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**MOTIVACIJSKI PREDLOŠCI ZA
POSJEDOVANJE VIKENDICA
U HRVATSKOM PRIOBALJU**
Primjer Malinske na otoku Krku

**MOTIVATION MODELS FOR
OWNING SECOND HOMES ON
THE CROATIAN LITTORAL**
The example of Malinska on the
island of Krk

SAŽETAK: Hrvatska obala i otoci u posljednjih nekoliko desetljeća prostor su intenzivne transformacije pod utjecajem vikendaštva. Kako bi se bolje shvatio kompleksan utjecaj vikendaštva u prostoru, te na temelju toga donijele adekvatne smjernice u njegovu budućem usmjeravanju, potrebno je što detaljnije istražiti motivacijske faktore vlasnika vikendica prilikom donošenja odluke za stjecanje “drugoga doma” na nekoj određenoj lokaciji. Naime, vikendaštvo u nekom receptivnom vikendaškom području imat će sasvim različita obilježja, a time i prostorni odraz, ako u njemu prevladavaju potrošački (rekreacijsko-dokoličarski) motivi vlasnika stanova za odmor i rekreaciju nego ako dominiraju proizvodni (komercijalno-poduzetnički) motivi. Stoga je cilj ovoga istraživanja na primjeru stavova vlasnika stanova za odmor i rekreaciju u Malinskoj na otoku Krku analizirati motivacijske obrasce za posjedovanjem vikendice. Ispitivanjem stavova čelnika jedinica lokalne samouprave na otoku Krku, lokalne javnosti u Malinskoj te tamošnjih vikendaša ocijenjeni su i vikendaški faktori privlačnosti Malinske, odnosno otoka Krka u cjelini. Kao glavni zaključak istraživanja valja istaknuti potvrđenu pretpostavku da je posjedovanje vikendice u Malinskoj,

ABSTRACT: In the last few decades, the Croatian coast and islands, under the influence of the second home phenomenon, have been an area of intensive transformation. In order to better understand the complex impact of second homes on space, and to adopt suitable guidelines for the future management of this phenomenon, it is necessary to investigate in as much detail as possible the motivational factors of second home owners in deciding to purchase a second home in a particular location. The second home phenomenon in a receiving second home area will have very different characteristics, and will thus reflect differently on the environment, if the owners of holiday and recreational apartments have predominantly consumer (recreational-leisure) motives than if their decision is based on production (commercial-entrepreneurial) motives. Therefore, the aim of this study is to analyse the motivational patterns for owning a second home by researching the opinions of owners of holiday and recreational apartments in Malinska on the island of Krk. The attitudes of the heads of local authorities on the island of Krk, of the local population, and of second home owners in Malinska are investigated in order to assess the pull factors of Malinska and of Krk as a whole for

reprezentativnom receptivnom naselju hrvatskoga priobalja, i u današnjim uvjetima slobodnoga tržišta nekretnina prvenstveno motivirano rekreacijsko-dokoličarskim, dakle potrošačkim, a ne proizvodnim motivima.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: vikendica, vikendaštvo, motivacija, faktori privlačnosti, otok Krk, hrvatsko priobalje, Hrvatska

second home owners. The main conclusion of the research is confirmation of the hypothesis that owning a second home in Malinska, an impressive receiving settlement in the Croatian littoral area, and in today's free real estate market conditions, is primarily motivated by recreational-leisure motives, i.e. consumer motives, and not production ones.

KEY WORDS: second home, second home phenomenon, motivation, pull factors, island of Krk, Croatian littoral, Croatia

UVOD

U tradicionalnom društvu, ali i u početnoj fazi modernizma, mobilnost većine ljudi bila je relativno ograničena pa nije bilo odveć teško identificirati razliku “prvog” i “drugog doma” te odrediti njihovu funkciju. Analize vikendaštva¹ u doba modernizma počivale su na teorijskoj podlozi bipolarnoga stanovanja, koje se odvijalo na relaciji mjesto rada – mjesto odmora, pri čemu se stalno prebivalište/boravište shvaćalo kao (isključivo) mjesto rada, a vikendica² kao (isključivo) mjesto odmora. Modernističko društvo bilo je jasno strukturirano, kolektivno “ukalupljeno”, pa se velika većina čovjekovih prostornih kretanja odlikovala naglašenom pravilnošću (odlazak na posao, u školu, kupovinu, rekreaciju), pa tako i jednostavnošću s obzirom na prostor odvijanja, karakter te učestalost. Dok je u razdoblju modernizma prevladavala bipolarna shema stanovanja (stalno prebivalište – vikendica), u razdoblju postmodernizma, obilježenom individualizacijom životnih stilova, ona se transformirala u multipolarnu shemu stanovanja, koja podrazumijeva više boravišta (adresa) podjednake važnosti u pojedinčevoj hijerarhiji (Quinn, 2004; Mišetić, 2006; Rogić, Zimmermann, 2006).

Tradicionalno shvaćanje doma narušeno je zbog široke prirode oblika kretanja diljem svijeta te transregionalne i transnacionalne veze kroz povratne posjete, koji pojačavaju osjećaj doma na više lokacija (Duval, 2004). S prihvaćanjem doma kao fluidnije kategorije, javljaju se s njime povezani novi procesi, poput: deterritorijalizacije doma, delokalizacije doma, premještanja doma, multilokalnoga ponašanja, višezavičajnosti itd. Suvremeni, “postmodernistički” dom sve se više seli iz ishodišta u odredište, pri čemu vikendica kao utjelovljenje “osjećaja mjesta” (*sense of place*) dobiva sve ravnopravnije značenje u odnosu na stalno prebivalište/boravište (“prvi dom”).³ Očito je da u suvremenom društvu pojam doma nije dominantno definiran prostorom, nego osjećajem

INTRODUCTION

In traditional society, as well as in the initial stage of Modernism, most people’s mobility was relatively restricted, so it was not too difficult to discern between a “first” and a “second home”, and to define their functions. The analysis of the second home phenomenon¹ in the age of Modernism was based on a theoretical background of bipolar dwelling, occurring in the relation of place of work – place of leisure, where the permanent residence/domicile was (exclusively) seen as a place of work, and the second home² (exclusively) as a place of leisure. Modernist society was clearly structured, collectively “moulded”, so that most of people’s movement through space was characterised by pronounced regularity (travelling to work, to school, shopping), and also by simplicity in terms of the space where this took place, and the character and frequency of this movement. While this bipolar dwelling scheme prevailed (permanent domicile – second home) in Modernism, in the post-Modernist period, marked by an individualisation of lifestyles, it transformed into a multi-polar dwelling scheme, which implies more than one domicile (address), each of which with equal importance in the individual’s hierarchy (Quinn, 2004; Mišetić, 2006; Rogić, Zimmermann, 2006).

The traditional understanding of the home has been shaken by the broad nature of forms of movement throughout the world and by trans-regional and trans-national connections in the form of return visits, which strengthen the sense of home in several locations (Duval, 2004). With the acceptance of the home as a more fluid category, new processes appear, such as the deterritorialisation of the home, the dislocation of the home, the relocation of the home, multi-local behaviour, multi-hometown phenomena, etc. The contemporary – post-Modernist – home shifts increasingly from the starting point into the destination, in which the second home, as the embodiment of the “sense of place”, acquires a more equal meaning to the permanent domicile/

pripadnosti, ustaljenim obrascima ponašanja, tj. percepcijom.

Današnja svakodnevica gradskog stanovništva sve više je obilježena pritiscima stresnoga života u ekološki i socijalno sve manje prihvatljivim velikim gradovima, sve snažnijim prostornim kretanjima, sve izraženijom socijalnom atomizacijom, otuđenošću te sve slabijim osjećajem pripadnosti. Za stanovništvo gradova, osobito onih velikih, koje je oduvijek činilo temeljni segment vikendaške potražnje, vikendica postaje “odredište bijega” od osjećaja nepripadnosti i nesigurnosti proizašlog iz prostorno-vremenske konvergencije i sve ubrzanijega življenja povezanog sa snažnom prostornom pokretljivošću. Element bijega iz gradske, radne svakodnevice često se naglašava kao jedan od ključnih u motivaciji za stjecanje vikendice u postmodernističkom društvu (Clout, 1972; Coppock, 1977; Jaakson, 1986; Chaplin 1999; Aronsson, 2004; Quinn, 2004; Timothy, 2004; Quinn, Turley, 2005). Iako se pri tome često život u receptivnom području idealizira, zaboravljajući da bi i u njemu radna svakodnevica izgledala znatno drukčije nego boravak vikendom/ praznikom (“Vikendica – mjesto na kojem čovjek (opet) može kontrolirati vlastiti život”, Chaplin, 1999), sama uloga “punjača baterija” za povratak u mjesto stalnoga prebivališta daje receptivnom vikendaškom području, tj. samoj vikendici, posebno značenje u pojedinčevu sustavu vrijednosti. Budući da osjećaj pripadnosti više nije povezan isključivo sa zavlačajem, raste potreba za djelićem prirode, mira i tišine, tj. mjestom koje će biti obilježeno pojedinčevom stabilnošću i izvor njegova neupitnog identiteta (Williams, Kaltenborn, 2001).

Bit vikendice jest promjena, odnosno činjenica da se život u njoj odvija drukčije, suprotno od svakodnevnoga načina življenja. Razlika od svakodnevne iskazuje se i sinergijom funkcije rada (misli se prije svega na kreativni, hobistički rad) i raspolaganja slobodnim vremenom, a te su funkcije u gradu prostorno razdvojene (Jaakson, 1986). Boravak u vikendici u najvećoj mjeri lišen opterećenosti planiranjem vremena i

residence (*first home*).³ Clearly, the home concept in contemporary society is not predominantly defined by space, but by a feeling of belonging, by set behavioural patterns, i.e. by perception.

The contemporary day-to-day life of the urban population has been increasingly marked by the pressures of a stressful life in less and less environmentally and socially acceptable large cities, by more intensive movements through space, by a more prominent social atomisation, alienation, and a weaker sense of belonging. For the urban population, especially in large cities, which has always been the core demand for second homes, the second home has become “a destination of escape” from the sense of not belonging and insecurity derived from the convergence of space and time, and the ever faster way of life related to intensive spatial mobility. The element of escape from the urban, day-to-day work routine is often pointed out as one of the key elements of the motivation to purchase a second home in post-Modernist society (Clout, 1972; Coppock, 1977; Jaakson, 1986; Chaplin 1999; Aronsson, 2004; Quinn, 2004; Timothy, 2004; Quinn, Turley, 2005). Although this often leads to an idealisation of life in the receiving area, and to forgetting that a day-to-day work routine there would also look much different from a weekend/holiday stay (“Second home – a place where a man can regain control of his own life” Chaplin, 1999), the very role of acting as a “battery charger” to enable an individual to return to the place of permanent residence gives a special meaning to the receiving second home area, and to the second home itself, in the individual’s value system. Since a sense of belonging is no longer linked with the home town, this gives rise to a growing need for a small piece of nature, and for peace and tranquillity, i.e. a place that will be marked by the individual’s stability, and will be a source of his or her clear identity (Williams, Kaltenborn, 2001).

The purpose of a second home is change, or the fact that life in it takes a different form, which is in contrast to everyday routine. The difference from

poslom, kao u mjestu stalnoga prebivališta, pa se velik dio vremena posvećuje bavljenju “ničim specijalnim”, što pruža osjećaj potpune kontrole nad vlastitim životom, čistu suprotnost od organiziranoga i planiranoga življenja u svakodnevnom, radnom, okruženju.

U Hrvatskoj je nakon Drugog svjetskog rata, kao uostalom i u drugim dijelovima svijeta s dugom tradicijom vikendaštva, broj stambenih jedinica namijenjenih odmoru i rekreaciji osjetno porastao. Budući da se hrvatska obala i otoci odlikuju izvanrednim turističkim i rekreacijskim pogodnostima, ne iznenađuje činjenica da je glavina vikendica u Hrvatskoj smještena upravom u navedenom prostoru (Opačić, 2009b; Opačić, Mikačić, 2009). Nakon hrvatskoga osamostaljenja i istovremenoga prelaska iz socijalizma u kapitalizam, s pojavom slobodnoga tržišta nekretnina uz oduvijek prisutne rekreacijske pogodnosti prilikom stjecanja vikendica, u motivaciji budućih vlasnika u sve se većoj mjeri javljaju i investitorske mogućnosti.

Poznavanje vikendaške motivacije za samim stjecanjem vikendice, kao i elemenata koji su utjecali na njihov izbor specifične lokacije, izvanredno je važno u sagledavanju vikendaških kretanja, kao i razvoja vikendaštva i njegovih transformatorskog utjecaja u receptivnom vikendaškom području.⁴ Naime, iz vikendaške motivacije proizlaze aktivnosti koje vikendaši prakticiraju u vikendici koje u konačnici bitno određuju vrstu objekata za odmor i rekreaciju, kao i način i čestinu njihove upotrebe, što naposljetku rezultira različitim fizionomskim, ekonomskim i sociokulturnim implikacijama u receptivnom vikendaškom području.

