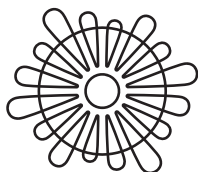


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DIACHRONIC ANALYSIS TO DETECT AND MONITOR BARCHAN DUNE MIGRATION IN AIN SALAH (ALGERIA)

DIJAKRONIJSKA ANALIZA U OTKRIVANJU I PRAĆENJU MIGRACIJE BARHANE U AIN SALAHU (ALŽIR)

ABDELHAFID BOUZEKRI

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The aim of this work is to analyse deposit patterns and their effect on urban and agricultural areas in Ain Salah region in southern Algeria. A supervised classification of Landsat images over a 13-year period (2005, 2009, 2013 and 2017) was applied to create land cover maps which were used for a spatiotemporal monitoring of barchan migration by dune feature changes. The results show that sand dunes covered area increased between 2005 and 2017 with direction movements from northeast to southwest and represents the potential of using time series imagery for a better understanding of dune migration and sand encroachment.

KEY WORDS: Landsat, multi-date, barchans, migration, Ain Salah

Cilj ovoga rada je analizirati uzorke depozita i njihov učinak na urbana i poljoprivredna područja u regiji Ain Salah u južnom Alžiru. U istraživanju je provedena nadzirana klasifikacija Landsat snimaka u razdoblju od trinaest godina (2005.; 2009.; 2013. i 2017.) radi izrade karata zemljišnog pokrova koje su korištene za prostorno-vremensko praćenje migracije bahrana kroz praćenje obilježja dina. Rezultati pokazuju da se područje prekriveno pješčanim dinama povećalo između 2005. i 2017. godine sa smjerom kretanja od sjeveroistoka prema jugozapadu te da primjena niza vremenskih snimaka omogućuje bolje razumijevanje migracije dina i prodiranja pijeska.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: Landsat, vremenski niz, bahrane, migracija, Ain Salah

INTRODUCTION

Sand dune movement is considered as one of the most serious environmental and socio-economic problems. In Algeria, nearly 20 million hectares are threatened by wind erosion. For a long time, the phenomenon of wind erosion and its adverse effects on environment presented a serious difficulty, especially in the arid areas of the country (BENSAID, 2006).

Ain Salah region suffers from barchan dune migration and sand encroachment over urban and agricultural areas due to wind corridors coming from northeast and bringing particles of sand from the Grand Erg Oriental.

Barchan dunes move according to a unidirectional-wind mechanism, while the amount of available sand for wind transportation causes the difference between their shape and size. Barchans are isolated mounds of sand, formed in limited sand supply areas that overlie coarse sand or non-sandy surfaces (Tsoar, 2001). Barchans usually do not stay isolated but belong to rather large fields (Lettau, Lettau, 1969).

Yohannes et al. (2021) showed that remote sensing techniques were useful to evaluate the response of hydrological ecosystem services to structural landscape changes. Multi-temporal Landsat satellite data were used to understand the drivers of land use and land cover changes which are often monitored and quantified using remote sensing imagery. Landsat data and geospatial techniques were very effective to quantify the channel characteristics of the Ganges system in Bangladesh during 38 years including the volume of erosion and deposition (Dewan et al., 2017). Annayat, Sil (2020) combined Landsat images with the statistical model ARIMA to investigate the morphometric parameters and temporal shifting of the Barak river in India which obtained good results of the synoptic view of the river course over the study period. Dewan et al. (2012) used landscape metrics derived from satellite data to map the dynamics of land cover and land use changes and the quantification of landscape patterns.

Remote sensing imagery played an important role in the analysis of barchan dune fields. The use of remote sensing started with the first stud-

ies on mapping and classifying sand dunes (McKee, 1979). Change detection technique is one of the most useful applications of remote sensing. Change detection includes multi-temporal data application in order to specify the regions in which land cover and use changed considering various times of imaging (Rabiei, 2005).

DATA AND METHODS

Description of the study area

The study area presented in Figure 1 is located in the south of Algeria in Tamanrasset county and covers an area of approximately 937 km², at 28°:5' to 25°:16' in latitude and from 2° to 4°: 10' in longitude.

The climate of the region is arid Saharan climate, cold in winter, hot and dry in summer. The yearly average of precipitation ranges between 2.86-0.95. Generally speaking, this region remains dry most of the year. The average temperature ranges from 46.09 °C in summer and 27.27 °C in winter. Physiographically, this area is characterized by a low relief with an average of 300 m in altitude and is composed of three types of relief; Tadmit Plateau in the northern side, Tidikelt Plain in the middle and Adrar Nahenet Mountains in the south with a predominantly sandy soil texture.

