona (Sl. 9.).

of negative socio-cultural relationships between second home owners and local population, second home owners and tourists and "old" second home owners and "new" second home owners. Realistically, it is difficult to expect that tourism will successfully develop in the future, at least in this multi-apartment building zone.

Homes for vacation and recreation, divided by their prevailing kind, appear in the geographical structure of Malinska in several characteristic zones (Fig. 9).

Although the central zone of the settlement is mostly "reserved" for permanent dwelling, it also demonstrates strong concentration of business-related activities which are partly also directed at secondary recreational dwelling. Although being in minority, individual second homes of the family type appear as unavoidable component of the landscape. Their number grows proportionally to the distance from the sea, while at the same time the number of permanently occupied flats gradually decreases. These flats predominantly occupy the oldest part of the settlement, which

Premda pretežno "rezervirana" za stalno stanovanje, u središnjoj je zoni naselja izražena koncentracija poslovnih sadržaja, djelomično namijenjena i sekundarnom rekreacijskom stanovanju. Iako u manjini, individualne vikendice obiteljskoga tipa pojavljuju se kao nezaobilazan pejzažni element. Njihov udio raste razmjerno s povećanjem udaljenosti od mora, uz istodobno smanjivanje stalno nastanjenih stanova, smještenih ponajviše u najstarijem dijelu naselja, ujedno i središtu poslovnih aktivnosti Malinske. U zadnjih desetak godina i samo središte Malinske poprište je fizionomski uglavnom neprihvatljivih apartmanskih interpolacija, čime je povećana ionako visoka izgrađenost prostora i pojačan pritisak na uslužne djelatnosti.

Nešto dalje od središta naselja proteže se zona uglavnom namijenjena vikendaštvu, u kojoj prevladavaju vikendice u užem smislu, okružene vrtovima, pretežno izgrađene u razdoblju bivše Jugoslavije (1945.-1990.). Na jugozapadu, dalje od središta naselja, navedena zona izbija na samu morsku obalu. Unutar "zone vikendica" pojavljuju se i stalno nastanjeni objekti, premda u znatnom manjem broju, kao i višestambeni apartmanski objekti interpolirani u otprije formiranu prostornu strukturu individualnih vikendica. U neposrednom zaleđu uvale Vrtače u pejzažu se ističe i "apartmanska enklava", već opisano apartmansko naselje Dub.

Dominantni morfološki tip stanova za odmor i rekreaciju u rubnim dijelovima Malinske jesu namjenski izgrađene višestambene apartmanske zgrade, koje od sredine 1990-ih iz godinu u godinu pomiču granice građevinskoga područja Malinske. U zoni apartmana, koja u širokom luku gotovo sa svih strana obrubljuje naselje, nalazi se i manji broj individualnih vikendica i obiteljskih kuća namijenjenih stalnom stanovanju.

Najveća hotelsko-turistička zona smještena je u sjevernom dijelu Malinske (trenutačno zatvoreni hotelski kompleks Haludovo). U spomenutoj zoni, prema aktualnom prostornome planu, nije predviđena ni stambena ni vikendaška izgradnja, nego obnova postojećih i širenje hotelsko-turističkih sadržaja. Iako su hotelski smještajni kapaciteti smješteni i u središtu naselja (npr. hotel Adria), u prostornoj strukturi Malinske mogu se prepoznati još jedino dvije manje izdvojene hotelsko-turističke zone – oko hotela Malin i Vile Rove – koje uz smještajne kapacitete uključuju i popratne turističko-rekreacijske sadržaje namijenjene rekreaciji gostiju, ali i

is also the centre of all business activities in Malinska. In the last decade the very centre of Malinska has experienced physiognomically predominantly unacceptable interpolations of multi-apartment buildings, which has increased already high degree of urbanisation of space and growing pressure on catering services.

At a distance from the centre of the settlement there lies a zone consisting primarily of second homes, most of which are second homes in the strict sense, surrounded by gardens, mainly built in the period of the former Yugoslavia (1945 - 1990). In the Southwest, further away from the centre of the settlement, this zone reaches the shore. The "second home zone" also contains permanently occupied dwellings, although relatively small in their number, as well as multi-apartment buildings interpolated in the formerly defined spatial structure of individual second homes. The landscape of the immediate hinterland of the inlet Vrtače also contains the "apartment building enclave" in the form of the already described Dub multi-apartment building resort.

The prevalent morphological type of second homes in the border quarters of Malinska are purpose-built multi-apartment buildings which have expanded the building land of Malinska from mid 1990s. In the multi-apartment building zone, which almost completely surrounds the settlement in a wide circle, there is a smaller number of individual second homes and family houses intended for permanent occupancy.

The largest tourism-hotel zone is located in the North part of Malinska (the currently closed down hotel complex Haludovo). The current municipal spatial plan does not permit or envisage any housing construction or building of second homes, but only the conversion of existing hotels and their extension. Although the hotels have part of their accommodation capacities also in the centre of the settlement (e.g. in hotel Adria), only two other distinct and separate tourist hotel zones can be discerned in the spatial structure of Malinska: around hotel Malin and Villa Rova. In addition to accommodation capacities, they also provide secondary recreational activities for guests as well as other users. These two tourist hotel zones find themselves under heavy pressure by second home owners which, in addition to private usurpation of most attractive land suitable also for the development of tourism, causes growing pressure on public recreational resources, which in no way supports the long-



Slika 10. Vantačići – primjer otežana pristupa morskoj obali, javnom dobru, zbog guste vikendaške (apartmanske) izgradnje (foto: TURISTIČKA ZAJEDNICA OPĆINE MALINSKA-DUBAŠNICA, 29. 7. 2003.)

Figure 10 Vantačići – an example of difficult access to the shore, a common good, resulting from thickly built second homes (multi-apartment buildings) (Photo: THE TOURIST BOARD OF THE MUNICIPALITY OF MALINSKA-DUBAŠNICA, 29th July 2003)

ostalim korisnicima. Te dvije hotelsko-turističke zone nalaze se pod jakim pritiskom vikendaštva, koje, osim privatne uzurpacije najkvalitetnijega atraktivnog zemljišta pogodnog i za turistički razvoj, uzrokuje i sve izraženiji pritisak na javne rekreacijske resurse, što nikako ne pogoduje dugoročnom turističkom razvoju i njegovu eventualnom kvalitativnom iskoraku.

Iz svega navedenoga, kao glavne fizionomske, direktne, prostorne posljedice vikendaštva u Malinskoj mogu se izdvojiti: prostorno širenje građevinskoga područja naselja i povećanje stupnja izgrađenosti naselja, nova fizionomija i morfologija objekata za (povremeno) stanovanje, osobito u slučaju apartmanskih zgrada, upotreba novih građevinskih materijala (beton, opeka, PVC), izgradnja novih i proširivanje postojećih prometnica, širenje komunalne infrastrukture, u čijim blagodatima uživa i stalno stanovništvo, kultiviran, "njegovan" pejzaž u zoni obiteljskih vikendica (vrtovi, vrtno bilje, umjetno uzgojena i održavana trava, neautohtona vegetacija, nerijetko pretjerano ukrašavanje – kič), privatizacija atraktivnoga rekreacijskog zemljišta, čime zainteresirani korisnici trajno gube ili im se otežava pristup prostoru visokih rekreacijskih pogodnosti (Sl. 10.), sve šira ponuda uslužnih djelatnosti (trgovina na

term development of tourism and its eventual qualitative improvement.