CILJ, METODOLOGIJA I PROSTORNI OKVIR ISTRAŽIVANJA

Ovaj rad prilog je istraživanjima vikendaških kretanja u hrvatskom priobalju. Osnovni mu je cilj na primjeru stavova vlasnika stanova za odmor i

everyday routine is also expressed by a synergy of the work function (and what is meant here is primarily creative work or a hobby) and available time, whereas these functions in the city are divided by space (Jaakson, 1986). Life in a second home is without the burden of having to plan time and work, which is the case in the place of permanent residence, so that a large part of time is devoted to doing “nothing special”, which gives the sense of full control over one’s own life, which is completely different from the organised and planned life in one’s everyday working environment.

After the Second World War in Croatia, as in fact in other parts of the world with a long tradition of second homes, the number of housing units devoted to leisure and recreation grew significantly. Since the Croatian coast and islands feature exceptional tourist and recreation attractions, it is not surprising that the majority of second homes in Croatia are situated precisely in these areas (Opačić, 2009b; Opačić, Mikačić, 2009). After Croatia gained its independence and experienced the transition from socialism to capitalism, with the appearance of the free real estate market, and with the already familiar recreational attractions that encouraged the purchase of second homes, investment opportunities also became a growing motivational factor for future second home owners.

Knowledge of the motivation of second home owners to purchase a second home and an awareness of the features that influence their choice of a specific location are extremely important in analysing the trends of the second home phenomenon, its development and its transformational impact on the receiving second home area.⁴ The activities that second home owners engage in when in their second home derive from their motivation. These activities eventually largely define the type of leisure and recreational unit, as well as the manner and frequency of its use, which finally results in different physiognomic, economic and socio-cultural implications in the receiving second home area.

rekreaciju u Malinskoj na otoku Krku analizirati motivacijske obrasce za posjedovanjem vikendice te na temelju stavova čelnika jedinica lokalne samouprave na otoku Krku, lokalne javnosti u Malinskoj te tamošnjih vikendaša ocijeniti vikendaške faktore privlačnosti Malinske, odnosno otoka Krka u cjelini. Radi ostvarenja istaknutoga cilja potrebno je ispitati postavljenu radnu hipotezu koja glasi: “Posjedovanje vikendice u hrvatskom priobalju i u današnjim uvjetima slobodnoga tržišta nekretnina prvenstveno je motivirano rekreacijsko-dokoličarskim, motivima.” Budući da su motivacijski predlošci posjedovanja vikendica na otoku Viru bili predmet sličnoga istraživanja (Miletić, Mišetić, 2006), ovo je prilika za usporedbu dobivenih rezultata i njihove interpretacije u širem kontekstu.

Metodološki, istraživanje počiva na terenskom istraživanju s neposrednim anketiranjem,⁵ kao i opažanju na temelju dugogodišnjeg poznavanja prostora istraživanja. Za prostor istraživanja Malinska (Sl. 1) je izabrana stoga što predstavlja tipičan primjer hrvatskoga obalnog naselja, svakako najilustrativniji od svih naselja na Krku, koje je svjedočilo svim karakterističnim fazama razvoja vikendaštva u Hrvatskoj – od ljetnikovaca i vila izgrađenih prije Drugoga svjetskog rata, preko obiteljskih vikendica nakon Drugog svjetskog rata, sve raskošnijih individualnih kuća za odmor građenih 1970-ih i 1980-ih do današnje faze apartmanske, višestambene izgradnje (Opačić, 2009a). Opravdano je stoga očekivati da i dobar dio tamošnjih vikendaša, kao i stalnih stanovnika svoje stavove temelji na višegodišnjem, ako ne i višedesetljetnom iskustvu prisutnosti vikendica i vikendaša u lokalnoj sredini, kao i korjenitim promjenama koje je vikendaštvo u nju unijelo.

FAKTORI POSTANKA I RAZVOJA VIKENDAŠTVA

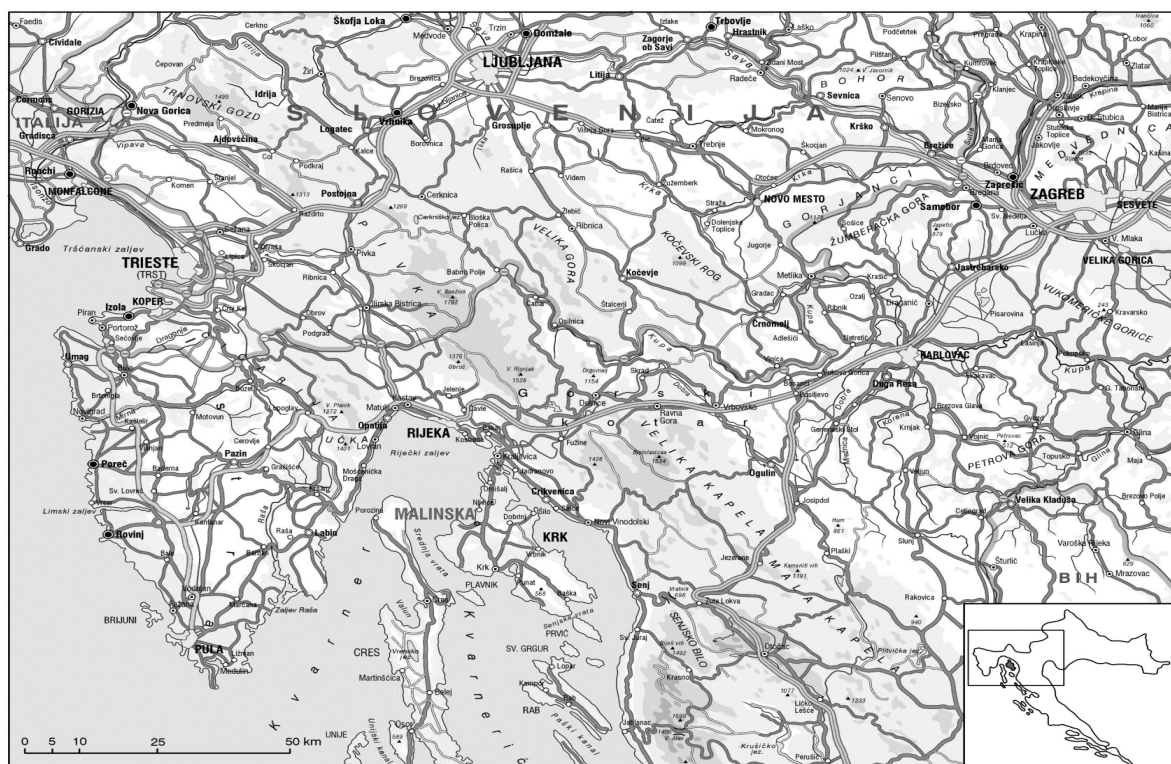
Većina znanstvenika slaže se da upravo motivacija vlasnika za upotrebu vikendice ključno

RESEARCH AIM, METHODOLOGY AND SPATIAL FRAMEWORK

This paper is a contribution to research on the trends in the second home phenomenon on the Croatian littoral. Its main aim is to analyse the motivational patterns for owning a second home, using the example of the attitudes of owners of holiday and recreational apartments in Malinska on the island of Krk, and to assess the pull factors of Malinska and the whole island of Krk as a second home area. In order to achieve this aim, it is necessary to examine the set working hypothesis: “Owning a second home on the Croatian littoral, and under today’s free real estate market conditions, is primarily motivated by recreational-leisure motives.” Since the motivation models for owning a second home on the island of Vir were the object of similar research (Miletić, Mišetić, 2006), this was an opportunity to compare the obtained results and their interpretation in a wider context.

In methodological terms, the research is based on an on-site survey using direct interviews,⁵ and on observation based on long years of knowledge of the research site. Malinska (Figure 1) was selected as the research site because it represents a typical example of a Croatian coastal settlement, certainly the most illustrative settlement on Krk, which has experienced all the characteristic stages of development of the second home phenomenon in Croatia – from summer houses and villas built before the Second World War, through second family homes after the Second World War, all the way to increasingly luxurious individual holiday houses in the 1970s and 1980s, to today’s stage of multi-apartment recreational buildings. Consequently, it is justified to expect that a large part of vacational and permanent residents there base their views on years, or even decades, of experience with second homes and with vacational residents in the local community, as well as with the radical changes introduced by the second home phenomenon.

SLIKA 1. GEOGRAFSKI POLOŽAJ MALINSKE
FIGURE 1. GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION OF MALINSKA



određuje karakter vikendaštva i njegov složeni spektar utjecaja na prostorne strukture i procese. Naime, vikendaštvo u nekom receptivnom vikendaškom području imat će sasvim različita obilježja ako u njemu prevladavaju potrošački (rekreacijski) motivi vlasnika stanova za odmor i rekreaciju nego ako dominiraju proizvodni (investicijski, iznajmljivački) motivi (Müller, 2004).⁶ Upravo stoga, ne zanemarujući objektivne pokretačke faktore ni faktore privlačnosti, prilikom istraživanja postanka, razvoja i implikacija sekundarnoga stanovanja u nekom prostoru najvažnije je analizirati subjektivne pokretačke faktore, tj. motivaciju za posjedovanje/upotrebu vlasnika/korisnika

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT FACTORS OF THE SECOND HOME PHENOMENON

Most researchers agree that the key factor to determine the character of the second home phenomenon and its complex spectrum of effects on spatial structures and processes is precisely the motivation of the owner to use the second home. The second home phenomenon in a receiving second home area will have very different characteristics if the owners of holiday and recreation apartments have predominantly consumer (recreational-leisure) motives than if their decision is based on production (investment-renting out) motives (Müller, 2004).⁶ Therefore,

vikendica, o čemu svjedoče i brojni radovi u relevantnoj literaturi.

Uglavnom svi istraživači problematike vikendaštva (npr. Müller, 2004; Svensson, 2004; Visser, 2004) slažu se da su među motivima za posjedovanje vikendica ranije u najvećoj mjeri bili zastupljeni potrošački, rekreacijski motivi, dok je u današnje vrijeme uočljiv naglašeni pluralizam profila vlasnika/korisnika vikendica definiran najrazličitijom motivacijom – od osiguravanja sebi i svojoj obitelji mjesta za odmor i rekreaciju, do želje za pokretanjem unosna posla. Prema Williamsu i dr. (2004), svaki potencijalni vlasnik prilikom donošenja odluke o posjedovanju vikendice treba se opredijeliti je li mu glavni motiv osiguravanje mjesta za odmor i rekreaciju, traženje kuće za “stare dane” ili investiranje kapitala. Osim same motivacije za odluku o stjecanju vikendice (pokretački faktori, tj. faktori potražnje), za prostorni razvoj vikendaštva vrlo je važno pitanje izbora specifične lokacije, odnosno faktori privlačnosti (faktori ponude) receptivnoga vikendaškog područja, koji bitno utječu na usmjeravanje potražnje za sekundarnim stanovanjem.

Kao što do ostvarivanja turističkoga putovanja pojedinca dovodi težnja za zadovoljenjem turističkih potreba, tako i u osnovi postanka vikendaštva leži zadovoljenje rekreacijskih, odnosno vikendaških, potreba, koje su u mnogočemu podudarne s turističkima. Slično turizmu, i u vikendaštvu mogu se razlikovati dvije osnovne skupine faktora⁷ koji utječu na njegov postanak i razvoj. To su:

- ☞ pokretački faktori (*push* faktori, faktori potražnje)
- ☞ faktori privlačnosti (*pull* faktori, faktori ponude) receptivnoga vikendaškog područja (Tab. 1)

Pokretački faktori (*push* faktori, faktori potražnje)

Skupina pokretačkih faktora vikendaštva može se podijeliti na dvije podskupine (Tab. 1). To su:

without overlooking the objective push or pull factors when researching the origin, development and implications of secondary dwelling in a particular area, the most important thing is to analyse the subjective push factors, i.e. the motivation of the owner/user to own/use a second home, which is treated by numerous papers in the relevant literature.

Nearly all researchers of the second home issue (for example, Müller, 2004; Svensson, 2004; Visser, 2004) agree that once upon a time consumer, recreational motives used to be the main motives for owning a second home, while these days the pluralism of the profiles of second home owners/users is highly visible, defined by various motivations – from ensuring that an individual and the individual’s family has a place for a holiday and recreation, to the desire to start a profitable business. According to Williams et al. (2004), any potential owner, when making a decision about owning a second home, must decide whether their main motive is to provide a place for a holiday and recreation, to find a home in which to spend their “old age”, or as a capital investment. In addition to the motivation to decide to purchase a second home (push factors, or factors based on demand), the choice of the specific site, or the pull factors (factors based on the supply) of the receiving second home area, which have a significant effect on managing the demand for secondary dwelling, is particularly important for the spatial development of the second home phenomenon.

In the same way that trying to meet tourist needs leads an individual to make a tourism journey, so meeting recreational or vacation needs, which in many aspects match tourism needs, lies at the heart of the second home phenomenon. Similar to tourism, the following two main groups of factors⁷ affecting its origin and development may be highlighted:

- ☞ push factors (factors based on demand);
- ☞ pull factors (factors based on supply) of the receiving second home area (Table 1).

- a) objektivni faktori,
- b) subjektivni faktori.

Objektivni pokretački faktori nezavisni su od ponašanja pojedinca, dok subjektivni pokretački faktori vikendaštva odražavaju pojedinačne individualne mogućnosti i sklonosti. Kao i kod turizma u njih se ubrajaju: radna i životna sredina, slobodno vrijeme, slobodna sredstva te poboljšanje prometne infrastrukture i povećana mobilnost stanovništva.