The wind speed and direction data were collected from the Algerian Meteorological National Office over a period of 10 years (from 2008 to 2018) at 10 meters above ground level. The northeast direction represents 32% of wind frequencies when the monthly average speed was higher in July and August and reached its maximum in August, as well as the number of days where the maximum wind speed was over 6.59 ms⁻¹.

Remotely sensed data

Multi-date dataset of satellite imagery of Landsat images was used to understand and analyse the barchans displacement trend and dynamics; for better results, images were taken in the same season over a period of 13 years (2005-2017); these images were obtained from

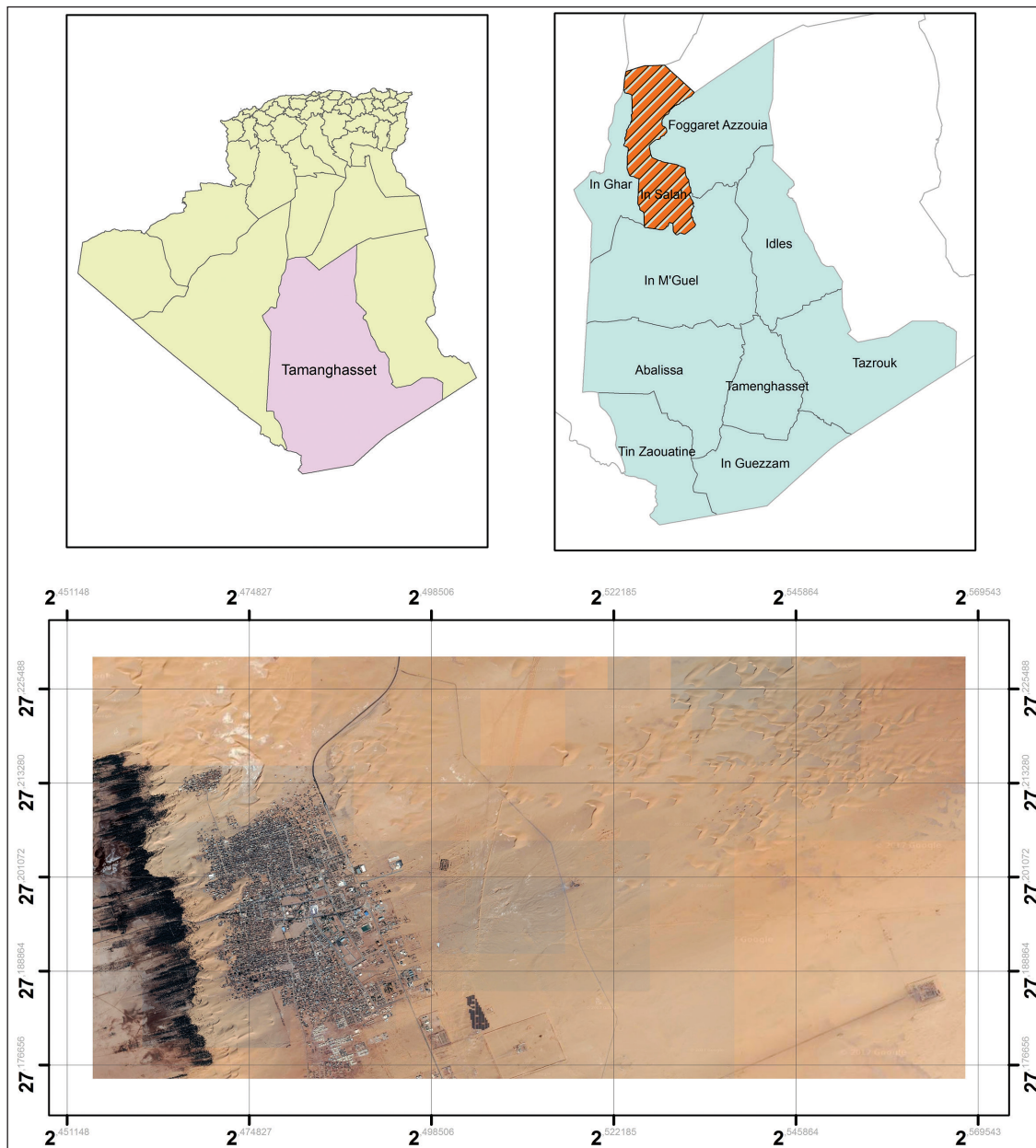


FIGURE 1 Location of the study area

the United States Geological Survey data base (see Tab 1.).