All these considerations lead to the conclusion that the main physiognomic direct, physical impacts of the second home phenomenon in Malinska are as follows: physical expansion of building land of Malinska and the increase of the degree of urbanisation of the settlement; the new physiognomy and morphology of objects for (occasional) dwelling, particularly in the case of multi-apartment buildings; the use of new building material (concrete, brick, PVC), the construction of new and the extension of existing communications; the expansion of public utility service whose benefits are shared with permanent population; cultivated, "groomed" landscape in the family second home zone (gardens, decorative plants, artificially grown and maintained grass, non-autochthonous vegetation, often excessive decoration - kitsch); the privatisation of attractive recreational land whereby prospective users permanently lose access to space offering high quality recreational possibilities or this access is made more difficult (Fig. 10); a wider offer of service industries (retail trade, catering industry, other services; OPAČIĆ, 2008a), the conversion of land (from agricultural and green public land to

malo, ugostiteljstvo, ostale usluge; OPAČIĆ, 2008a), prenamjena površina (iz poljoprivrednih i zelenih, javnih površina u rekreacijske, nerijetko privatne površine) te naglašene oscilacije u životnome ritmu naselja nastale zbog povremene upotrebe (vikendi, praznici).²¹

Stavovi mještana i vikendaša o fizionomskim implikacijama vikendaštva u Malinskoj

U prosuđivanju karaktera i intenziteta fizionomskih implikacija vikendaštva u Malinskoj od velike je važnosti bila i interpretacija rezultata anketiranja stalnoga stanovništva i vikendaša. Iako je riječ o subjektivnim stavovima pojedinaca, već i sama percepcija fizionomskih prostornih promjena kako ih vide ispitanici, vrlo ilustrativno govori o stanju prostorne stvarnosti.

Objek skupine ispitanika pri ocjeni prihvatljivosti s obzirom na uklapanje u prostor mogle su tri osnovna tipa vikendica (kuće za odmor i rekreaciju nastale adaptacijom starijeg objekta, namjenski novoizgrađene kuće za odmor i rekreaciju te namjenski novoizgrađeni višestambeni objekti za odmor i rekreaciju) okvalificirati kao neprihvatljive, prihvatljive ili poželjne. Sukladno očekivanjima, obje skupine prihvatljivim tipovima objekata sekundarnoga stanovanja smatra prenamijenjene stare kuće, kakvih je u Malinskoj vrlo malo, te namjenski izgrađene individualne vikendice, dok su apartmanske rekreacijske "kolektivke" većini ispitanika neprihvatljive, premda dobar dio malinskarskih vikendaša upravno u njima povremeno boravi.²²

²¹ Iako vikendaštvo u Malinskoj donekle produljuje sezonu (sezona se, ponajviše zbog vikendaša, produžila na šest mjeseci godišnje – od travnja do listopada – što je znatno duži interval u usporedbi s turističkom sezonom od lipnja do rujna), što se pozitivno odražava u aktivnosti lokalne ekonomije (OPAČIĆ, 2008a) i lokalne zajednice u cjelini, Malinska se i dalje može ubrojiti u tipična naselja hrvatskoga priobalja "s dva lica". U razdoblju najjačega turističkog i vikendaškog opterećenja u njoj privremeno boravi nekoliko puta više korisnika prostora, što, osim povećane potrošnje i beneficija u lokalnoj ekonomiji, donosi i čitav niz nepovoljnih fizionomskih i sociokulturnih implikacija. Vikendaštvo, dakle, usprkos produljenju aktivnosti lokalne ekonomije, pridonosi i promjeni aktivnosti naselja tokom tjedna i godine (nekada najživlja aktivnost radnim danima, danas vikendima i praznicima), što je generalno negativno, ali je ipak znatno pozitivnije od postupnog potpunoga zamiranja lokalne ekonomije (OPAČIĆ, 2008a).

recreational, infrequently private land), and sharp vacillations in the life pulse of settlements caused by occasional use (weekends, holidays)²¹.

The views of local population and second home owners about the physiognomic implications of the second home phenomenon in Malinska

The interpretation of the results received through the opinion poll conducted among permanent population and second home owners was given high prominence in assessing the character and intensity of physiognomic implications of the second home phenomenon in Malinska. Although these represent subjective attitudes of individuals, the perception about physiognomic spatial changes, as seen through the eyes of interviewees, aptly illustrate the state of spatial reality.

In assessing the degree of blending in physical space, both groups of interviewees could describe three basic types of second homes (houses for vacation and recreation created through the conversion of older objects, purpose-built new houses for vacation and recreation and purpose-built new multi-apartment buildings for vacation and recreation) as unacceptable, acceptable and desirable. As expected, both groups consider old and adapted houses to be acceptable types of objects of secondary dwelling (the number of these objects is not high in Malinska) and purpose-built individual second homes, while the majority of interviewees consider multi-apartment "collective" recreational dwellings to be unacceptable, although a sizeable proportion of the Malinska second home owners occasionally dwells in them²².

²¹ Although the second home phenomenon in Malinska extends the tourist season to some degree (the season has been prolonged to six months a year predominantly due to the second home owners – from April to October – which is considerably longer in comparison to the tourist season from June to September), which reflects positively on the activities of local economies (OPAČIĆ, 2008a) and local communities as a whole, Malinska can still be grouped with typical settlements of the Croatian littoral which have "two faces". During the period of highest tourist and second home pressure it temporarily accommodates several times more users of its space which, in addition to increased spending and advantages to the local economy, also brings a whole series of unfavourable physiognomic and socio-cultural implications. Therefore, despite the prolongation of the activity of local economy, the second home phenomenon also contributes to the change of the weekly and yearly activity of the settlement (once most vigorous activity on working days, today over the weekends and holidays), which is generally unfavourable, but still considerably more positive than gradual complete dying out of the local economy (OPAČIĆ, 2008a).

Kućez a odmor i rekreaciju nastale prenamjenom i adaptacijom starih kuća ili gospodarskih objekata 28 od 61 (45,90%) ispitanika iz populacije stalnih stanovnika smatra poželjnima, njih 31 (50,82%) smatra ih prihvatljivima, dok ih tek 2 (3,28%) doživljava neprihvatljivima s obzirom na uklapanje u prostor. Isti tip objekta čak 55 od 104 (52,89%) anketirana vikendaša u Malinskoj drži poželjnima, njih 42 (40,38%) prihvatljivima, a samo 7 (6,73%) smatra ih neprihvatljivima s obzirom na uklapanje u prostor.

Namjenski izgrađene individualne kuće za odmor i rekreaciju poželjnima je okvalificiralo 5 od 60 (8,33%) ispitanih stanovnika Malinske, prihvatljivima njih 44 (73,34%), dok ih neprihvatljivima smatra 11 (18,33%) mještana. Vikendaši su vikendice u užem smislu većinom ocijenili prihvatljivima (njih 79 od 103; 76,70%), dok ih podjednak broj doživljava neprihvatljivima (njih 13; 12,62%), odnosno poželjnima (njih 11; 10,68%).

Iako su i domicilnoj i vikendaškoj populaciji apartmanski objekti većinom neprihvatljivi, negativniji stav zauzeli su mještani Malinske nego vikendaši. Apartmanske zgrade tako poželjnima ne doživljava ni jedan anketirani mještatin, prihvatljivima ih smatra tek 6 od 61 (9,84%), a neprihvatljivima njih 55 (90,16%). Tek 2 od 105 (1,90%) vikendaša višestambene apartmanske objekte ocjenjuje poželjnima s obzirom na njihovo uklapanje u prostor, njih 33 (31,43%) smatra ih prihvatljivima, dok ih 70 (66,67%) kvalificira kao neprihvatljive. Veća tolerancija spram uklapanja u pejsaž višestambenih apartmanskih objekata iz redova vikendaša može se objasniti činjenicom da dio anketirane vikendaške populacije čine upravo vlasnici apartmana, koji, razumljivo, s manje kritike ocjenjuju tip objekta u kakvima sami posjeduju stanove za odmor i rekreaciju.