Subjektivne faktore vikendaštva, odnosno motive za stjecanje i iskorištavanje vikendice, često je vrlo teško svrstati u odgovarajuće kategorije, tako da njihovoj klasifikaciji valja pristupiti znatno fleksibilnije. Motivacija vlasnika/korisnika vikendica da ih steknu i iskorištavaju vrlo je osobne prirode i u nemalom broju slučajeva mijenja se s obzirom na životni ciklus vlasnika/korisnika vikendice. Motivi za posjedovanje/upotrebu vikendice najčešće proizlaze iz značenja drugoga doma za njegova vlasnika/korisnika. Iako se relevantna literatura odlikuje nizom klasifikacija subjektivnih vikendaških faktora, odnosno vikendaških motiva, čini se da bi se oni mogli podijeliti u tri osnovne skupine:

- a) emotivno-psihološki,
- b) rekreacijsko-dokoličarski,
- c) komercijalno-poduzetnički.

Emotivno-psihološki vikendaški faktori, odnosno vikendaški motivi, obuhvaćaju sve one motive što proizlaze iz značenja koje vikendica ima za vlasnika/korisnika. U ovu skupinu, dakle, ulaze sljedeći motivi, odnosno značenja vikendica:

- ☞ traženje mjesta “mira”, ljudske slobode i zajedništva, uz istodobni bijeg od užurbane, stresom opterećene radne/gradske svakodnevice,
- ☞ potreba za neposrednim kontaktom s prirodom,
- ☞ potraga za osobnim/obiteljskim identitetom,⁸
- ☞ povratak korijenima,⁹

Push factors (factors based on demand)

The group of push factors for the second home phenomenon may be divided into the following two subgroups (Table 1):

- a) objective factors;
- b) subjective factors.

Objective push factors are independent of an individual's behaviour, while the subjective push factors of the second home phenomenon reflect an individual's capacities and predilections. Just as in tourism, these factors include the working and living environment, free time, spare funds, and an improved traffic infrastructure and increased population mobility.

The subjective factors of the second home phenomenon, or the motives for purchasing and using a second home, are usually very difficult to categorise, so they should be flexibly classified. The motivation of second home owners/users to purchase and use a second home is very personal and, in a large number of cases, changes through the life cycle of the second home owner/user. The motives for owning/using a second home most often arise from what the second home means to the owner/user. Although the relevant literature features a range of classifications of subjective second home factors or motives, it seems that they could all be divided into three basic groups:

- a) emotional-psychological;
- b) recreational-leisure;
- c) commercial-entrepreneurial.

The emotional-psychological factors of the second home phenomenon, or second home motives, include all the motives derived from the meaning that the second home has for its owner/user. Therefore, the following motives, or meanings of a second home, fall into this group:

- ☞ seeking a place of “peace”, human freedom and sense of community, at the same time escaping from the busy, stressful working/city routine;
- ☞ a need to be in direct contact with nature;

TABLICA 1. KLASIFIKACIJA FAKTORA POSTANKA I RAZVOJA VIKENDAŠTVA
TABLE 1. CLASSIFICATION OF THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE SECOND HOME PHENOMENON
POKRETAČKI FAKTORI (PUSH FAKTORI, FAKTORI POTRAŽNJE) / PUSH FACTORS (FACTORS BASED ON DEMAND)
Objektivni faktori / Objective factors
Subjektivni faktori (motivacija za posjedovanje vikendice)
Subjective factors (motivation to own a second home)

 Radna i životna sredina /
 Working and living environment

Slobodno vrijeme / Free time

Slobodna sredstva / Spare funds

 Poboljšanje prometne infrastrukture i
 povećana mobilnost stanovništva /
 Improved traffic infrastructure and
 increased population mobility

Emotivno-psihološki / Emotional-psychological

 a) traženje mjesta "mira", ljudske slobode i zajedništva, uz istodobni
 bijeg od užurbane, stresom opterećene radne/gradske svakodnevice
 a) finding a place of "peace", human freedom and sense of community,
 at the same time escaping from the busy, stressful work/city routine

b) potreba za neposrednim kontaktom s prirodom

b) a need for direct contact with nature

c) potraga za osobnim/obiteljskim identitetom

c) searching for personal/family identity

d) povratak korijenima

d) return to the roots

e) stvaranje doma za "stare dane"

e) creating a home for "old age"

f) želja da se djeci omogući rekreacija u zdravom okolišu

 f) a desire to provide recreation in a healthy environment for the
 children

 g) potreba za prestižem, materijalnom demonstracijom socijalnoga
 statusa i oponašanjem (snobizam)

 g) a need for prestige, a material demonstration of social status and
 keeping up with the Joneses (snobbism)

Rekreativno-dokoličarski / Recreational-leisure

a) aktivna rekreacija na otvorenom

a) active outdoors recreation

b) pasivna rekreacija u interijeru

b) passive indoors recreation

c) održavanje i uređivanje vikendice

c) maintenance and work on the house

Komercijalno-poduzetnički / Commercial-entrepreneurial

a) iznajmljivanje

a) renting out

b) investiranje kapitala

b) capital investment

FAKTORI PRIVLAČNOSTI (PULL FAKTORI, FAKTORI PONUDE) / PULL FACTORS (FACTORS BASED ON SUPPLY)

**Rekreacijska atrakcijska osnova receptivnoga područja/
 Recreational pull factors of a receiving area**

**Ostali resursi receptivnoga područja
 Other resources of the receiving area**

Prirodne pogodnosti (atrakcije) /
 Natural benefits (attractions)

a) geološka obilježja
 a) geological features

b) geomorfološka obilježja
 b) geomorphologic features

c) klimatska obilježja
 c) climatic features

d) hidrografska obilježja
 d) hydrographical features

e) vegetacijska obilježja
 e) vegetational features

f) faunistička obilježja
 f) faunistic features

g) blizina zaštićenih područja
 g) vicinity of protected areas

Društvene (antropogene) pogodnosti (atrakcije) /
 Social (anthropogenic) attractions

a) kulturno-povijesna baština
 a) cultural-historic heritage

b) kulturne i vjerske ustanove
 b) cultural and religious institutions

c) manifestacije
 c) events

d) "kultura života i rada"
 d) "living and working culture"

e) turistička/rekreacijska "suprastruktura"
 e) Tourist/recreational "suprastructure"

Kvaliteta i očuvanost okoliša /
 Quality and preservation of the environment

Prometno-geografski položaj /
 Traffic-geographic position

Turističko-geografski položaj /
 Tourism-geographic position

Broj ostalih pretendena na rekreacijske zone /
 Number of other users of the recreational zone

Prometna dostupnost i lokalna povezanost /
 Traffic access and local connections

Razvijenost komunalne infrastrukture /
 Development of communal infrastructure

Ukupna uređenost / Total landscaping

Opskrbljenost uslugama / Supply of services

Stav prema vikendašima u svim strukturama lokalne
 zajednice /
 Attitudes to vacational residents in all structures of the
 local community

Situacija na lokalnom tržištu nekretnina /
 Situation on the local real-estate market

Tretman vikendaštva u prostorno-planskoj regulativi /
 Treatment of the second home phenomenon in
 zoning legislation

Politička i pravna stabilnost / Political and legal stability

Osobna sigurnost / Personal safety

☞ stvaranje doma za "stare dane",¹⁰

☞ želja da se djeci omogući rekreacija u
 zdravom okolišu,

☞ potreba za prestižem, materijalnom
 demonstracijom socijalnoga statusa i
 oponašanjem (snobizam).

☞ seeking a personal/family identity,⁸

☞ going back to the roots;⁹

☞ building a home for "old age";¹⁰

☞ a desire to provide a place of recreation for the
 children in a healthy environment;

Dok emotivno-psihološka klasifikacija vikendaških faktora proizlazi iz subjektivnoga značenja vikendice, rekreacijsko-dokoličarski razlozi, odnosno motivi, naglašavaju osnovnu namjenu objekta za odmor i rekreaciju, odnosno distinkciju od komercijalno-poduzetničkih razloga stjecanja vikendice. I rekreacijsko-dokoličarski razlozi/motivi određeni su inverzijom životnoga stila od onog uobičajenog u radnoj svakodnevici. U potrazi za promjenom vikendaši najčešće nastoje radni životni stil zamijeniti omiljenim rekreacijskim, koji se sastoji od jedne ili više hobističkih aktivnosti. Među rekreacijskim aktivnostima koje vikendica omogućuje posebna mjesta zauzimaju aktivnosti aktivne rekreacije na otvorenom (npr. hobističko obrađivanje vrta, vinograda ili voćnjaka, uređivanje cvjetnjaka, šetnje, trčanje, biciklizam, planinarenje, branje gljiva, lov, sportovi na vodi, sportovi na snijegu itd.), pasivne rekreacije u interijeru te aktivnosti povezane s održavanjem i uređivanjem same vikendice (npr. sitni popravci, dogradnja, uređivanje interijera i eksterijera).

U rekreacijsko-dokoličarskim faktorima/motivima naglašeno je zastupljena i težnja za jeftinijim provođenjem slobodna vremena. Iako je navedena teza diskutabilna zbog nemalih troškova koje iziskuje stjecanje, održavanje i upotreba vikendice, dobar dio vikendaša kao jednu od glavnih prednosti vikendice smatra upravo mogućnost "besplatnog" iskorištavanja slobodna vremena u terminu po vlastitu izboru u poznatom, domaćem ambijentu, u osobno izabranom socijalnom okruženju, na poznatoj lokaciji koja jedina pruža mogućnosti istinske psihofizičke obnove.

Rekreacijsko-dokoličarski faktori/razlozi u pogledu vikendaške motivacije (još uvijek) su zastupljeniji od komercijalno-poduzetničkih, premda ovi potonji faktori postaju sve rašireniji. Naime, paralelno s prerastanjem vikendaštva u internacionalni, globalni fenomen, u uvjetima do sada najjače prostorne pokretljivosti stanovništva, prostorno-vremenske konvergencije i formiranja jedinstvenoga svjetskog tržišta, potražnja za

☞ a need to acquire prestige, to demonstrate financial and social status, and to keep up with the Joneses (snobbism).

While the emotional-psychological classification of second home factors derives from the subjective meaning of a second home, the recreational-leisure reasons, or motives, stress the basic purpose of the holiday and recreational unit, as distinct from any commercial-entrepreneurial reasons for purchasing a second home. The recreational-leisure reasons/motives are also defined by a lifestyle that is an inversion of the usual one which forms part of the working routine. Seeking change, vacational residents often try to replace their working lifestyle with their favourite recreational one, consisting of one or more hobby activities. A special place among the recreational activities provided by a second home are active recreational outdoor activities (for example, tending a garden, a vineyard or orchard as a hobby, arranging flower gardens, walking, jogging, cycling, hiking, picking mushrooms, hunting, water sports, snow sports, etc.), indoors passive recreation, and activities related to maintaining or furnishing the house (for example, minor repairs, building extensions, interior and exterior design).

The desire to spend free time more cheaply is emphasised as an important recreational-leisure factor. Although this thesis can be debated, due to the significant costs incurred by purchasing, maintaining and using the second home, a sizeable portion of vacational residents see that one of the major advantages of a second home is precisely that they can use their free time "for free", in their own time, in a familiar, domestic environment, in a personally chosen social surrounding, in a familiar location, which is the only way to provide for psychophysical recuperation.

The recreational-leisure factors/reasons in terms of motivation for owning a second home (still) prevail over commercial-entrepreneurial ones, although the latter are becoming increasingly prominent. Just as the second home phenomenon has been

vikenticama porasla je više no ikad. Osim toga, vikendaška kretanja odvijaju se između sve većega broja država, pri čemu u posljednjih petnaestak godina inozemna potražnja za vikenticama ponajviše jača u tranzicijskim državama Srednje i Jugoistočne Europe. Sve navedeno ima za posljedicu i opipljivo jačanje investicijske vrijednosti nekretnina, pa tako i vikendica, uz stambene i poslovne prostore u gospodarski najjačim gradovima, najrentabilniji investitorski segment na tržištu nekretnina. Osim ulaganja u vikendice, kao vrstu nekretnina, vikendice pokazuju komercijalnu vrijednost i kao oblik smještajnih kapaciteta (iznajmljivanje), čime se uključuju u receptivnu turističku ponudu.

Faktori privlačnosti (pull faktori, faktori ponude)

Skupina faktora privlačnosti sekundarnoga stanovanja može se podijeliti na dvije podskupine (Tab. 1). To su:

- a) rekreacijska atrakcijska osnova receptivnoga područja,
- b) ostali resursi receptivnoga područja.

Dakle, obje sastavnice faktora privlačnosti odnose se na elemente ponude receptivnoga vikendaškog područja, što znači da navedene grupe faktora utječu na izbor lokacije vikendice pošto je odluka o stjecanju vikendice već donesena, pa ih se može poistovjetiti s lokacijskim faktorima vikendaštva.