Data pre-processing

A geometric correction was applied to all images using ground control points that transformed coordinate system to UTM, zone 32

(SEYMOUR, 2014). Then all images were resampled to a 30 m spatial resolution using an automated tie-point program (KENNEDY, COHEN, 2003).

Radiometric calibration was used for all images to convert 8-bit satellite quantized calibrated digital numbers (DN) to at-satellite reflectance (SCHROEDER, 2006). For full absolute correction,

TABLE 1 Landsat images used in this study

Satellite data	Target	Image ID	Acquisition date
Landsat TM	WRS2, Path195, Row41	LT51940412005223MTI00	2005-08-11
Landsat TM	WRS2, Path195, Row41	LT51940412009218MPS00	2009-08-06
Landsat OLI_TIRS	WRS2, Path194, Row41	LC81940412013213LGN01	2013-08-01
Landsat OLI_TIRS	WRS2, Path195, Row41	LC81950412017231LGN00	2017-08-19

at-satellite reflectance was converted to surface reflectance (HADJIMITSIS ET AL., 2004).

The Optimum Index Factor (OIF) was used to select the optimum combination of three bands for the satellite image (CHAVEZ ET AL., 1984). The OIF is a statistical tool to measure the dispersion of pixel value and the correlation among different bands, where the combination of the high dispersion of pixel value and the lowest correlation considered as the band combination of highest amount information.

For each combination of three bands, the OIF is calculated as follows:

$$\text{OIF} = \frac{\text{Std}i + \text{Std}j + \text{Std}k}{\text{Corrij} + \sqrt{\sum_{i=1}^n (X_i - \bar{X})^2} \sqrt{\sum_{i=1}^n (Y_i - \bar{Y})^2}} \quad (1)$$

where: Std*i* = standard deviation of band I, Std*j* = standard deviation of band j, Std*k* = standard deviation of band k, Corrij = correlation coefficient of band i and band j, Corrik = correlation coefficient of band i and band k, Corrjk = correlation coefficient of band j and band k

Data processing

Each image was classified using the supervised maximum likelihood classification applied on the colour composite images (BOUZEKRI, 2017). In addition, ground control points during fieldwork were used as training sites to estimate probabilities and consider the variability of brightness values in each class. This classifier is based on Bayesian probability theory, which is one the most powerful classification methods when accurate training data is provided and one of the most widely used algorithms (PERUMAL, BHASKARAN, 2010). The likelihood classification expressed as follow:

$$Lk = P(k/X) = P(k) * P(X/k) / P(i) * P(X/i) \quad (2)$$

where: P(k) = prior probability of class k, P(X-/k) = conditional probability to observe X from class k, or probability density function

Usually P(k) are assumed to be equal to each other and P(i)*P(X/i) is also common to all classes. Therefore, Lk depends on P(X/k) or the probability density function. By applying the classification on the colour composite using QGIS software, four major classes of land cover categories were delineated in this study; bare land, sand dunes, vegetation and urban area. The post-classification comparison approach is very advantageous when using data from different sensors with different spatial and spectral resolutions (ALBOODY ET AL., 2008).

Accuracy assessment of land changes

In order to measure land cover change and classification accuracy assessment, we used the intensity analyses method developed by ALDWAIK, PONTIUS (2012), this approach is based on the analysis of land cover change modelling maps from 2005 to 2017 conducted by using Pontius-Matrix42. This matrix was intended to measure the size and speed of changes over time on the one hand and to analyse the losses and gains of each class between two dates on the other.

RESULTS

Twenty band combinations were calculated for each image Landsat 8 by using ILWIS software. Table 2 shows the highest OIF values which means the highest amount of information provided by band combination. For all dates the OIF suggests that out of twenty-band combinations, the combination of bands blue, green and short-wave infrared 1, which ranks first, provides the

TABLE 2 The highest values of OIF for each date

Date of satellite image	Highest OIF	Combination
2005-08-11	18.93	blue, green and short-wave infrared 1
2009-08-06	18.12	blue, green and short-wave infrared 1
2013-08-01	18.54	blue, green and short-wave infrared 1
2017-08-19	18.23	blue, green and short-wave infrared 1