²² Negativan, javno iskazan stav prema apartmanima, i kod većeg dijela "apartmanskih" vikendaša upućuje na dvije činjenice. Dio njih namjerno podilazi većinski prihvaćenom stavu o pejsažnom neuklapanju apartmana, premda iz "sebične" perspektive vlasnika primjećuju mnoge pozitivne strane posjedovanja upravo apartmana (npr. jeftinije stjecanje te jeftinije i jednostavnije održavanje, veća iskoristivost prostora, jer je riječ o namjenski projektiranoj stambenoj jedinici itd.), dok je drugi dio njih svjestan prednosti posjedovanja individualne kuće za odmor i rekreaciju, kao i njihove bolje uklopljenosti u prostor, ali jednostavno za kupnju/gradnju takvih nema dovoljno financijskih sredstava, pa se po principu "bolje išta nego ništa" (privremeno) zadovoljava s upotrebom apartmana.

Further, 28 out of 61 (45.90%) interviewees from among the population of permanent dwellers consider houses for vacation and recreation which came into being through the conversion of old houses or commercial objects to be desirable, 31 (50.82%) consider them acceptable, while only 2 (3.28%) perceive them as unacceptable with regard to their blending in space. As many as 55 out of 104 (52.89%) interviewed second home owners in Malinska consider the same type of object as desirable, 42 (40.38%) acceptable, and only 7 (6.73%) consider them unacceptable with regard to their blending in physical space.

Also, 5 out of 60 (8.33%) interviewed dwellers of Malinska described purpose-built individual houses for vacation and recreation desirable, 44 (73.34%) described them as acceptable, while 11 (18.33%) of permanent dwellers consider them unacceptable. Second home owners described second homes in the narrow sense predominantly acceptable (79 out of 103; 76.70%), while an almost equal number of second home dwellers experience them as unacceptable (13; 12.62%) and desirable (11; 10.68%).

Even though both domicile and second home population predominantly consider multi-apartment buildings to be unacceptable, the local population of Malinska took a more negative view than second home owners. Thus, not a single interviewed permanent dweller of Malinska considers multi-apartment buildings desirable, only 6 out of 61 (9.84%) consider them acceptable, and 55 (90.16%) consider them unacceptable. Only 2 out of 105 (1.90%) of second home owners describe multi-apartment buildings acceptable with regard to their blending into physical space, 33 (31.43%) interviewees from this group consider them acceptable and 70 (66.67%) describes them as unacceptable. A higher degree of toleration towards the blending of

²² A clearly expressed negative opinion towards apartments, also present among the majority of the "apartment" second home owners, points to two facts. Some of them deliberately play concede to the majority view about the incongruence of the apartments in the context of the island landscape, but the selfish perspective of second home owners prompts them to highlight numerous positive sides of owning apartments (e.g. they are cheaper to purchase and cheaper and easier to maintain, a better use of space because these objects are purpose-built, etc.). Others are aware of the advantages of owning separate houses for vacation and recreation as well as their better blend in the landscape, but they simply do not have sufficient funds for purchasing or building such objects so that, lead by the maxim "better anything than nothing" they (temporarily) agree to the use of an apartment.

Iako je u Malinskoj, gotovo bez iznimke, razvoj vikendaštva u suvremenom razdoblju imao uporište u prostorno-planskoj regulativi (u početku, pokazalo se, lošoj i manjkavoj, ali zakonski "čistoj"), mještanima je postavljeno pitanje o načinu tretiranja eventualne bespravne gradnje u Malinskoj. Većina ispitanika (njih 39 od 59; 66,10%) smatra da bi eventualnu "divlju" gradnju u Malinskoj trebalo ukloniti rušenjem. Nešto više od četvrtine anketiranih mještana (njih 15; 25,42%) drži da bi se ilegalne graditelje trebalo sankcionirati naplatom kazni, dok je 5 (8,48%) ispitanika sklono legalizaciji eventualne bespravne gradnje u Malinskoj.

Perspektive daljnjeg razvoja vikendaštva u Malinskoj

Kakva je budućnost vikendaštva u Malinskoj i na otoku Krku u cjelini? Čini se da se u doglednoj budućnosti nakon izlaska iz globalne gospodarske krize, na Krku ne može očekivati smanjenje vikendaške potražnje – ni domaće, ni one međunarodne.²³ Zahvaljujući sve kvalitetnijem prometnom povezivanju Krka s emitivnim vikendaškim područjima, oduvijek povoljnom prometnom položaju te (očekivanom) porastu standarda hrvatskih građana, može se očekivati samo intenziviranje vikendaških tokova prema otoku i njegovo zadržavanje "statusa" jednog od najpopularnijih receptivnih vikendaških područja za provođenje ljetnog odmora u priobalnom dijelu Hrvatske, ali i za boravak vikendom i kraćim praznicima. Daljnjim jačanjem trendova suburbanizacije unutar riječke gradske regije koja obuhvaća i prostor sjevernoga Krka (Omišalj, Njivice, u nekim segmentima i Malinsku), kao i umirovljeničkih (domaćih i međunarodnih) vikendaških migracija, vikendaštvo bi ubuduće na Krku moglo znatnije nego do sada utjecati na demografska kretanja i strukture.

Aktualni prostorno-planski dokumenti općine Malinska-Dubašnica (PROSTORNI PLAN UREĐENJA OPĆINE MALINSKA-DUBAŠNICA, urbanistički planovi uređenja pojedinih turističkih zona, detaljni planovi uređenja određenih kapitalnih

²³ Temeljem SPORAZUMA O STABILIZACIJI I PRIDRUŽIVANJU HRVATSKE EUROPSKOJ UNIJI, od 1. 2. 2009., uz manje iznimke vezane uz poljoprivredna i šumska zemljišta, građani Europske unije mogu pod istim uvjetima koji vrijede za hrvatske državljane kupovati nekretnine u Hrvatskoj.

multi-apartment buildings in physical space among second home owners can be explained by the fact that a certain proportion of the interviewed second home population consists precisely of owners of such apartments who, understandably, assess more favourably the type of the object in which they own dwellings for vacation and recreation.

Although the development of the second home phenomenon in Malinska in recent times relied almost without exception on the positive support of the documentation dealing with physical planning (which was, as it was manifested later, poor and deficient although legally "kosher" in the beginning), members of the local population were asked about their attitude towards possible illegal building in Malinska. The majority of them (39 out of 59; 66.10%) opine that possible "wild" building in Malinska should be torn down and demolished. Just over one quarter of the interviewed members of the local population (15; 25.42%) maintain that persons who built without proper permits should be sanctioned with financial penalties, while 5 (8.48%) interviewees are inclined to support the legalisation of possible illegal building in Malinska.