Rekreacijska atrakcijska osnova receptivnoga vikendaškog područja predstavlja njegov temeljni resurs u pogledu rekreacijskog, odnosno vikendaškog, potencijala. Kao i u turizmu, čine je realne i potencijalne rekreacijske pogodnosti, ovisno o tome iskorištavaju li se određene pogodnosti već sada u rekreacijske svrhe ili su za sada tek na razini potencijala u budućem rekreacijskom vrednovanju. Ona uključuje sve prirodne i društvene (antropogene) pogodnosti (atrakcije) nekoga prostora za razvoj rekreacije, odnosno ukupnost njegovih rekreacijskih potencijala (Kušen, 2002). Prirodni segment

growing into an international, global phenomenon, in conditions where the mobility of the population is greater than ever, and where space and time converge and when a common world market is being formed, the demand for second homes has been growing like never before. Moreover, the movements of vacational residents occur in an increasing number of countries, and in the last fifteen years foreign demand for second homes has been growing, especially in the transition countries of Central and Southeast Europe. All of the above leads to tangible growth in the value of real estate investments, including the value of second homes, which are, besides housing and business premises in the economically strongest cities, the most profitable investment segment on the real estate market. In addition to investing in second homes, as a type of real estate, second homes also have commercial value as a form of accommodation capacity (renting), with which they join the tourism offer of the receiving area.

Pull factors (factors based on supply)

The group of secondary dwelling pull factors may be divided into the following two subgroups (Table 1):

- a) recreational pull factors of the receiving area;
- b) other resources of the receiving area.

Therefore, both pull factor components concern elements of the supply of the receiving second home area, which means that these groups of factors affect the choice of the second home location after the decision to purchase a second home has already been made, and they can thus be identified with the location factors of the second home phenomenon.

The recreational pull of the receiving second home area represents its basic resource in terms of recreational or second home potential. Just as in tourism, it consists of realistic and potential recreational attractions, depending on whether particular attractions are already exploited for recreational purposes, or if they are for now only a

rekreacijske osnove vikendaštva čine: geološke, geomorfološke, klimatske, hidrografske, vegetacijske te faunističke karakteristike receptivnoga vikendaškog područja. U prirodni segment rekreacijske osnove vikendaštva može se ubrojiti i blizina zaštićenih područja, kao područja visoke ekološke, estetske i rekreacijske vrijednosti. Važnost pojedinih prirodnih vikendaških pogodnosti uvelike je određena vikendaškom motivacijom, preferiranim aktivnostima koje vikendaši žele prakticirati prilikom svoga boravka u vikendici, a osobito vrstom vikendaškoga područja.

Društvene (antropogene) rekreacijske pogodnosti (atrakcije) znatno su manje važan preduvjet razvoja vikendaštva nego što je to u turizmu. Razlog leži u karakteru vikendaške motivacije i aktivnosti koje se ponajviše temelje na rekreaciji na otvorenom. Budući da su društvene (antropogene) rekreacijske pogodnosti i njima srodne društvene turističke atrakcije više vezane uz urbane sredine, iz kojih vikendaši upravo žele “pobjeći”, ne iznenađuje dominacija skupine prirodnih rekreacijskih pogodnosti u strukturi ove grupe vikendaških faktora privlačnosti. Društvene (antropogene) rekreacijske atrakcije obuhvaćaju objekte kulturno-povijesne baštine, kulturne i vjerske ustanove, manifestacije te, prema Kušenu (2002), posebnu skupinu “kulturu života i rada”. Osim toga, ovamo bi se mogli uvrstiti i elementi atraktivne turističke/rekreacijske suprastrukture, koji – za razliku od prethodno nabrojanih faktora – nisu toliko vezani uz gradski milje, pa stoga imaju veće značenje u privlačenju vikendaša, poput: sportsko-rekreacijskih objekata, lječilišnih objekata i ustanova te tzv. “atrakcija zbog atrakcija” (Kušen, 2002).

Ostali resursi receptivnoga područja zaokružuju funkcionalnu strukturu resursne osnove vikendaštva. Kao i kod izravnih i neizravnih turističkih resursa, u ovu grupu faktora uvršteni su oni elementi koji, iako sami po sebi ne privlače vikendaše u receptivno područje, ipak svojom (ne)prisutnošću uvelike determiniraju njihovu

potential for future recreational value. This includes all natural and social (anthropogenic) attractions of a space for the development of recreation, or the totality of its recreational potentials (Kušen, 2002). The natural segment of the recreational basis of the second home phenomenon consists of the geological, geomorphologic, climatic, hydrographical, vegetational and faunistic characteristics of the receiving second home area. The closeness of protected areas, such as areas of high ecological, aesthetic and recreational value, can also be regarded as a natural segment of the recreational basis of the second home phenomenon. The importance of particular natural second home attractions is greatly defined by the motivation of second home owners, the activities they prefer to engage in while staying in their second homes, and especially by the type of second home area.

The social (anthropogenic) recreational attractions are a significantly less important condition for the development of the second home phenomenon than is the case in tourism. The reason for this lies in the character of the motivation and activities of second-home owners, which are mostly based on outdoors recreation. Since social (anthropogenic) recreational benefits and related social tourist attractions are more connected with urban environments, from which vacational residents actually wish to “escape”, it is not at all surprising that the group of natural recreational benefits dominates within the structure of this group of second home pull factors. Social (anthropogenic) recreational attractions include the cultural-historical heritage, cultural and religious institutions, festivals, and, according to Kušen (2002), a special group of “life and work culture”. To this we could also add elements of an attractive tourism/recreational suprastructure, which – unlike the previously mentioned factors – are not particularly related to the urban environment, and thus have greater significance in attracting vacational residents, such as sport and recreational facilities, spas and

odluku o izboru lokacije objekta za odmor i rekreaciju. Od mnogih, “popratnih” elemenata koji bi se mogli klasificirati u ovu skupinu vikendaških faktora privlačnosti, u receptivnom vikendaškom području najvažniji su sljedeći: kvaliteta i očuvanost okoliša, prometno-geografski položaj, turističko-geografski položaj, broj ostalih pretendena na rekreacijske zone (domicilno stanovništvo, vikendaši, turisti), prometna dostupnost i lokalna povezanost, razvijenost komunalne infrastrukture, ukupna uređenost, opskrbljenost uslugama, stav prema vikendašima u svim strukturama lokalne zajednice, situacija na lokalnom tržištu nekretnina, tretman vikendaštva u prostorno-planskoj regulativi receptivnoga naselja, politička i pravna stabilnost, osobna sigurnost itd.

ZAŠTO (NE) POSJEDOVATI VIKENDICU U MALINSKOJ?

Relativno malen broj korisnika, koji u pravilu boravi u vikendicama u Malinskoj, osnažuje ranije iznesenu tezu o dominaciji rekreacijski motiviranoga vikendaštva u receptivnim vikendaškim područjima hrvatskoga priobalja (Tab. 2).

Čak 66 od 105 (62,86%) stanova za odmor i rekreaciju anketiranih vlasnika vikendica u Malinskoj u pravilu rabi do pet osoba. Dakle, gotovo dvije trećine vikendica u Malinskoj namijenjeno je gotovo isključivo obiteljskom načinu upotrebe. Nešto manje od jedne trećine anketiranih “vikendica” (32, tj. 30,48%) rabi širi krug korisnika (šira rodbina, prijatelji), odnosno između 6 i 10 osoba. Tek 7 od 105 anketom obuhvaćenih vikendica namijenjeno je upotrebi većega broja korisnika, što pokazuje da su iznajmljivački motivi posjedovanja stanova za odmor i rekreaciju relativno marginalni, iako valja imati na umu i namjerno prikrivanje realnoga broja korisnika stanova za odmor i rekreaciju i u vikendicama namijenjenim rekreacijskom korištenju.¹¹

medical institutions, and so-called “attractions for the sake of attractions” (Kušen, 2002).

Other resources of the receiving area complete the picture of the functional structure of the second home phenomenon. Like direct and indirect tourism resources, this group includes elements that, although in themselves they do not attract vacational residents to the receiving area, with their (non)presence they still largely determine the choice of location for the holiday and recreation home. The following factors, out of many “ancillary” elements which could be classified in this group of second home pull factors, are most important in a second home area: the quality and state of preservation of the environment, the traffic-geographic position, the tourist-geographic position, the number of other users of the recreational zone (local population, vacational residents, tourists), traffic access and local connections, the development of communal infrastructure, the total landscape quality of the area, the supply of services, attitudes to vacational residents in all the structures of the local community, the situation on the local real-estate market, the manner in which zoning regulations in the receiving settlement treat the second home phenomenon, political and legal stability, personal safety, etc.

WHY (NOT TO) OWN A SECOND HOME IN MALINSKA?

A relatively small number of users who generally stay in second homes in Malinska corroborate the earlier thesis on the predominance of the recreational motivation in having a second home in the receiving second home areas of the Croatian littoral (Table 2).

A total of 66 out of 105 (62.86%) holiday and recreational apartments belonging to second home owners covered by the survey in Malinska are generally used by up to five persons. Therefore, nearly two-thirds of second homes in

TABLICA 2. UOBIČAJEN BROJ KORISNIKA VIKENDICA U MALINSKOJ (STAVOVI VIKENDAŠA)
TABLE 2. USUAL NUMBER OF USERS OF SECOND HOMES IN MALINSKA (VACATIONAL RESIDENTS' OPINIONS)

BROJ KORISNIKA / NUMBER OF USERS	BROJ ANKETIRANIH VLASNIKA VIKENDICA / NUMBER OF SURVEYED SECOND HOME OWNERS	%
1-5	66	62,86
6-10	32	30,48
11-15	5	4,76
>15	2	1,90
Ukupno / Total	105	100,00

TABLICA 3. FAKTORI KOJI SU NAJVIŠE UTJECALI NA ODLUKU VIKENDAŠA O STJECANJU VIKENDICE U MALINSKOJ, ODNOSNO KOJI IH DANAS NAJVIŠE MOTIVIRAJU NA BORAVAK U VIKENDICI¹²
TABLE 3. FACTORS THAT MOSTLY INFLUENCED THE DECISION OF VACATIONAL RESIDENTS TO PURCHASE A SECOND HOME IN MALINSKA, OR THOSE WHICH CURRENTLY MOTIVATE THEM MOST TO STAY IN THEIR SECOND HOME¹²

MOTIVACIJSKI FAKTOR / MOTIVATIONAL FACTOR	1. RANG – BROJ ODGOVORA / 1 ST RANK – NUMBER OF ANSWERS	2. RANG – BROJ ODGOVORA / 2 ND RANK – NUMBER OF ANSWERS	3. RANG – BROJ ODGOVORA / 3 RD RANK – NUMBER OF ANSWERS	UKUPAN BROJ ODGOVORA / TOTAL NUMBER OF ANSWERS	%
Promjena životne sredine; mir; priroda / Change of living environment; tranquillity; nature	40	27	18	85	27,25
Klimatske pogodnosti / Climatic attraction	27	28	17	72	23,08
“Djeca” / “Children”	20	14	16	50	16,03
Druženje s prijateljima i rođacima; zabava / Socialising with friends and relatives; fun	6	10	18	34	10,90
Jeftinije provođenje godišnjeg odmora / Cheaper holiday	2	10	12	24	7,69
Osiguravanje životnog prostora za “stare dane” / Securing a living space for “old age”	4	8	11	23	7,37
Ostalo / Other	4	2	1	7	2,24
Bavljenje sportom i rekreacijom / Sport and recreation	1	2	3	6	1,92
Iznajmljivanje soba turistima / Renting out rooms to tourists	1	3	2	6	1,92
Bavljenje hobiem /Engaging in a hobby	0	1	4	5	1,60
Ukupno / Total	105	105	102	312	100,00

Vikendaši su se na stjecanje stana za odmor i rekreaciju u Malinskoj odlučivali ponajprije zbog vlastite potrebe promjene životne sredine, potrage za mirom te bliskijim kontaktom s prirodom, što su vjerovali da će pronaći u Malinskoj, odnosno što i danas u njoj pronalaze (Tab. 3).

Između ponuđenih motivacijskih faktora ispitanici su prilikom prepoznavanja vlastitih potreba za stjecanje stana za odmor i rekreaciju ponajviše isticali potrebu za promjenom životne sredine zbog stresnoga i “ubrzanoga” života u gradovima, najčešćeg ambijenta radne svakodnevice vikendaša. Kako je upravo Malinska, pogotovo ranije, nudila mogućnost pronalaska mira i “usporavanja” ubrzanoga životnog ritma u prirodnom okruženju, vikendaši su rano prepoznali tu njezinu atrakcijsku prednost. Iz istih razloga razumljivo da su visoko rangirane i klimatske pogodnosti Malinske za odmor i rekreaciju. Dakle, *push* faktor bijega od stresne svakodnevice i *pull* faktor odmora i rekreacije u mirnom, ekološki zdravom i klimatski pogodnom okruženju istaknut je kod više od 50% svih odgovora na postavljeno pitanje. Potreba za socijalizacijom, predstavljena odgovorima “djeca” (16,03% svih odgovora) te “druženje s prijateljima i rođacima” (10,90%) zauzela je također visoko mjesto u inicijalnoj vikendaškoj motivaciji vlasnika stanova za odmor i rekreaciju u Malinskoj, što posredno također potvrđuje ključni pokretački faktor otuđenosti i potrebe za manje stresnim, prirodnim fizičkim okruženjem u socijalno sigurnom i toplom obiteljskom provođenju odmora. Zatim po zastupljenosti slijedi motiv jeftinijega provođenja odmora (7,69% svih odgovora) od odmora u komercijalnim smještajnim kapacitetima te planiranje preseljenja u vikendicu nakon odlaska u mirovinu (7,37%).