Perspectives for the further development of second home phenomenon in Malinska

What lies in the future for the second home phenomenon in Malinska and on the island of Krk as a whole? It seems that in the foreseeable future, after the end of the global economic crisis, one cannot expect that the demand for second homes on the island of Krk will diminish, neither from among Croatian nationals nor from second home owners from abroad.²³ Due to the increasingly high quality of communications of the island of Krk with emissive second home areas, the favourable location of Krk in terms of connectedness with the mainland, and the (projected) increase in the standard of living of Croatian nationals, one can only expect increased the influx of second home owners which will help the island to retain the "status" of one of the most popular receiving second home areas for Summer vacation in the Croatian littoral, but also for a shorter stay over the weekend or short holidays. With the further strengthening of the suburbanisation trends

²³ On the basis of the STABILIZATION AND ASSOCIATION AGREEMENT BETWEEN EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND ITS MEMBER STATES AND THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA from 1 February 2009, with the exception of agriculture and forest land, the European Union nationals may purchase real estate in Croatia under the same conditions which apply to the Croatian citizens.

gospodarskih i javnih objekata i pojedinih zona, PLAN RAZVOJA TURIZMA OPĆINE MALINSKA-DUBAŠNICA itd.), koja se često ističe kao negativan primjer eksplozije apartmanizacije na Krku, pokazuju znatan zaokret u daljnjem usmjeravanju vikendaštva, pa se u njima sve naglašenije prepoznaje restriktivni(ji) stav prema daljnjoj apartmanizaciji, što se može okvalificirati kao pozitivan znak osvješćivanja lokalnih vlasti. Očito je da su općinski zastupnici, nakon više godina intenzivne devastacije prostora u uvjetima "prostorno-planskog vakuuma", postali svjesni višestrukih opasnosti koje donosi pretjerana apartmanizacija, pa su usvajanjem znatno restriktivnijega prostornoga plana odlučili daljnji razvoj vikendaštva u Malinskoj staviti pod kontrolu.

Sadašnji PROSTORNI PLAN UREĐENJA OPĆINE MALINSKA-DUBAŠNICA, usvojen 2. 4. 2004., a koji je na snazi, usklađen 2006. godine i s UREDBOM O UREĐENJU I ZAŠTITI ZAŠTIĆENOG OBALNOG PODRUČJA MORA (Narodne novine 128/04), imao je između ostalog cilj zaustaviti mnoge negativne građevinske trendove u prostoru, povezane s vikendaštvom, a ponajviše "spriječiti izgradnju stambenih jedinica u svrhu vikend korištenja unutar naselja u višestambenim građevinama" (IZVJEŠĆE O STANJU U PROSTORU OPĆINE MALINSKA-DUBAŠNICA ZA RAZDOBLJE 2002. - 2004. GODINE). Jedna od najvažnijih zadaća PROSTORNOG PLANA UREĐENJA OPĆINE MALINSKA-DUBAŠNICA, u kontekstu daljnje izgradnje namjenskih višestambenih objekata za odmor i rekreaciju, jest "dislocirati ih iz naselja u obalnom području općine".

U skladu s Planom, dopuštena je izgradnja višestambenih apartmanskih objekata s najviše 4 stambene jedinice (prije 6), ukida se mogućnost izgradnje "dvojnih objekata", propisuje se maksimalna visina objekta od 7,80 m, s najviše tri nadzemne i jednom podrumskom etažom. Ako je riječ o jednoobiteljskoj samostojećoj građevini, najviše je dopušteno izgraditi dvije nadzemne etaže. Smanjen je i maksimalno dopušten koeficijent izgrađenosti parcele na 0,25 – 0,30, s najvećim dopuštenim koeficijentom

within the Rijeka urban region which also includes the region on the North part of Krk (Omišalj, Njivice and even Malinska in some segments), as well as retired people's (national and international) second home migrations, the second home phenomenon on the island of Krk might exert even more considerable influence than so far on the demographic migrations and structures.

The current physical planning documents for the municipality of Malinska-Dubašnica (municipal spatial plan, urban development plans for separate tourist zones, detailed plans for the construction of specific capital economic and public objects and zones, tourism development plan, etc.), which are often hailed as negative examples of the explosion of apartmentalisation on the island of Krk, demonstrate considerable change of course in the further direction of the second home phenomenon. Thus they demonstrate a restrictive or a more restrictive attitude towards further apartmentalisation, which can be described as a positive sign of greater sensibility on the part of local authorities. It is obvious that, after several years of intensive devastation of space in "the vacuum in spatial planning", municipal representatives have become aware of multiple dangers brought on by excessive apartmentalisation, and have adopted considerably more restrictive municipal spatial plan and thus decided to put future development of the second home phenomenon in Malinska under control.

One of the goals of the currently valid municipal spatial plan for the municipality of Malinska-Dubašnica, adopted on 2nd April 2004, modified in 2006 to cohere with the REGULATION ABOUT THE ORDERING AND PROTECTION OF THE PROTECTED COASTAL ZONE (Narodne novine 128/04), was to stop many negative building trends related to the development of second homes, and primarily to "prevent the construction of dwelling units within the settlement which are intended as second homes in multi-apartment buildings" (REPORT ABOUT THE SITUATION IN THE AREA OF THE MUNICIPALITY OF MALINSKA-DUBAŠNICA FOR THE PERIOD 2002-2004). One of the most important tasks of the municipal spatial plan for the municipality of Malinska-Dubašnica in the context of further building of purpose-built multi-apartment objects for vacation and recreation is to "move them out of the settlement and away from the coastal part of the municipality."

The Plan allows the construction of multi-apartment objects with no more than 4 dwelling units (formerly 6), eliminates the possibility of building "dual objects", prescribes the maximum

iskorištenosti od 0,75 do 0,90.²⁴ Uvedena je i obveza ozelenjavanja prostora, kako bi stambena i vikendaška izgradnja u konačnici ipak pridonosile "humanizaciji pejzaža". Propisana je i najmanja dopuštena veličina građevinske čestice za izgradnju građevine stambene namjene, i to od 500 m², kod formiranja novih parcela za izgradnju slobodnostojećih građevina, odnosno do 400 m² na postojećim, katastarski definiranim građevnim česticama pri interpolaciji građevina u izgrađeno područje. Premda "rastezljivo", Planom je definirano i arhitektonsko oblikovanje građevina, pri čemu se ističe da "je oblikovanje građevine potrebno uskladiti s planiranom urbanističkom kompozicijom i morfologijom prostora, tipologijom i namjenom građevina te sintezom autohtonog i modernog arhitektonskog izraza". Važna je novost da se nakon "desetljeća mraka" na velika vrata vraća urbanističko planiranje, odnosno obvezna izrada urbanističkih planova za sva građevinska područja u Općini. Bez donesenoga urbanističkog plana, naime, nije moguće izdavanje lokacijske dozvole za gradnju, što bi napokon moglo dovesti do većega arhitektonskog reda i obuzdavanja apartmanizacije u Malinskoj.

Kao novost ističe se formiranje tzv. "zona mješovite izgradnje (namjene)" (npr. između Malinske i Vantačića), u kojima samo jedna stambena jedinica može biti namijenjena rekreacijskom sekundarnom stanovanju, dok se tri preostale moraju iznajmljivati, tj. moraju biti u funkciji organiziranoga povećanja smještajne turističke ponude Malinske.²⁵ Iako je neprijeporna činjenica da, barem u teoriji, ovako definirane

height of the object to 7.80 m, with not more than three floors above the ground level and one in the basement. If the object is a self-standing house for one family, it must not have more than two floors above the ground level. The Plan also prescribes a lower allowed maximum coefficient of the urbanisation of the building lot to 0.25 – 0.30, with the highest allowed coefficient of the utilisation of 0.75 to 0.90²⁴. The Plan introduces the obligation of introducing appropriate greenery, so that all new objects built for permanent occupancy and occasional recreational dwelling eventually contribute to the "humanisation of landscape". The minimum allowed size of the building lot for the construction of a dwelling object is prescribed at up to 500 m² for the new building allotments for self-standing buildings, and at up to 400 m² on the existing allotments already registered in building register which are to be used for the interpolation of dwellings in the area which is already urbanised. Although the provisions of the Plan are "flexible", they also define the architectural shaping of objects. It is stressed that "the shape of the building must be adjusted to the concept and morphology of the municipal spatial plan, typology and purpose of the building and the synthesis of autochthonous and modern architectural expression". An important piece of news is that after "a decade of darkness", urban development planning is returning with a vengeance, i.e. to the need for the development of urban development plans for all building land in the Municipality. Without the approved urban development plan no building permit will be issued, which might eventually result in greater order in all architectural undertakings and curb the process of apartmentalisation in Malinska.

²⁴ "Koeficijent izgrađenosti" jest odnos izgrađene površine zemljišta pod građevinom i ukupne površine građevne čestice (zemljište pod građevinom jest vertikalna projekcija svih zatvorenih dijelova građevine na građevnu česticu). "Koeficijent iskorištenosti" građevinske čestice jest odnos ukupno (bruto) izgrađene površine građevine i površine građevne čestice.

²⁵ Iako primjena "zona mješovite izgradnje (namjene)" u prostorne planova jedinica lokalne samouprave na Krku, kao i na cijelom hrvatskom priobalju, budi nadu da će se najvrjedniji obalni prostor ipak ubuduće staviti u funkciju turizma iznajmljivanjem, valja biti vrlo oprezan pri donošenju konačnog suda o njima. Naime, u pomanjkanju odgovarajućega nadzora, pa i sankcija za prekršitelje, poznati su primjeri pretvaranja "zona mješovite namjene" u "klasične" vikendaške (apartmanske) zone, pa je njihovo uvođenje ostalo tek mrtvo slovo na papiru, a u praksi je (ponovno) jačala apartmanizacija, odnosno privatizacija kvalitetnoga obalnog zemljišta.

²⁴ The "coefficient of urbanisation" is the ratio between the land area under the object built upon it and the total land area of the plot of land (the land area under the object is the vertical projection of all closed sections of the object on the plot of land). The "coefficient of utilisation" of a plot of land is the ratio between the total (gross) built land area of an object and the land area of the plot of land.

²⁵ Although the introduction of the "zones of mixed building (purpose)" into the municipal spatial plans of units of local self-government on the island of Krk, as in the whole Croatian littoral, raises hopes that the most valuable area of the Croatian littoral will in the future be used for tourist purposes through increased letting, one ought to be very careful in making a final assessment about them. The lack of appropriate oversight and lack of sanctions for law-breakers in the past have made possible their conversion from "zones of mixed utilisation" into "classic" second home (apartment) zones, so that this provision remained only dead word on paper, while in practice did not prevent increased apartmentalisation, i.e. privatisation of valuable land along the coast.

odredbe prostornoga plana vode k smirivanju "apartmanskoga divljanja" u Malinskoj, dijelom ih pretvarajući u dio receptivne turističke ponude, čini se da se u obalnom dijelu Općine i ovim Planom planiraju megalomanski (turistički) projekti (npr. izgradnja hotelskoga kompleksa Haludovo 2, sjeverno od postojećeg, duže zatvorenog Haludova, čime bi se izgubio gotovo jedini preostali djelić prirodne obale uz Rajski put), kojima bi se gotovo cijeli obalni prostor malinskarskoga zaljeva, od rta Čufa, do rta Pelove, praktički izgradio, odnosno betonizirao.

Osim namjere suzbijanja, odnosno stavljanja pod kontrolu apartmanizacije, u općinskim prostorno-planskim dokumentima prepoznaje se i namjera njihove organizirane integracije u smještajnu turističku ponudu Malinske, u pokušaju repositioniranja njezina turističkog proizvoda. Naime, vikendaštvo, odnosno pretjerana apartmanizacija, i u PLANU RAZVOJA TURIZMA OPĆINE MALINSKA-DUBAŠNICA (2002) istaknuto je kao jedan od glavnih "kočničara" uspješnijega turističkog razvoja Malinske. Navedeni dokument predlaže i način njihove svrsishodne integracije u turističku ponudu Malinske, ističući ih kao "značajni smještajni potencijal Općine". Prepoznavši vikendice i apartmane kao neiskorišteni smještajni potencijal, autori Plana došli su na zanimljivu ideju stvaranja jednog od projekata unapređenja turističkoga proizvoda Malinske. Projekt se zove "Vile i apartmani Malinske", a kao glavni razlozi njegova pokretanja navodi se velik broj apartmana i apartmanskih naselja koji nisu, ili su samo djelomično, u turističkoj funkciji. Projekt se temelji na objedinjavanju privatnog smještaja, apartmana i kuća za odmor, koji bi se zajednički nudili i prodavali na tržištu (PLAN RAZVOJA TURIZMA OPĆINE MALINSKA-DUBAŠNICA, 2002.). Glavni su mu ciljevi: a) poticanje i unapređenje kvalitete smještaja u Malinskoj, da bi se stekla bolja konkurentna pozicija na domaćem i inozemnom turističkom tržištu, b) stvaranje nove prepoznatljive "marke", kada je riječ o smještaju, te c) povećanje prosječne potrošnje po gostu.

Dakle, projekt "Vile i apartmani Malinske", kao i utvrđivanje "zona mješovite izgradnje", navode na zaključak da će u budućem razvoju vikendaštvo na Krku, ali i u drugim receptivnim područjima hrvatskoga priobalja, sve naglašenije poprimiti komercijalno-poduzetnički karakter, čime bi se potpuno mogla opravdati njegova svrsishodnost i u direktnim ekonomskim efektima u lokalnim ekonomijama.

Another piece of news is the formation of the so-called "zones of mixed building (use)" (e.g. between Malinska and Vantačići), in which only one built unit may be designated for recreational secondary dwelling, while the remaining three must take turns, that is, they must be in the function of planned increase in the offer of accommodation in Malinska²⁵. Although it is undeniable that, at least in theory, thus defined regulations of the municipal spatial plan diminish "apartment frenzy" in Malinska by turning them into a part of the receiving tourist offer, it seems that even this Plan envisages the building of megalomaniac (tourist) projects (e.g. the construction of the hotel complex Haludovo 2 to the North of the existing Haludovo complex which has been closed down for some time now, which would mean the loss of almost the only remaining part of natural shore along the Paradise trail) in the coastal area, which would mean that almost the whole coastal space along the inlet of Malinska from the Čuf cape to the Pelova cape would practically be covered in concrete.