Ostale ponuđene skupine motivacijskih faktora osjetno su manje zastupljene. To se ponajprije odnosi na komercijalno-poduzetnički motiv iznajmljivanja soba turistima, koji je navelo tek 6 (od 105) vikendaša u Malinskoj. Iako nije

Malinska are almost exclusively for family use. A little less than one-third of the surveyed “second homes” (32, i.e. 30.48%) are used by a broader circle of users (extended family, friends), or between 6 and 10 persons. Only 7 out of 105 second homes covered by the survey were used by a larger number of people, which shows that renting motives for owning holiday and recreation apartments are relatively marginal. However, it must be kept in mind that there is intentional concealment of the realistic number of users of holiday and recreation apartments even in second homes designed for recreational use.¹¹

Vacational residents mainly decided to purchase a holiday and recreational apartment in Malinska due to their own need to change their living environment, seek tranquillity and have closer contact with nature, which they believed they could find in Malinska, and where they find it even today (Table 3).

When considering their own needs to purchase a holiday and recreational apartment, the respondents, among the offered motivational factors, mostly stressed the need to change their living environment due to the stressful and “fast pace” of life in the city, which is the most frequent environment where the vacation resident’s day-to-day routine takes place. Since Malinska, especially in the past, offered the possibility to find peace and to “slow down” the rapid rhythm of life in a natural environment, vacation residents recognised early this pull advantage. For the same reasons, it is understandable that the climatic attractions of Malinska for leisure and recreation were also highly ranked. Therefore, the push factor of escaping from the stressful everyday routine, and the pull factor of leisure and recreation in a peaceful, environmentally healthy, and climatically attractive environment was pointed out in over 50% of all answers to this question. The need to socialise, represented by the answers “children” (16.03% of all answers) and “socialising with friends and relatives” (10.90%) was also positioned highly in the initial motivation of vacation

izdvojena kao zasebna skupina, od 7 odgovora klasificiranih u skupinu “ostalo” ni jedan se nije odnosio na komercijalno-poduzetničke motive u stjecanju stana za odmor i rekreaciju (mogućnost iznajmljivanja, investiranje kapitala itd.), što nedvojbeno potvrđuje tezu o (još uvijek) naglašeno rekreacijski motiviranom vikendaštvu u priobalnom dijelu Hrvatske.

Rangiranjem triju odabranih odgovora ispitanici su potvrdili hijerarhiju motiva iskazanu već samom ukupnom brojnošću odgovora. Naime, prvorangirani (“važniji”) motivacijski faktori pri donošenju odluke o stjecanju vikendice i izboru Malinske kao njezine lokacije najčešće su i ukupno bili najzastupljeniji faktori, pa su ukupno nešto slabije zastupljene skupine faktora prilikom rangiranja vikendaši uglavnom isticali kao drugorangirane ili trećerangirane odgovore, što također govori u prilog tezi o prvenstvenom nastojanju zadovoljavanja potrebe za “mirom i tišinom” u prirodnom, ekološki čistom, klimatski ugodnom ambijentu obiteljske idile i zajedništva, što, dakako, implicira prevlast rekreacijsko-dokoličarskih ispred komercijalno-poduzetničkih motiva.

Ipak, u novije vrijeme sve se češće pojavljuju i ostali, “nedokoličarski”, motivi u vikendaškoj motivaciji, čime vikendaštvo i u Malinskoj, iz pionirske, rekreacijsko-dokoličarske, “potrošačke” faze, polako zalazi u “zrelu” fazu s kompleksnijom, “pluralističkom” strukturom vikendaške motivacije, koja u konačnici receptivna vikendaška područja pretvara podjednako u prostore potrošnje, ali i nove proizvodnje, odnosno stjecanja dobiti. Komercijalno-poduzetnički motivi zacijelo su zastupljeniji nego što to rezultati anketnog istraživanja pokazuju, jer valja uzeti u obzir činjenicu da ih dio vikendaša namjerno ne želi javno isticati (osobito ako iznajmljuju “na crno”) te da dobar dio vikendaša, za stjecanje nekretnine motiviran upravo takvim razlozima, nije bio u Malinskoj u vrijeme anketiranja (u njihovim stanovima za odmor i rekreaciju tada su boravili turisti ili njihovi “prijatelji i rođaci”), jer

residents to own holiday and recreational apartments in Malinska, which is also indirectly confirmed by the key push factor of alienation and the need for a less stressful, natural physical environment during a socially safe and warm family holiday. Next in line is the cheaper holiday motive (7.69% of all answers) as opposed to a holiday in commercial accommodation, and the plan to move to the second home after retirement (7.37%).

The other groups of motivational factors were significantly less represented. This primarily refers to the commercial-entrepreneurial motive of renting out rooms to tourists, which was stated by only 6 (out of 105) second home owners in Malinska. Although this was not highlighted as a separate group, out of 7 answers classified in the “other” group, none concerned commercial-entrepreneurial motives for purchasing a holiday and recreational apartment (opportunities to rent out, capital investment, etc.), which clearly corroborates the thesis of the (still) prominently recreationally motivated second home phenomenon on the Croatian littoral.

By ranking the three selected motives, the respondents confirmed the hierarchy of motives also shown by the total number of answers. The first ranked (“more important”) motivational factors for deciding to purchase a second home and selecting Malinska as the location were most frequently the most numerous total factors, so that second home owners marked the slightly less represented groups of factors as second-rank or third-rank answers, which also supports the thesis on primarily trying to meet the need for “peace and quiet” in a natural, environmentally clean environment with a pleasant climate, in an atmosphere of family and togetherness, which, of course, implies the predominance of recreational-leisure over commercial-entrepreneurial motives.

Nevertheless, nowadays other non-leisure motives also appear as part of the second home owners’ motivation, and, in this way, the second home phenomenon in Malinska is gradually changing

njihov motiv ne uključuje obavezan osobni boravak u receptivnom vikendaškom području čak ni u ljetnoj sezoni. Navedeni zaključci u velikoj se mjeri podudaraju sa zaključcima sličnog istraživanja vikendaške motivacije na otoku Viru (Miletić, Mišetić, 2006).

Većina anketiranih vikendaša (80 od 105; 76,19%), da ponovo može izabrati mjesto za posjedovanje vikendice, i danas bi izabrala Malinsku. Zanimljivo da najviše onih koji ne bi izabrali Malinsku dolaze “iz redova” “starih” vikendaša. Tako 18 od ukupno 25 ispitanika koji su negativno odgovorili na postavljeno pitanje o opetovanom izboru Malinske kao poželjne lokacije za posjedovanje stana za odmor i rekreaciju ulazi u skupinu “starih”, iskusnih malinskarskih vikendaša s osobnim vikendaškim iskustvom dužim od 20 godina. Nešto slabije favoriziranje Malinske od “starih” vikendaša nego od onih s manje “vikendaškoga staža” u Malinskoj može se objasniti činjenicom da je od vremena njihova donošenja odluke o izboru Malinske kao pogodne lokacije za odmor i rekreaciju u vlastitoj vikendici prošao duži niz godina, u kojem se i Malinska dolaskom novih vikendaša znatno promijenila, što je u dobroj mjeri uzdrmalo temelje njihove ondašnje vikendaške motivacije. S druge strane, “noviji” vikendaši prilikom biranja Malinske doživljavali su je u obliku sličnijem današnjemu, tj. nisu bili svjedoci kontinuiranih, u očima vikendaša nerijetko negativnih, promjena koje je naselje godinama proživljavalo (Tab. 4).

Od anketiranih vikendaša koji su izjavili kako – da danas ponovo biraju – ne bi izabrali Malinsku za mjesto svoje vikendice uvjerljivo ih najviše (18 od 37 odgovora) Malinsku više ne preferira zbog prevelikoga broja drugih vikendica koje negativno utječu na rekreacijski prostor i stanje okoliša u njemu. U navedenom vikendaškom nezadovoljstvu Malinskom, kao poželjnoj lokaciji vikendice, može se naslutiti i već opisani “sindrom posljednjega unutra” (*last in syndrome*), tj. “sebičnoj” želji očuvanja stanja koje je vikendaš zatekao u trenutku

from a recreational-leisure, “consumer” phase, into a “mature” stage with a more complex, “pluralistic” structure of motivations of second home owners, which, eventually, transforms receiving second home areas both into consumer areas and into new production or profit-making areas. Commercial-entrepreneurial motives are probably more numerous than is shown in the results of the survey, because these second home owners intentionally avoid mentioning these motives (especially if they rent their property without declaring it), and since a good portion of second home owners who had purchased real estate precisely with this motivation were not staying in Malinska at the time of the survey (tourists or “friends and relatives” were there at the time), because their motive does not assume their personal stay in the receiving second home area, even during the summer season. These conclusions to a large extent match the conclusions of a similar survey concerning the motivation of second home owners on the island of Vir (Miletić, Mišetić, 2006).

The majority of surveyed second home owners (80 out of 105 or 76.19%) stated that if they were again able to choose the place for a second home, they would again choose Malinska. Interestingly, most of those who would not choose Malinska came “from the ranks” of “old” second home owners. Thus, 18 out of a total of 25 respondents who gave a negative answer to the question concerning the repeated choice of Malinska as a desirable location to own a holiday and recreational apartment belonged to the group of “old”, experienced second home owners in Malinska, with an experience of over 20 years. The lower preference for Malinska by “old” second home owners compared to those with a shorter second home experience in Malinska may be explained by the fact that more time had gone by since the time they decided to choose Malinska as a suitable location for spending their holiday and recreation in their own second home, during which Malinska had changed significantly with the arrival of new second home owners, which, to a

stjecanja vikendice, kako s još većim brojem “novih” vikendaša ne bi trebao dijeliti svoj komfor, odnosno svoj “komad mora” i svoj djelić mira. I razlozi “protiv”, obuhvaćeni skupinom “ostalih razloga” (11 od 37 odgovora; odgovori ispitanika: “prevelika gužva”, “nedostatak kulturnih sadržaja”, “prevelika gradnja i prodaja Slovencima”, “promjena ekološke situacije nagore”), dobrim dijelom indirektno naglašavaju pretjeranu izgrađenost prostora i time inicirane negativne implikacije kao razloge nepreferiranja Malinske kao mjesta posjedovanja vikendice. Da posjedovati vikendicu postaje sve skuplje, što odbija malinskarske vikendaše od pomisli o ponovnom izboru Malinske za lokaciju vikendice, pokazuje i 5 od 37 odgovora “prevelika cijena redovitog održavanja”, kao i 1 odgovor “prevelik porez”. Valja, međutim, napomenuti da je sve veći broj vikendaša s dužim “vikendaškim stažom” u Malinskoj danas u mirovini, što znači da ih se sve više, zbog smanjenja prihoda, susreće s problemom održavanja vikendica i plaćanja režijskih troškova, koji postaju sve veći.

large extent, shook the foundations of their original second home motivation. On the other hand, when the “newer” second home owners were choosing Malinska, they experienced it in a form that was closer to what it is today, and so they have not witnessed continuous and, in the eyes of second home owners, often negative changes that the settlement has been experiencing for years (Table 4).

Out of the interviewed second home owners who stated that, if they had another choice today, they would not choose Malinska for a second home, a convincing majority (18 out of 37 answers) no longer prefer Malinska due to too many other second homes that have a negative impact on the recreational space and the environment there. It can be felt that the stated dissatisfaction with Malinska as a desirable location for a second home includes the “last-in syndrome”, or a “selfish” desire to preserve the situation that second home owners found when they purchased their second home, so that they would not have to

TABLICA 4. RAZLOZI ZBOG KOJIH VIKENDAŠI NE BI PONOVO IZABRALI MALINSKU KAO LOKACIJU SVOJE VIKENDICE¹³

TABLE 4. REASONS WHY SECOND HOME OWNERS WOULD NOT CHOOSE MALINSKA AGAIN AS A LOCATION FOR THEIR SECOND HOME¹³

RAZLOG PROTIV PONOVOG IZBORA MALINSKE ZA LOKACIJU VIKENDICE / REASON AGAINST CHOOSING MALINSKA AGAIN AS A SECOND HOME LOCATION	BROJ ODGOVORA / NUMBER OF ANSWERS	%
Prevelik broj drugih vikendica i ostalih objekata ne omogućuje dovoljno primjerenog okoliša za odmor / Too many other second homes and other facilities so that there is an insufficiently suitable environment for leisure	18	48,65
Ostalo / Other reasons	11	29,73
Prevelika cijena redovitog održavanja / Regular maintenance costs are too high	5	13,52
Loši odnosi s novim susjedima / Poor relationships with new neighbours	1	2,70
Prevelik porez / Taxes too high	1	2,70
Promjena obiteljskih interesa / Change of family interests	1	2,70
Ukupno / Total	37	100,00

OCJENA VIKENDAŠKIH FAKTORA PRIVLAČNOSTI MALINSKE OD STRANE STALNIH STANOVNIKA I VIKENDAŠA

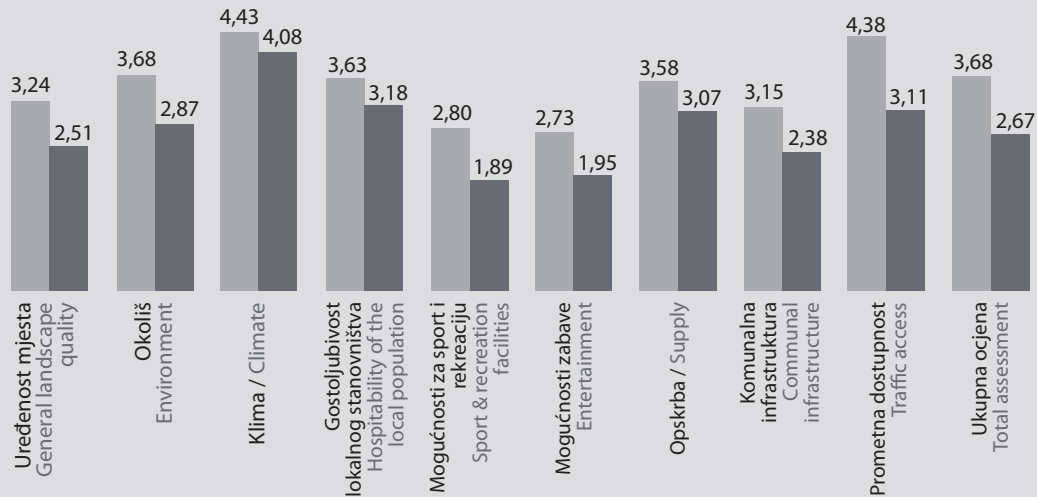
Kao što je već istaknuto, vikendaštvo, uz pokretačke motivacijske faktore determiniraju i faktori privlačnosti, odnosno rekreacijska atrakcijska osnova te ostali resursi receptivnoga vikendaškog područja, koji ključno utječu na izbor specifične lokacije za izgradnju/kupnju stana za odmor i rekreaciju. Ocjena rekreacijskih pogodnosti Malinske kao lokacije vikendice ilustrirana je prosječnom ocjenom zadovoljstva¹⁴ pojedinim elementima rekreacijske atrakcijske osnove u Malinskoj, dobivenih anketiranjem vikendaša i mještana (Sl. 2).

Od svih elemenata rekreacijskih, vikendaških, pogodnosti Malinske, najviše ocjene dobili su klima i prometna dostupnost. Dok kod klimatskih pogodnosti postoji konsenzus u zadovoljstvu stalnoga (prosječna ocjena zadovoljstva iznosi 4,08) i povremenoga stanovništva (4,43), kod prometne dostupnosti ocjene vikendaša (4,38) znatno su više od ocjena stalnoga stanovništva (3,11). Upravo navedeni detalj može se objasniti razlikama između ljetnog i cjelogodišnjeg iskustva u formiranju stavova, pa tako i njegovim kvantifikacijama. Naime, kako prometnu dostupnosti obje socijalne skupine sagledavaju i u kontekstu frekvencija javnih autobusnih linija, koje su znatno učestalije ljeti, cjelogodišnja (dakle zajedno sezonska i izvansezonska) prometna dostupnost Malinske ipak je bitno slabija od sezonske, pa je, shodno tome, i njezina ocjena mještana znatno niža nego od one vikendaša. Iznad ili na približnoj razini ukupne ocjene zadovoljstva (3,68 kod vikendaša, 2,67 kod "domaćih") ocijenjene su jedino još pogodnosti okoliša (3,68 kod vikendaša; 2,87 kod stalnih stanovnika), gostoljubivost lokalnoga stanovništva (3,63 kod vikendaša; 3,18 kod mještana) te opskrba (3,58 kod vikendaša; 3,07 kod domicilnoga stanovništva). Kategorije, od obje socijalne skupine, ocijenjene niže od ukupne

share their comfort, or their "piece of sea" and their bit of peace. The reasons "against" in the group of "other" reasons (11 out of 37 answers) included the answers "too crowded", "absence of cultural content", "too much construction and selling out to the Slovenians", "change of the environment for the worse". These answers to a large extent also indirectly stress the excessive construction of the space and the thus initiated negative implications as reasons for not preferring Malinska as a place to own a second home. The fact that owning a second home is becoming increasingly expensive, which is why second home owners refuse the idea of reselecting Malinska as a second home location, is shown by 5 out of 37 answers which state that "regular maintenance costs are too high", and by 1 answer that "taxes are too high". It should, however, be stressed that an increasing number of second home owners with longer second home experience in Malinska today are retired, which means that increasing numbers, due to a reduction in their income, face the problem of maintaining their second home and of paying constantly rising utility fees.

ASSESSMENT OF THE PULL FACTORS OF MALINSKA FOR OWNING A SECOND HOME BY THE LOCAL POPULATION AND SECOND HOME OWNERS

As has already been mentioned, the second home phenomenon, in addition to push motivation factors, is also determined by pull factors, based on the recreational attractions and other resources of the receiving second home area, which have a key impact on the choice of a specific location to build/purchase a holiday and recreational apartment. The assessment of the recreational attractions of Malinska as a second home location is marked by an average grade of satisfaction¹⁴ with particular elements of the recreational pull of Malinska, obtained by surveying second home owners and locals (Figure 2).

SLIKA 2. PROSJEČNE OCJENE ZADOVOLJSTVA STALNOGA STANOVNIŠTVA I VIKENDAŠA POJEDINIM POGODNOSTIMA MALINSKE KAO LOKACIJE ZA POSJEDOVANJE VIKENDICE
FIGURE 2. AVERAGE ASSESSMENT OF THE SATISFACTION OF THE LOCAL POPULATION AND SECOND HOME OWNERS WITH INDIVIDUAL ATTRactions OF MALINSKA AS A LOCATION FOR OWNING A SECOND HOME


ocjene vikendaških pogodnosti u Malinskoj bile su: generalna uređenost mjesta (3,24 kod vikendaša; 2,54 kod stalnih stanovnika), komunalna infrastruktura (3,15 kod vikendaša; 2,58 kod mještana) te najslabije ocijenjene: mogućnosti za sport i rekreaciju (2,80 kod vikendaša; 1,89 kod "domaćih") i mogućnosti zabave (2,73 kod vikendaša; 1,95 kod domicilnih stanovnika). Izrazito niske ocjene mogućnosti za sport i rekreaciju te mogućnosti zabave među stalnim stanovnicima rezultat su izražene sezonalnosti, jer mještani navedene potrebe iskazuju cijele godine, a ne samo u "živahnom" ljetu, kada se zbog povećane potražnje (lokalno stanovništvo, vikendaši, turisti) i ponuda navedenih sadržaja znatno obogaćuje. Ipak, niske ocjene vikendaša nedvojbeno sugeriraju manjak navedenih pogodnosti i u vrhu turističke/vikendaške sezone.

Of all the recreational, second home attractions of Malinska, climate and traffic access obtained the highest score. While there is consensus concerning satisfaction with the climatic attractions of the local (average score of satisfaction is 4.08) and the temporary population (4.43), in the area of traffic access, the second home owners' scores (4.38) are significantly higher than those of the local population (3.11). The latter detail might be explained by the different summer and whole year experience in shaping opinions, and by its quantification. Since both social groups see traffic access in the context of the frequency of public bus lines, which are much more frequent in the summer, the whole year round (thus, seasonal and out of season) traffic access to Malinska is significantly poorer than in the high season and, consequently, it was scored much lower by the locals than by second home owners. A higher score

Iz navedenih raspona prosječnih ocjena zadovoljstva pojedinim elementima rekreacijskih pogodnosti Malinske može se zaključiti da su prirodne datosti Malinske (npr. klima, kvaliteta okoliša) povoljnije ocijenjene među vikendaškim faktorima privlačnosti, dok na njezinim društvenim rekreacijskim pogodnostima (npr. zabava, mogućnosti za sport i aktivnu rekreaciju), kao i ostalim resursima važnima za razvoj vikendaštva (npr. komunalna infrastruktura), s iznimkom prometne dostupnosti, valja još dosta poraditi kako bi stupanj zadovoljstva i vikendaša i stalnih stanovnika dosegno zadovoljavajuću razinu.

Prirodne pogodnosti za odmor i rekreaciju (klima, more, vegetacija, mir) i prometna dostupnost, dva glavna faktora privlačnosti koji su motivirala vikendaše na stjecanje stana za odmor i rekreaciju u Malinskoj, iz rezultata anketiranja čelnika lokalne samouprave na otoku Krku mogu se prepoznati i kao ključni atrakcijski faktori koji su potaknuli razvoj vikendaštva i u ostalim krčkim općinama te u Gradu Krku. Načelnici krčkih općina i gradonačelnik Grada Krka na anketno pitanje: “Što je po Vašem mišljenju privuklo vikendaše na stjecanje vikendice upravo na području Vaše općine/grada?” kao odgovor mogli su izabrati 12 ponuđenih razloga, elemenata rekreacijske atrakcijske osnove, kao i ostalih resursa receptivnoga vikendaškog područja ili navesti neki nenabrojeni razlog kao otvorenu opciju. Svaki ispitanik imao je pravo izbora triju, po njegovu mišljenju, najvažnijih razloga. Rezultati su bili ovakvi: za “prirodne ljepote (klima, more, vegetacija, mir...)” te “prometnu dostupnost, tj. blizinu velikih gradova”, kao jedan od triju razloga vikendaške motivacije, opredijelilo se po pet čelnika lokalne samouprave, za “jeftino zemljište/nekretnine” njih trojica, za ponudene odgovore “opskrbljenost infrastrukturom” i “mogućnost iznajmljivanja” dvojica, a razloge poput “nasljedstvo zemljišta/nekretnina”, “kulturni sadržaji”, “opskrba” te “mentalitet domaćeg stanovništva” istaknuo je po jedan čelnik lokalnih vlasti. “Uređenost mjesta”, “lokalna

or one roughly equal to the total satisfaction score (3.68 with second home owners, 2.67 with the “locals”) were only the scores concerning the attractions of the environment (3.68 with second home owners; 2.87 with the local population), the hospitality of the local population (3.63 with second home owners; 3.18 with the locals) and supply (3.58 with second home owners; 3.07 with the local population). The categories that were scored lower than the total score of attractions for a second home in Malinska by both social groups were: general landscape quality of the town (3.24 by second home owners; 2.54 by the local population), communal infrastructure (3.15 by second home owners; 2.58 by locals), and the worst scored: sport and recreation facilities (2.80 by second home owners; 1.89 by the locals), and entertainment (2.73 by second home owners; 1.95 by the local population). The extremely low score given to sport and recreation facilities and entertainment among the local population is the result of prominent seasonality, because the locals have these needs all year long, and not only in the “lively” summer period, when, due to increased demand (from the local population, second-home owners, tourists), there is an enhanced supply of these contents. However, the low scores given by second home owners suggest that there is a lack of these attractions even in the peak of the tourist/second home season.

From this range of average scores of satisfaction with particular elements of the recreational attractions of Malinska, it can be concluded that the natural features of Malinska (for example, climate, scenic quality) score better among the pull factors for owning a second home, while substantial work must still be done on Malinska’s social and recreational attractions (such as entertainment, sports, and active recreation facilities), and on other resources important for the development of the second home phenomenon (such as communal infrastructure), leaving aside traffic access, for the degree of satisfaction of both second home owners and the local population to reach a satisfactory level.

politika” te “mogućnost ilegalne gradnje” bili su ponuđeni razlozi vikendaške motivacije koje nije odabrao ni jedan čelnik lokalne samouprave na otoku Krku.

ZAKLJUČAK

Za uočiti je kako su faktori postanka i razvoja vikendaštva u osnovi slični faktorima razvoja turizma, što još jedanput upućuje na bliskost ovih dvaju fenomena. Međutim, sama odluka o posjedovanju nekretnine po svojoj je prirodi neusporedivo “teža” te podrazumijeva naglašeniju teritorijalizaciju (ukorjenjivanje) u željeni receptivni prostor od odluke da se ostvari turističko putovanje. Upravo stoga subjektivni pokretački faktori osjetno su “dublji” i složeniji nego kad je riječ o turizmu. Očekivano, objektivni pokretački faktori, kao i faktori privlačnosti vikendaštva, u većoj su mjeri podudarni s turističkim faktorima privlačnosti, iako su i kod njih zamjetne manje distinkcije (npr. veća prevaga prirodnih pogodnosti (atrakcija) nad društvenim (antropogenim) u vikendaškom, tj. rekreacijskom, vrednovanju prostora, naglašenija važnost ostalih resursa receptivnoga područja nego u slučaju turizma, što se može objasniti jačom teritorijalizacijom sekundarnoga stanovanja od turizma itd.).

Istraživanje je potvrdilo pretpostavku da je pojava i razvoj vikendaštva u priobalnom dijelu Hrvatske i u današnje vrijeme slobodnoga tržišta izraz u prvom redu potrebe za pronalaskom mira i tišine te stvaranja mjesta obiteljskog okupljanja, koju je najpoželjnije zadovoljiti u prirodnom ambijentu, s ugodnom klimom obalnoga receptivnog naselja, koje je, uz to, i razmjerno blizu mjesta stalnoga prebivališta te je prometno dostupno kvalitetnim prometnicama i adekvatno opskrbljeno komunalnom infrastrukturom i uslugama.