In addition to the intention to curb, that is, exert tighter control, over the process of apartmentalisation, planning documents adopted in the municipality demonstrate the intention to achieve their organised integration in the offer of organised accommodation in Malinska, and all that in the attempt to re-position its tourist offer. The municipal tourism development plan actually emphasises the second home phenomenon, or excessive apartmentalisation, as one of premier hindrances to a more successful tourism development of Malinska. This document also proposes the manner of their meaningful integration in the tourist offer of Malinska, and highlights them as "a significant potential of accommodation in the municipality". By recognising second homes and apartment buildings as untapped accommodation potential, the authors of the Plan propose an interesting project to advance the tourist offer of Malinska. The project is designated "Villas and apartments of Malinska", and is based on the realisation that a large number of apartments and apartment settlements are not at all, nor even only partially, used for tourist purposes. The project aims at the unification of private accommodation, apartments and houses for vacation, which would be jointly offered and sold on the market (TOURISM DEVELOPMENT PLAN OF THE MUNICIPALITY OF MALINSKA-DUBAŠNICA, 2002). Its main goals are: a) supporting and advancing the quality of accommodation in Malinska in order to achieve a more competitive edge on domestic and foreign tourism markets; b) the creation of a new and recognisable "brand" in

U doglednoj budućnosti opravdano je očekivati i daljnje prostorno širenje Malinske i ostalih krčkih naselja pod utjecajem vikendaške izgradnje, ali u kontroliranim uvjetima, uz više pozornosti da se ne ugrozi turistička atrakcijska osnova i smanji turistički doživljaj. Pri tome bi se apartmanska izgradnja trebala koncentrirati u samo za nju određenim zonama, a nikako u središtima naselja, niti u blizini mora. Realnim scenarijem čini se i širenje vikendaštva, tj. namjenske višestambene apartmanske izgradnje, u nova, planski podignuta vikendaška naselja, bez tradicionalnoga naseljskog predloška.

Vikendaštvo, ako se odvija strogo u skladu s postulatima održiva razvoja, zbog pozitivnog utjecaja na zapošljavanje lokalnoga stanovništva može se tretirati i kao jedan od "alata" daljnjega gospodarskog razvoja Malinske, ali i otoka Krka u cjelini, pri čemu ponajviše treba paziti da ono ne dođe u sukob s turizmom, vodećom ekonomskom djelatnošću na otoku, nego da navedene dvije djelatnosti/ pojave djeluju sinergijski.

U svakom slučaju, daljnji razvoj krčkoga tržišta nekretnina i njegova internacionalizacija pridonijet će pretvaranju vikendaštva u unosnu gospodarsku djelatnost,²⁶ a sekundarno će stanovanje sve češće biti potaknuto i komercijalno-poduzetničkim motivima (ulaganje kapitala u nekretnine, povezivanje s turizmom kroz iznajmljivanje). Uostalom, približavanje vikendaštva i turizma, čime ono sve više postaje organizirana gospodarska djelatnost u državama s dužom tradicijom tržišne ekonomije, već se odavno i dogodilo, pa valja pretpostaviti da isto očekuje i Malinsku, i otok Krk, ali i hrvatsko priobalje u cjelini.

²⁶ Primjerice, samo u Malinskoj danas radi desetak agencija za promet nekretninama, od kojih je pola u vlasništvu otočana, a pola u vlasništvu hrvatskih državljana, izvanotočana.

accommodation industry; and c) increasing average spending per guest.

Therefore, the project "Villas and apartments of Malinska" and the establishment of the "zones of mixed building" lead to the conclusion that the future phase of the development of the second home phenomenon on Krk, but also in other receiving regions of the Croatian littoral, will increasingly have a commercial-entrepreneurial character, which might fully justify its meaningfulness through direct economic effects evident in local economies.

There are good reasons to expect that in the foreseeable future Malinska and other Krk settlements will continue to expand physically under the influence of the building of objects for vacation and recreation, but in controlled circumstances and with greater attention paid to avoid jeopardising tourist offer and detracting from the tourist experience. Accordingly, the building of multi-apartment buildings should be concentrated only in designated zones, and not in centres of settlements or in the vicinity of the sea. It also seems realistic that second homes, that is, multi-apartment buildings, will continue to spread into new, second home settlements built according to adopted plans, without having core of the historic settlement as a blueprint to build on.

If the expansion of second homes occurs strictly according to the postulates of sustainable development, its positive influence on the employment of local population it can be seen a "tool" for further economic development of Malinska, as well as the island of Krk as a whole. One concern is that it does not come in conflict with tourism, the leading economic activity on the island, and that both of these activities/phenomena must act in synergy.

In any case, further development of real estate market on Krk and its internationalisation will support the transformation of the second home phenomenon in a lucrative economic activity²⁶, and secondary dwelling will be motivated more and more often by commercial and entrepreneurial interests (investment of capital in real estate, connecting with tourism through letting). In countries with longer tradition in market economy, the synergy between the second home phenomenon and tourism, the link which increasingly makes second home phenomenon an organised economic activity, has occurred long time ago, so it may be presumed that the same will happen in Malinska and the island of Krk, as well as the Croatian littoral as a whole.

²⁶ For instance, today there are at least ten real estate agencies only in Malinska. Half of them are owned by island population, and half by out-of-island Croatian citizens.

Zaključak

Na temelju svega iznesenoga, teško je, gotovo nemoguće, iznijeti jedinstven stav jesu li fizionomske implikacije vikendaštva u receptivnim naseljima priobalnoga dijela Hrvatske naglašenije pozitivne ili su pak negativne. Zaključci se mogu donositi od slučaja do slučaja, tek nakon detaljne analize pojedinog receptivnog naselja. Ipak, čini se da zaključci vezani za Malinsku i otok Krk u cjelini, u najvećem broju slučajeva vrijede za veliku većinu naselja u hrvatskom priobalju koja su prošla sličan put u razvoju sekundarnoga stanovanja – od izgradnje raskošnih vila i ljetnikovaca, preko adaptacija ispražnjenoga stambenoga i gospodarskog fonda, izgradnje obiteljskih kuća za odmor do izloženosti snažnoj apartmanizaciji u današnje vrijeme.

Iako ocjena fizionomskih utjecaja i posljedica vikendaštva u receptivnim naseljima hrvatskog priobalja varira od slučaja do slučaja i izravno je povezana s morfološko-funkcionalnim karakteristikama sekundarnoga rekreacijskog stanovanja, u današnje vrijeme prevlasti apartmanizacije, kao vodećeg oblika vikendaštva s vrlo izraženim, najčešće negativnim prostornim implikacijama, uglavnom se može okvalificirati kao negativna. Time je potvrđena radna hipoteza ovoga istraživanja, ispitana na primjeru Malinske, koja glasi: "Od svih transformatorskih utjecaja i posljedica vikendaštva u prostoru ponajviše je izražena skupina onih fizionomskih, koja je uglavnom negativno aspektirana."

U prilog iznesenome zaključku govore i rezultati anketiranja mještana Malinske, kao i vikendaša u njoj. Naime, za razliku od stanova za odmor nastalih prenamjenom i adaptacijom napuštenoga stambenog fonda i gospodarskih zgrada te namjenski podignutih obiteljskih kuća za odmor i rekreaciju, obje socijalne skupine su višestambene apartmanske zgrade, danas prevladavajući oblik stambenih jedinica za odmor i rekreaciju u malinskarskom vikendaškom pejzažu, ocijenile neprihvatljivom stambenom formom u Malinskoj, s obzirom na uklapanje u autohtoni pejzaž. Iako snažna apartmanizacija nesumnjivo donosi profit mnogima u Malinskoj (općinski proračun, prethodni vlasnici zemljišta na kojima je izgrađena apartmanska zgrada, građevinski poduzetnici itd.), financijski potpomaže izgradnju komunalne infrastrukture u čijim blagodatima uživa i stalno stanovništvo te pozitivno utječe na aktivnost lokalne ekonomije izvan turističke sezone, nikako se ne

Conclusion

On the basis of all that has been said so far it is difficult, if not impossible, to present an unambiguous answer to the question whether the physiognomic implications of the second home phenomenon in the receiving settlements of the Croatian littoral are predominantly positive or negative. The conclusions are drawn from one case to another after a thorough analysis of each receiving settlement. It appears, however, that the conclusions related to Malinska and the island of Krk as a whole in the largest number of cases apply to most settlements in the Croatian littoral which have undergone similar development of the second home phenomenon – from the building of luxurious villas and resorts through the conversion of vacated dwelling fund and commercial buildings and the erection of family houses for vacation to the exposure to intensive apartmentalisation in the present.

Although the evaluation of physiognomic influences and consequences of the second home phenomenon in receiving settlements of the Croatian littoral varies from one case to another, and is in direct relation to the morphological and functional characteristics of secondary recreational dwelling, in the present time, marked by the prevalence of apartmentalisation as the leading form of the second home phenomenon with highly distinguished, most often negative implications for physical space, this development can be described as generally negative. This confirms the hypothesis of this study, tested on the case of Malinska, which states: "Of all spatial transformational influences and consequences of the second home phenomenon, the most pronounced is a group of physiognomic factors which has received predominantly negative treatment."

The results of the interviews with local population of Malinska, and with second home owners from Malinska, also support this conclusion. In contrast to dwellings for vacation and recreation which came into being through the conversion of abandoned dwelling fund and commercial buildings and as a result of purpose-built family houses for vacation and recreation, both social groups described multi-apartment buildings, today the prevailing form of dwelling units for vacation and recreation in the second home landscape of Malinska, as an unacceptable form of dwelling in Malinska due to its failure to blend with the autochthonous landscape. Although intensive apartmentalisation indubitably brings profit to many in Malinska (municipal budget, former owners of land on which multi-apartment buildings are erected, building

može pobjeći od činjenice da je ona istovremeno i najvažniji čimbenik estetske degradacije prostora, što za posljedicu ima erodiranje turističke atrakcijske osnove, zauzimanje atraktivnih lokacija u privatnoj režiji, gubitak autohtonoga graditeljskog identiteta, kao i pojačani pritisak na okoliš (povećanje otpada, pritisak na plaže, parkirališta itd.). Kao glavna dva smjera širenja apartmanskoga tkiva mogu se prepoznati: a) izgradnja novih apartmanskih četvrti na rubu građevinskog područja naselja, čime Malinska gotovo na očigled "buja" te b) pojava apartmanskih interpolacija na slobodnim parcelama u već definiranim dijelovima naselja, čime se povećava stupanj izgrađenosti Malinske, najčešće nauštrb ionako rijetkih zelenih zona, što smanjuje kvalitetu življenja u tom prostoru i stalnome stanovništvu, i vikendašima i turistima.

Preostaje nadati se da će nešto striktnija i preciznija generacija prostorno-planskih dokumenata koje je Malinska dobila pripomoći ostvarenju imperativa razvojne održivosti vikendaštva, te da će se sekundarno stanovanje, a osobito daljnja apartmanizacija uspjeti svesti u prihvatljive, općekorisne ili barem što je moguće manje štetne okvire. Dok/ako (još/već) nije prekasno.

Zahvale

Ustupanjem podataka iz dokumentacija jedinica lokalnih samouprava na otoku Krku u ovome istraživanju puno su mi pomogli i načelnici krčkih općina: Milivoj Dujmović (Baška), Mladen Juranić (Punat), Neven Komadina (Dobrinj), Tomo Sparožić (Omišalj), Anton Spicijarić (Malinska-Dubašnica), Franjo Toljanić (Vrbnik), kao i graodnačelnik Grada Krka, Darijo Vasilić. Veliku pomoć pri anketiranju mještana i vikendaša u Malinskoj imao sam i od drage prijateljice Snježane Morožin iz Malinske. Svima njima najiskrenije zahvaljujem.

contractors, etc.) and financially supports the building of public infrastructure which also brings benefit to permanent population and exerts positive influence on the activity of the local economy outside of tourist season, one cannot overlook the fact that it is at the same time the most significant element of the esthetical devastation of space which erodes the foundation of tourism attractiveness, the usurpation of attractive locations by private persons, the loss of autochthonous architectural identity as well as increased pressure on environment (more waste, pressure on the beaches, parking lots, etc.). The two main directions of the expansion of the multi-apartment tissue can be discerned: a) the building of new apartment districts at the edge of the building land of the settlement, which is mushrooming around Malinska, and b) the emergence of multi-apartment building interpolations on free building allotments in the already defined parts of the settlement, which increased the degree of urbanisation of Malinska, most often at the expense of already rare green zones, which lowers the quality of living in that segment of space to permanent occupants as well as second home owners and tourists.

We can only hope that somewhat stricter and more precise regulations related to new generation of spatial planning documents which Malinska has adopted will help the realisation of the demand for developmental sustainability of the second home phenomenon, and at least succeed in minimising damage which the expansion of secondary dwelling, and particularly further apartmentalisation, brings, if not regulating it in such a way that they serve public good. While/if it is not (yet/already) late.

Acknowledgments

My research was greatly advanced by the possibility to consult the archives of units of local self-government on the island of Krk. This was made possible through the cooperation of heads of municipalities of the island of Krk: Milivoj Dujmović (Baška), Mladen Juranić (Punat), Neven Komadina (Dobrinj), Tomo Sparožić (Omišalj), Anton Spicijarić (Malinska-Dubašnica), Franjo Toljanić (Vrbnik), and the mayor of the Town of Krk, Darijo Vasilić. My dear friend Snježana Morožin from Malinska provided invaluable assistance in interviewing local population and second home owners in Malinska. I am sincerely grateful to all of them.

IZVORI / SOURCES

- Dokumentacija Grada Krka*, travanj 2007.
- Dokumentacija Općine Baška*, ožujak 2007.
- Dokumentacija Općine Dobrinj*, ožujak 2007.
- Dokumentacija Općine Malinska-Dubašnica*, ožujak 2007.
- Dokumentacija Općine Omišalj*, ožujak 2007.
- Dokumentacija Općine Punat*, ožujak 2007.
- Dokumentacija Općine Vrbnik*, ožujak 2007.
- Izješće o stanju u prostoru Općine Malinska-Dubašnica za razdoblje 2002.-2004.*, Službene novine Primorsko-goranske županije 22/2004.
- Karta Općine Malinska-Dubašnica*, Turistička zajednica Općine Malinska-Dubašnica, Malinska, 2005.
- Neposredno anketiranje stalnog stanovništva i vikendaša u Malinskoj* (ljetno 2003. godine)
- Popis stanovništva i stanova 1971.*, Stanovi korišćenje i nastanjena lica, Rezultati po naseljima i opštinama, Knjiga 1, SZS, Beograd, 1972.
- Popis stanovništva i stanova 1971.*, Stanovi, veličina, svojina, domaćinstva i lica, Rezultati po naseljima i opštinama, Knjiga 2, SZS, Beograd, 1972.
- Popis stanovništva i stanova 1971.*, Stanovi za odmor i rekreaciju, Rezultati po naseljima i opštinama, Knjiga 6, SZS, Beograd, 1973.
- Popis stanovništva, domaćinstava i stanova 31. 3. 1981.*, Domaćinstva i stanovi, tabele po naseljima za pojedine općine, Stanovi i površina stanova prema korištenju i druge nastanjene prostorije i osobe u njima, SRH, RZS, Zagreb, 1982.
- Popis stanovništva, domaćinstava, stanova i poljoprivrednih gospodarstava, 31. 3. 1991.*, Stanovi prema korištenju i druge nastanjene prostorije, po naseljima, Dokumentacija 888, DZS, Zagreb, 1995.
- Popis stanovništva, domaćinstava, stanova i poljoprivrednih gospodarstava, 31. 3. 1991.*, Stanovi za odmor i rekreaciju po naseljima, Dokumentacija 929, DZS, Zagreb, 1996.
- Popis stanovništva kućanstava i stanova 31. 3. 2001.*, Stanovi prema načinu korištenja po gradovima/općinama, Drugo izdanje, DZS, Zagreb, 2003.
- <http://www.dzs.hr/Popis%202001/popis20001.htm>
- Plan razvoja turizma Općine Malinska-Dubašnica*, Institut za turizam, Zagreb, 2002.
- Prostorni plan uređenja Općine Malinska-Dubašnica*, Službene novine Primorsko-goranske županije 13/2004.
- Sporazum o stabilizaciji i pridruživanju Hrvatske Europskoj uniji
- http://www.mvpei.hr/ei/download/2002/07/05/SSP_bez_dodataka.pdf, 10. 4. 2007.
- Uredba o uređenju i zaštiti zaštićenog obalnog područja mora*, Narodne novine 128/2004.