Prvenstveno zbog naglašenih prirodnih pogodnosti, ponajprije klime, te dobre prometne povezanosti Malinska se i afirmirala kao jedno od

The natural attractions for leisure and recreation (climate, sea, vegetation, peace) and traffic accessibility, two major pull factors that motivated second home owners to purchase a holiday and recreational apartment in Malinska, from the results of the survey of the heads of local authorities on the island of Krk, may also be recognised as the key pull factors that triggered the development of the second home phenomenon in other municipalities of Krk and in the Town of Krk. The heads of municipalities on Krk and the mayor of the Town of Krk, when answering the question: “What, in your opinion, attracted second home owners to purchase a second home precisely in the area of your municipality/town?” could choose among 12 answers, elements of the recreational pull, as well as other resources of the receiving second home area, or they could give as an open answer a reason that was not among the offered options. Each respondent had the right to select three of the most important reasons in his or her opinion. The results were as follows: five heads of local authorities chose “natural resources (climate, sea, vegetation, peace...)” and “traffic accessibility, or the vicinity of large cities”, as one of the three reasons for the motivation of second home owners; three of them chose “cheap land/real estate”; two selected the answers “supply of infrastructure” and “renting opportunities”; and reasons such as “inheritance of land/real estate”, “cultural contents”, “supply” and “the mentality of the local population” were chosen by one head of a local authority. “Total landscape quality”, “local policy” and “an opportunity to build without permits” were among the offered reasons for the motivation of second home owners, which were not chosen by any of the heads of local authorities on the island of Krk.

CONCLUSION

It should be noted that the factors of origin and development of the second home phenomenon are generally similar to the factors of the development of tourism, which once again points

najpoželjnijih hrvatskih obalnih naselja u kontekstu sekundarnoga stanovanja, što je zbog pretjerane brojnosti vikendica i izgrađenosti prostora u današnje vrijeme rezultiralo i nekim negativnim prostornim posljedicama i procesima, opasnim u daljnjem razvitku naselja i njegova gospodarstva. Upravo je pretjerana brojnost stanova za odmor i rekreaciju glavni faktor odbojnosti Malinske tamošnjim vikendašima da danas donose odluku o lokaciji vikendice.

Odgovori malinskarskih vikendaša o uobičajenom broju korisnika vikendica, kao i hijerarhiji važnosti faktora koji su najviše utjecali na odluku vikendaša o stjecanju vikendice u Malinskoj, odnosno koji ih danas najviše motiviraju na boravak u vikendici potvrđuju radnu hipotezu istraživanja da je posjedovanje vikendice u hrvatskom priobalju i u današnjim uvjetima slobodnoga tržišta nekretnina prvenstveno motivirano rekreacijsko-dokoličarskim, dakle potrošačkim, a ne proizvodnim motivima.

Ipak, realno je očekivati da će s daljnjim približavanjem Hrvatske Europskoj uniji, osobito u pogledu liberalizacije tržišta nekretnina za državljane Unije, sve izraženiji međunarodni karakter vikendaštva u hrvatskom priobalju (uz slovenske vikendaše “pristigle” još u vrijeme bivše Jugoslavije, sve je više Nijemaca, Austrijanaca, Britanaca, Mađara, Talijana, dakle ujedno i najzastupljenijih stranih turista u Hrvatskoj) nesumnjivo povećati važnost komercijalno-poduzetničke motivacije prilikom stjecanja stanova za odmor i rekreaciju na hrvatskoj obali i otocima.

to the closeness of these two phenomena. However, the very decision to own real estate is much “more difficult” by nature, and implies a more prominent territorialisation (enrooting) in a desired receiving area than is the decision to set off on a tourist journey. Precisely for this reason, subjective push factors are significantly “deeper” and more complex than in tourism. As expected, the objective push factors and the pull factors for owning a second home correspond to a large extent to the pull factors in tourism, although minor distinctions can be observed here, too (for example, the greater weight of natural attractions over social (anthropogenic) ones in the second home or recreational evaluation of space, and more importance is given to other resources in the receiving area than is the case in tourism, which may be explained by stronger territorialisation in secondary dwelling than in tourism, etc.).

The research confirmed the hypothesis that the origin and development of the second home phenomenon on the littoral part of Croatia in the current free market age is primarily an expression of the need to find peace and tranquillity, and to create a place for bringing the family together, which may best be met in a natural environment, with the pleasant climate of a coastal receiving settlement, which is also relatively close to the second home owner’s place of permanent residence, with good traffic connections on good quality roads and suitably supplied with communal infrastructure and services.

Primarily due to its prominent natural attractions, especially the climate, and good traffic connections, Malinska has established itself as one of the most desirable Croatian coastal settlements in the context of secondary dwelling, which, due to the exaggerated number of second homes and building up of the environment, has led to negative spatial consequences and processes, which represent a threat to the further development of the settlement and its economy. The excessive number of holiday and recreational apartments is, in fact, the main factor that repels second home

BILJEŠKE

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; 2009a; 2009c; 2010; Opačić, Mikačić, 2009; Slavuj i dr. 2009). Intervjuiranjem čelnika lokalnih vlasti na otoku Krku te anketiranjem vikendaša i stalnoga 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, nitko od šestorice načelnika krčkih općina, kao ni gradonačelnik Grada Krka, te ni jedan od ispitanika u Malinskoj, pri spomenu pojma “vikendaštvo” nije reagirao s određenom rezervom ostavljajući dojam da mu je sadržaj pojma nepoznat. Stoviše, jedan od načelnika općina čak ga je prilikom intervjuiranja i samoinicijativno prvi upotrijebio.

² 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” neće 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).

³ Čim se uz pojam “dom” sve češće pridružuje pridjev “prvi”, jasno je da se nešto s tradicionalnim pojmom doma “dogaća”. Usprkos tradicionalnom shvaćanju da se “samo jedno mjesto na svijetu zove dom”, njegova dominacija u odnosu na “drugi”, “dručkiji”, “mnogostruki dom” više nije toliko neupitna. Ako je uistinu dom samo jedan, čemu onda za njega vezati pridjeve “prvi” ili “drugi”? Iz navedenoga proizlazi da se u novije vrijeme identitet povezan s fenomenom doma sve više ostvaruje kroz boravak na više od jednog mjesta, odnosno fizičke lokacije.

⁴ Pojmovi “emitivno i receptivno vikendaško područje/regija” prilagođeni su hrvatskoj turističko-

owners today from choosing Malinska once more as a location for their second home.

The answers of second home owners in Malinska to the question about the usual number of users of their second homes, and on the hierarchy of the importance of factors which had the greatest impact on their decision to purchase a second home in Malinska, or which today motivate them most to stay in their second home, confirm the working hypothesis of the research that owning a second home on the Croatian littoral and in the conditions of today’s free real estate market is primarily motivated by recreational-leisure, or consumer, and not production motives.

However, it can realistically be expected that as Croatia approaches the European Union, especially in terms of the liberalisation of the real estate market for citizens of the Union, the growing international character of the second home phenomenon on the Croatian littoral (in addition to Slovenian second home owners who arrived at the time of former Yugoslavia, there are growing numbers of Germans, Austrians, Britons, Hungarians, Italians, in other words, those who are also the most numerous foreign tourists in Croatia) will undoubtedly increase the importance of the commercial-entrepreneurial motivation for purchasing holiday and recreation apartments on the Croatian coast and islands.

NOTES

¹ When looking for a suitable term to describe in one word the phenomenon of secondary recreational dwelling as a common noun, the conclusion was drawn that such a term does not exist in Croatian dictionaries. It seems that the term “*vikendaštvo*” could well make up for this absence, because it is understandable and clear as soon as it is met, and, at the same time, it follows the word formation tradition of the Croatian language. The term “*vikendaštvo*” describes the second home phenomenon (holiday and recreational housing units), or the secondary dwelling

geografskoj terminologiji (usporediti s pojmovima “emitivna i receptivna turistička regija/područje”). Izvorne, engleske, termine *exporting second home region* (u slobodnom prijevodu “emitivno vikendaško područje/regija”) i *importing second home region* (u slobodnom prijevodu “receptivno turističko područje/regija”), ovisno o tome je li riječ o povećanju broja stanova za odmor i rekreaciju ili povećanju broja njihovih vlasnika, uveo je Rogers (1977). Istražujući obilježja sekundarnog stanovanja u Engleskoj i Walesu, istaknuo je da emitivna vikendaška područja (npr. Englesku) obilježava povećanje standarda i broja stanovnika te veća platežna moć i više cijene nekretnina, a receptivna (npr. Wales) ekonomsko nazadovanje i depopulacija te manja platežna moć i niže cijene nekretnina. Dakle, emitivno vikendaško područje (*exporting region*) označuje prostor koncentracije stalnih prebivališta vlasnika vikendica, dok se receptivno vikendaško područje (*importing region*) odnosi na prostor koncentracije samih vikendica (Opačić, 2005; 2008a).

⁵ U Malinskoj je ljeti 2003. godine provedeno neposredno anketno istraživanje lokalnoga stanovništva (domaćinstva) i vikendaša. Između 28. i 30. 3. 2007. anketno su ispitani i načelnici svih općina na otoku Krku (Baška, Dobrinj, Malinska-Dubašnica, Omišalj, Punat, Vrbnik), kao i gradonačelnik Grada Krka. 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 podacima 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 nužno 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. Anketni uzorak obuhvatio je 51 muškarca i 54 žene, vlasnice vikendica u Malinskoj. Prevladavala je starija vikendaška populacija, pa je 44,76% ispitanih bilo starije od 60 godina, njih 40% imalo je između 41 i 60 godina, 13,33% 20-40 godina, a samo 1,91% anketiranih bilo je mlade ili je navršilo 20 godina. Obrazovna struktura anketiranih vikendaša u Malinskoj potvrdila je pretpostavku da vikendaši, u svijetu i u Hrvatskoj, najčešće dolaze iz redova obrazovnijega stanovništva, koje više osjeća potrebu, ali i češće ima financijske mogućnosti, upustiti se u pothvat izgradnje ili kupnje stanova za odmor i rekreaciju. Tako je obrazovnu strukturu ispitanika s obzirom na stručnu spremu činilo 39 osoba s visokom stručnom spremom (VSS), 27 ispitanika s

phenomenon. It may describe second homes as a widespread phenomenon and an organised activity of vacational residents, or the totality of all phenomena and processes related to the terms “holiday home” “leisure and recreation facility”, “second home” and “secondary (temporary) dwelling” (Opačić, 2008a; 2008b; 2009a; 2009c; 2010; Opačić, Mikačić, 2009; Slavuj et al. 2009). When interviewing the heads of local authorities on the island of Krk, and surveying vacational residents and the domicile population in Malinska, their understanding of the term “*vikendaštvo*” in everyday speech was directly “examined”. It is interesting that, although the word “*vikendaštvo*” does not appear in Croatian dictionaries, none of the six heads of municipalities in Krk, or the mayor of the Town of Krk, and none of the respondents in Malinska reacted with reservations at the mention of the term “*vikendaštvo*” or left the impression that they did not know what this term meant. Moreover, one head of a municipality even used it himself on his own initiative during the interview.

² The term “second home” in this paper implies all housing units for leisure and recreation/secondary dwelling, which appear in the form of a house and in the form of an apartment, and which are used either at weekends and brief holidays, or for longer stays, and which are used for leisure and recreation, or for commercial purposes. This means that in this paper the concept of “second home” will not refer to the type of object according to its morphological characteristics, but to its recreational function, regardless of whether it refers to a housing unit in the form of a house or in the form of a flat (apartment).

³ When the adjective “first” becomes more and more frequently adjoined to the term “home”, it becomes clear that something is “happening” to the traditional concept of home. In spite of the traditional understanding that “only one place in the world may be called home”, its predominance in comparison with the “second”, “different”, “multiple” home can no longer be taken for granted. If there is truly only one home, then why collocate it with the adjectives “first” or “second”? It may be concluded from this that in more recent times the identity connected with the home concept has been increasingly shaped by staying in more than one place, or physical location.

⁴ The terms “emitting and receiving second home area/region” have been adjusted to the Croatian tourism-geographical terminology (cf. the terms “emitting and receiving tourism region/area”). The original, English terms *exporting second home region* and *importing second home region*, depending on whether it means a growth in the number of holiday and recreational apartments, or an increase in the number of their owners, was introduced by Rogers (1977). By studying the characteristics of secondary

višom stručnom spremom (VŠS), 32 anketirana sa srednjom stručnom spremom (SSS) te samo 7 vikendaša s niskom stručnom spremom (NSS). Dakle, ispitani vikendaši u Malinskoj postignutim stupnjem obrazovanja iznad su prosjeka hrvatskoga stanovništva u cjelini, kao i stalnih žitelja Malinske. Uzorak od ukupno 105 vlasnika vikendica pokazao se relativno stratificiran s obzirom na vrijeme (godine) posjedovanja stana za odmor i rekreaciju u Malinskoj. Od 105 ispitanih vikendaša, njih 28 posjedovalo je vikendicu do najviše 5 godina, njih 10 od 6 do 10 godina, njih 14 od 11 do 20 godina, njih 26 od 21 do 30 godina, dok je 27 vikendaša svoje odgovore temeljilo na više od 30 godina vikendaškoga “staža” u Malinskoj.

⁶ Valja pažljivo promotriti i motive za neposjedovanje vikendice. Ogorelec (1976), osvrnuvši se na istraživanje u Belgiji, iznio je podatak da dvije trećine tamošnjih obitelji koje ne posjeduju vikendicu nju i ne žele posjedovati. Kao glavne motive za takav stav naveo je: posjedovanje kuće/stana za stalno stanovanje na selu, premalo slobodna vremena, preskupa cijena vikendica (i kupnje i održavanja), preferiranje drugih oblika rekreacije, odbojnost provođenja slobodna vremena na istom mjestu. U kontekstu iznesenog, može se zaključiti da posjedovanje vikendice nije želja, cilj ili san svih onih koji je nemaju, nego da postoji i znatan dio stanovništva koji vikendicu iz raznih razloga i ne želi posjedovati.

⁷ Jeršič (1968) faktore postanka i prostorne distribucije vikendaštva svrstava u dvije slične kategorije s ponešto drukčijim nazivima. Faktore koji se pojavljuju još u emitivnom vikendaškom području i koji određuju donošenje odluke o stjecanju vikendice Jeršič naziva “inicijalnim faktorima” (u ovome radu ta grupa faktora naziva se “pokretačkim faktorima”), dok faktore koji definiraju izbor specifične lokacije vikendice unutar receptivnoga područja zove “disperznim faktorima” (u ovom radu “faktori privlačnosti”). Iako je današnja vikendaška motivacija određena znatno složenijim razlozima, pa je analogno tome i klasifikacija faktora koji određuju postanak i razvoj vikendaštva znatno kompleksnija i potpunija, još je Jeršičev rad upozorio na sličnosti između faktora koji utječu na postanak i razvoj vikendaštva i turizma.

⁸ U suvremenom društvu obilježenom posvemašnjim gubitkom identiteta, vikendica se često doživljava kao uporište osobnog i obiteljskog identiteta. Zbog sputanosti u zadanim “kalupima” radnog okruženja ili iznajmljenog stana, vikendica je često mjesto iskazivanja pojedinačne kreativnosti kroz kreativan rad (projektiranje, dograđivanje, uređivanje interijera i okućnice itd.), čime se vlasnik/korisnik vikendice samoostvaruje i jača vlastiti osjećaj posebnosti, odnosno identiteta (Jarlöv, 2001). Istodobno, kreativnim radom u prirodnom okruženju

dwelling in England and Wales, he stressed that exporting second home areas (such as England) are marked by an increase in the standard of living and population, and by the higher purchasing power and higher prices of real estate, while receiving ones (such as Wales) are marked by economic regression and depopulation and a lower purchasing power and lower prices of real estate. Therefore, an exporting second home region defines a space where there is a concentration of permanent residences of second home owners, while an importing region refers to the space of concentration of second homes (Opačić, 2005; 2008a).

⁵ In the summer of 2003, a direct survey was conducted in Malinska on the local population (households) and second home owners. Between 28 and 30 March 2007, the heads of all the municipalities on the island of Krk (Baška, Dobrinj, Malinska-Dubašnica, Omišalj, Punat, and Vrbnik) were surveyed, as well as the mayor of the Town of Krk. The surveying of the local population and of second home owners was conducted by using the systematic random sampling method with smaller divergences, and it covered 61 out of 584 permanently occupied apartments in Malinska, recorded through the 2001 population census, and 105 out of 1,046 housing units in Malinska whose owners, according to the then current internal data of the Municipality of Malinska-Dubašnica, had their permanent residence registered outside the island of Krk. Since second homes are a form of temporarily used housing unit, when researching the views of different social groups, on the side of the “locals” it was necessary to form the sample on the basis of permanently occupied apartments, and not on the basis of the permanent population. The sample in both categories covered somewhat over 10% of the total contingent of analysed housing units. The survey sample covered 51 men and 54 women, owners of second homes in Malinska. The older population of second home owners prevailed, thus 44.76% of respondents were older than 60, 40% were between 41 and 60, 13.33% were 20-40, and only 1.91% of respondents were younger than, or had just turned 20. The educational structure of the respondent second home owners in Malinska confirmed the assumption that second home owners, both in the world and in Croatia, mostly come from the more educated population, who feel a stronger need, and often have the financial means, to build or purchase a holiday and recreational apartment. Thus, the educational structure in terms of qualifications consisted of 39 persons with a university degree, 27 respondents with a college degree, 32 persons with a secondary-school certificate, and only 7 second home owners who had completed only primary school. Therefore, the respondent second home owners in Malinska were above the average of the total Croatian population and of the permanent residents of Malinska in terms of academic achievement.

vlasnik/korisnik vikendice obnavlja svoj bliski dodir s prirodom (npr. osjećaj za godišnja doba kroz godišnji raspored aktivnosti u vrtu ili voćnjaku), koji se u gradu često (nehotice) zanemaruje. Dakle, kreativni, hobistički rad nikako se ne smije shvaćati kao izvor psihičkoga napora i stresa, nego kao oblik voljnoga ponašanja, rekreacije, koji obnavlja psihofizičko stanje pojedinca, istodobno mu jačajući osobni/obiteljski identitet.

⁹ Osobito jak emotivni odnos javlja se prema objektima koji su nekada služili za stalno stanovanje članova obitelji današnjih vikendaša. Primjerice, kada se djeca presele iz roditeljskoga doma na školovanje ili posao u grad i u njemu se na kraju stalno nastane, nakon smrti roditelja roditeljski dom često zadobiva značenje vikendice, starine, mjesta obiteljskih korijena obilježenog snažnim osobnim i obiteljskim identitetom potkrijepljenim iskustvenim doživljajem pohranjenom u “banku sjećanja”, prema kojoj emotivni odnos nekada stanovnika, a danas vikendaša, može biti silno jak. Međutim, kako je riječ o prenamjeni objekta iz kuće za stalno stanovanje u vikendicu, ona se često ne nalazi na, za vikendaše, manje poželjnim lokacijama za preferirane rekreacijske aktivnosti ili na prevelikoj udaljenosti od mjesta stalnoga stanovanja, pa se mnogi vikendaši – bez obzira na jak emotivni odnos, razvijene socijalne veze i zavičajne korijene – odlučuju za prodaju svoje starine, a vikendaške potrebe zadovoljavaju na nekoj drugoj lokaciji po svojem izboru (Jansson, Müller, 2004).

¹⁰ Iako mnogi vikendaši prilikom početne motivacije o stjecanju vikendice ne razmišljaju o svojoj investiciji kao možebitnom “domu za stare dane”, takve ideje znaju se pojaviti i s godinama. U radnom dijelu života, vikendice im služe i kao sredstvo ukorjenjivanja u receptivno područje, koje u umirovljeničkim danima postaje presudan faktor u odluci o promjeni prebivališta i tajnom preseljenju u nekadašnju vikendicu.

¹¹ Ispitivanje broja korisnika stanova za odmor nerijetko nije naišlo na odobravanje samih vlasnika. Opće je poznata, naime, činjenica da i oni vlasnici vikendica kojima uistinu stan za odmor i rekreaciju služi za zadovoljavanje vlastitih rekreacijsko-dokoličarskih potreba često službeno ne prijavljuju korisnike svoje vikendice radi izbjegavanja plaćanja boravišne pristojbe, koju su prema zakonu dužni plaćati svi korisnici vikendica u Malinskoj između 15. lipnja i 15. rujna po danu boravka u vikendici. Osim toga, dio se vikendica nesumnjivo rabi i za iznajmljivanje “na crno”, što su, razumljivo, njihovi vlasnici nastojali prikriti, pa su prilikom anketiranja isticali broj korisnika vikendice ponekad i osjetno manji od stvarnog.

¹² Postoci su udio pojedinog odgovora u ukupnom broju svih odgovora. Svaki ispitanik imao je mogućnost izabrati

The sample of a total of 105 second home owners was relatively stratified in terms of time (years) of ownership of a holiday and recreational apartment in Malinska. Out of the 105 second home owner respondents, 28 had been in possession of a second home for up to 5 years, 10 from 6 to 10 years, 14 from 11 to 20 years, 26 from 21 to 30 years, while 27 second home owners based their answers on over 30 years of second home experience in Malinska.

⁶ The motives to own a second home must be carefully viewed. Ogorelec (1976), referring to research in Belgium, presented the fact that two-thirds of families there who do not own a second home do not wish to own one. The chief motives of this view were stated as follows: ownership of a house/apartment for permanent residence in a rural area; not enough free time; costs of a second home are too high (both to purchase and to maintain; preference for other forms of recreation; refusal to spend free time always in one place. In this context, it may be concluded that owning a second home is not a desire, aim or dream of all those who do not own one, and a significant part of the population exists who, for different reasons, do not wish to own a second home.

⁷ Jeršič (1968) divides the factors of the origin and spatial distribution of the second home phenomenon into two similar categories with slightly different names. Jeršič calls the factors that occur in the emitting second home area, and which determine the decision on purchasing a second home, “initial factors” (in this paper, this group of factors are called “push factors”), while he calls the factors that define the choice of a specific location for a second home within the receiving area “dispersive factors” (in this paper “pull factors”). Although the current motivation for the second home phenomenon is defined by significantly more complex reasons, and, analogous to this, the classification of factors determining the origin and development of the second home phenomenon are significantly more complex and comprehensive, Jeršič’s work pointed to the similarities between the factors that have an impact on the origin and development of the second home phenomenon and on tourism.

⁸ In contemporary society, marked by an utter loss of identity, a second home is often seen as a stronghold of personal and family identity. Due to the restrictions of the set “moulds” consisting of the working environment and a rented flat, a second home is often a place for expressing an individual’s creativity through creative work (planning, building extensions, interior decoration, landscaping gardens, etc.) through which the owner/user of the second home achieves self-realisation and strengthens his or her own feeling of being special, or of identity (Jarlov, 2001). Simultaneously, by doing creative work in a natural

maksimalno tri od deset ponuđenih odgovora te ih rangirati prema važnosti.

¹³ Postoji su udio pojedinog odgovora u ukupnom broju svih odgovora. Svaki ispitanik imao je mogućnost izabrati maksimalno tri od osam ponuđenih odgovora te ih rangirati prema važnosti. Ponudene odgovore “nedostatak slobodnog vremena za češću upotrebu vikendice” i “prevelika udaljenost od mjesta stalnog prebivališta” nije izabrao ni jedan ispitanik.

¹⁴ Prosječna ocjena zadovoljstva pojedinim elementima pogodnosti Malinske kao lokacije vikendice dobivena je tako da se verbalnom obilježju (“odlično”, “vrlo dobro”, “dobro”, “zadovoljavajuće”, “nezadovoljavajuće”) dodavalo adekvatno numeričko obilježje ranga (“odlično” = 5 bodova, “vrlo dobro” = 4 boda, “dobro” = 3 boda, “zadovoljavajuće” = 2 boda, “nezadovoljavajuće” = 1 bod). Na taj način pretvorene su se vrijednosti zbrojile i podijelile s brojem ispitanika vikendaške populacije (105), odnosno populacije stalnoga stanovništva (61) u Malinskoj.

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environment, the owner/user of the second home renews his or her close contact with nature (such as the sense of changing seasons through an annual schedule of activities in the garden or orchard), which is often (unintentionally) neglected in the city. Therefore, creative hobby activities can in no way be understood as a source of psychological effort and stress, but as a form of voluntary behaviour, recreation, which renews the psychological state of an individual, at the same time enhancing his or her personal/family identity.

⁹ A particularly strong emotional relationship is created towards buildings which used to be the permanent residence of the family members of today's second home owner. For example, when children move out of the parents' home to go to university or to work in the city, and eventually decide to stay there permanently after their parents' death, their family home often gains the meaning of a second home, an old relic, a place where the family roots are, which is marked by a strong personal and family identity supported by the experiences saved in the “memory bank”, according to which the emotional relationship of former residents, and today's second home owners, may be extremely strong. However, if the building has been transformed from a house for permanent residence into a second home, it is often situated in less desirable locations for the second home owners to engage in their preferred recreational activities, or is too far from the place of permanent residence. Therefore many second home owners – in spite of a strong emotional attachment, well-developed social connections and birthplace roots – decide to sell their old relics, and satisfy their vacational needs in another location of their choice (Jansson, Müller, 2004).

¹⁰ Although many second home owners do not think about their investment in terms of a possible “home for old age” when they consider their initial motivation, such ideas can come with age. In the working part of their life, second homes are used as a means of setting their roots in the receiving area, which in retirement can become a decisive factor in deciding to change residence and permanently move into the former second home.

¹¹ Questions about the number of users of holiday and recreation apartments were often met with disapproval by the owners. The reason for this is the well-known fact that even those second home owners who really use their holiday and recreation apartment to meet their own recreational-leisure needs often do not declare the users of their second home to avoid paying the tourist tax, which is by law obligatory for all users of second homes in Malinska between 15 June and 15 September per day of stay in the second home. In addition to this, some of the second homes are certainly illegally rented out, which their

owners, of course, try to conceal, and, therefore, they sometimes stated a substantially lower number of second home users for the survey than is the case in reality.

¹² The percentages are the share of an individual answer in the total number of all answers. Each respondent was given the opportunity to choose a maximum of three out of ten given answers, and to rank them according to their importance.

¹³ The percentages are the share of an individual answer in the total number of all answers. Each respondent was given the opportunity of choosing a maximum of three out of eight given answers and to rank them according to their importance. The offered answers “lack of free time to use the second home more frequently” and “too far from the place of permanent residence” were not selected by any respondents.

¹⁴ The average assessment of satisfaction with individual elements of the attraction of Malinska as a location for a second home was obtained in such a way that the verbal characteristics (“excellent”, “very good”, “good”, “satisfactory”, “unsatisfactory” were given a numerical ranking (“excellent” = 5 points, “very good” = 4 points, “good” = 3 points, “satisfactory” = 2 points, “unsatisfactory” = 1 point). In this way, the transformed scores were added up and divided by the number of respondents in the second home owners’ population (105), and the permanent resident population in Malinska (61).

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