LITERATURA / LITERATURE

- GALOVIĆ, T. (2004): *O Dubašnici i njezinim ljudima: prinosi za povijest dubašljanskoga kraja na otoku Krku*, Općina Malinska-Dubašnica, Adamić, Malinska, Rijeka.
- GARTNER, W. C. (1987): *Environmental impacts of recreational home developments*, Annals of Tourism Research 14/1, 38-57.
- GOSAR, A. (1981): *Problemi gradnje počitniških hišic v alpskom svetu Slovenije*, Zbornik 12. zborovanja slovenskih geografov, S. Brinovec (ur.), Ljubljana, 237-250.
- GOSAR, A. (1987): *Učinki počitniških bivališč na preobrazbo slovenske kulturne pokrajine*, Geographica Slovenica 18, 183-204.
- HALSETH, G. (2004): *The "cottage" privilege: increasingly elite landscapes of second homes in Canada*, u: Tourism, mobility and second homes: between elite landscape and common ground, C. M. Hall, D. K. Müller (ur.), Channel View Publications, Clevedon, Buffalo, Toronto, 35-54.
- JAKOMINIĆ-TURK, M., TURK, Hr. (1990): *Od Miholjica do Sv. Vida*, Mjesna zajednica Sv. Vid Miholjice i Župni ured Sv. Vid, Sv. Vid.

- JERŠIČ, M. (1987): *Učinki počitniških stanovanj na okolje*, Geographica Slovenica 18, 65-83.
- KUŠEN, E. (1983): *Izgrađena i zagrađena morska obala*, Pomorski zbornik 21, 335-354.
- KUŠEN, E. (1987): *Izgradnja koja devastira morsku obalu*, Zbornik radova s Okruglog stola Ferial 86 – Turizam i prostor – ekološki aspekti konfliktnih situacija, S. Horak (ur.), Institut za turizam, Zagreb, 145-177.
- LUKIĆ, A., ZUPANC, I. (2005): *Ruralni prostor kao proizvod: "nova" slika unutrašnje Istre*, Zbornik radova međunarodnoga znanstvenog skupa "Problemi regionalnog razvoja Hrvatske i susjednih zemalja", M. Ilić (ur.), Hrvatsko geografsko društvo, Zagreb, 329-340.
- MÜLLER, D. K. (1999): *German second home owners in the Swedish countryside: on the internationalization of the leisure space*, European Tourism Research Institute, Department of Social and Cultural Geography, Östersund, Umeå.
- NOVOSEL-ŽIC, P. (1980-81): *Kuće za odmor na otoku Krku: prilog poznavanju suvremenih procesa na jadranskoj obali*, Radovi GO 15-16, 13-23.
- NOVOSEL-ŽIC, P. (1987): *Otok Krk od trajekta do mosta (socijalno-geografska transformacija)*, Krčki zbornik 17, Povijesno društvo otoka Krka i Savez geografskih društava Hrvatske, Krk, Zagreb.
- OPAČIĆ, V. T. (2002): *Turizam kao faktor preobrazbe općine Dobrinj*, Hrvatski geografski glasnik 64, 33-54.
- OPAČIĆ V. T. (2008a): *Ekonomsko-geografski utjecaji i posljedice vikendaštva u receptivnim vikendaškim područjima – primjer otoka Krka*, Ekonomska misao i praksa 17/2, 127-154.
- OPAČIĆ V. T. (2008b): *Vikendice na otoku Krku – prostorni raspored i strukturna obilježja vlasnika*, Geoadria 13/1, 41-80.
- OPAČIĆ, V. T. (2009): *Recent characteristics of the second home phenomenon in the Croatian littoral*, Hrvatski geografski glasnik 71/1, 33-66.
- PEPEONIK, Z. (1975): *Some characteristics of vacation dwellings on the island of Hvar*, Izlaganje na Međunarodnom simpoziju IGU "Tourism – factor for national and regional development", 19.-26. 10. 1975., Sofija – Belogradčik, Bugarska.
- PEPEONIK, Z. (1977): *Suvremene prostorne promjene na otoku Hvaru nastale izgradnjom kuća ili stanova za odmor*, Hvarski zbornik 5, 169-181.
- PEPEONIK, Z. (1978): *The village of Vrboska on the island of Hvar: an example of a current transformation of a rural settlement in Yugoslavia under the influence of tourism*, Proceedings of the 1st Polish-Yugoslav Geographical Seminar, Ohrid, 1975, Polish Academy of Science, Varšava, 69-83.
- PLUT, D. (1977): *Sekundarna počitniška bivališča (vikendi), nov pejzažni in funkcijski element okolja v dolini zgornje Krke*, Geographica Slovenica 5, 173-179.
- RADIĆ, M. (1984): *Malinska*, Krčki zbornik 13, Povijesno društvo otoka Krka i Turističko društvo Malinska, Krk.
- RADIĆ, M. (1994a): *Malinska kao turističko mjesto*, Krčki zbornik 29, Povijesno društvo otoka Krka i Turistička zajednica Općine Krk, Krk, 156-179.
- RADIĆ, M. (1994b): *Pozdrav iz Malinske*, Krčki zbornik 30, Povijesno društvo otoka Krka i Glosa, Malinska.
- SELWOOD, J., TONTS, M. (2004): *Recreational second homes in the south west of Western Australia*, u: Tourism, mobility and second homes: between elite landscape and common ground, C. M. Hall, D. K. Müller (ur.), Channel View Publications, Clevedon, Buffalo, Toronto, 149-161.
- TURK, HE. (2002): *Općina Malinska-Dubašnica – uvjeti i značajke turističke valorizacije*, Općina Malinska-Dubašnica, Malinska.
- TURK, HR. (1989): *Lozierung und Charakteristik der Freizeitwohnungen und –häuser auf der Insel Rab*, Geographical papers 7, 173-197.
- TURK, HR. (1999): *Najviše objekata od 60 do 100 četvorna metra*, Naši zvoni 2/6, str. 9.
- TURK, HR. (2000): *Turističko-geografska valorizacija Puntarske drage (otok Krk)*, Zbornik radova Drugog hrvatskog geografskog kongresa, D. Pejnović (ur.), Hrvatsko geografsko društvo, Zagreb, 295-304.
- TURK, HR., TURK-ŠARIĆ, H. (2002): *Pomorske veze i turistička valorizacija Malinske*, Pomorski zbornik 40/1, 361-386.