TABLE 3 Confusion matrixes of supervised classification of Landsat data

Class	Bare land	Sand dune	Urban area	Vegetation	User's accuracy %
Bare land	10708	19	4	0	99.79
Sand dune	1065	37	0	0	39.66
Urban area	205	1	1780	2	89.54
Vegetation	0	0	14	219	93.99
Prod accuracy %	92.49	95.62	99.00	99.10	
Class	Bare land	Sand dune	Urban area	Vegetation	User's accuracy %
Bare land	21064	97	101	0	99.07
Sand dune	684	4473	2	0	86.70
Urban area	789	7	4063	45	82.85
Vegetation	0	0	130	702	84.38
Prod accuracy %	93.46	97.73	94.58	93.98	

TABLE 4 Percentages of land cover over time

Classes	11-08-2005	06-08-2009	01-08-2013	19-08-2017
Bare land	70.81	63	59.24	52.2
Sand dunes	18.03	27.16	26.01	35.16
Urban area	9.81	9.12	11.58	11.11
Vegetation	1.34	1.82	2.04	1.57

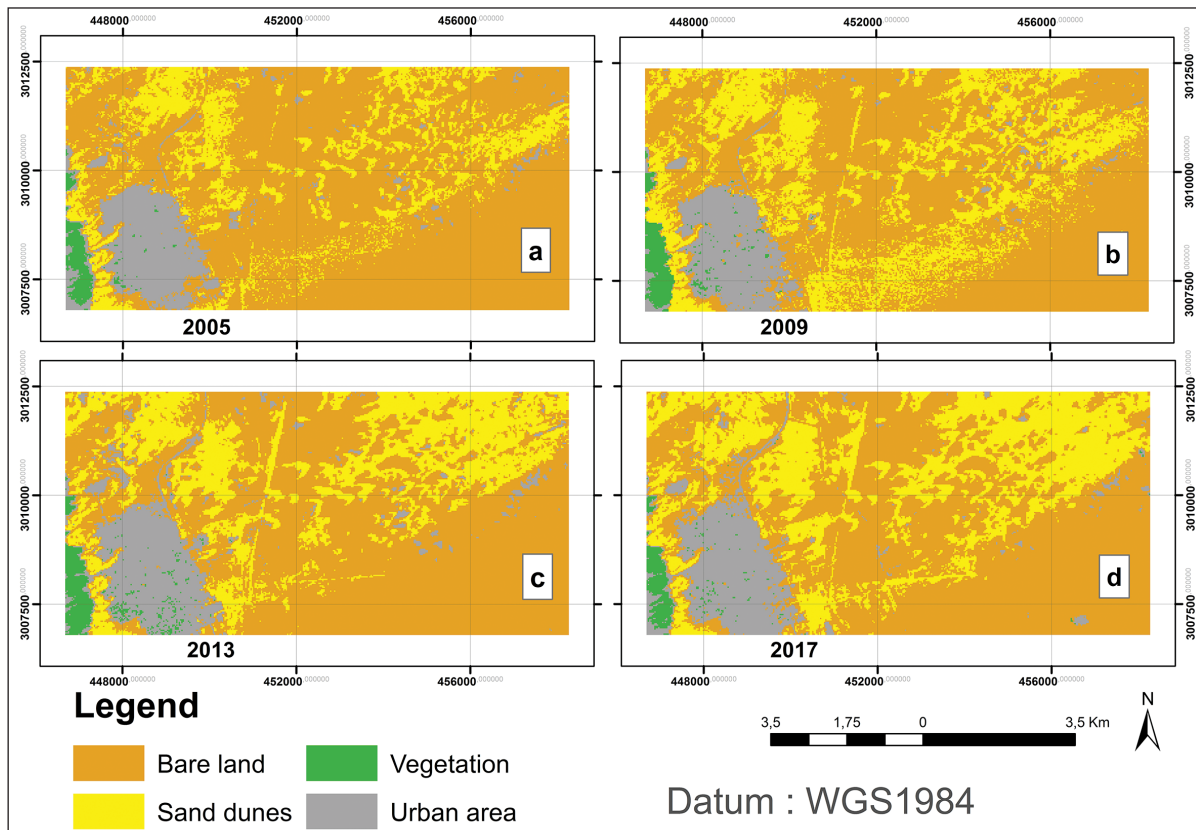


FIGURE 2 Land cover maps for the four defined periods

greatest amount of information and colour contrast.

Table 3 presents the confusion matrixes of

2005 and 2019 supervised classification respectively. The value of Kappa coefficients is 0.81 for 2005 and 0.82 for 2019 and the number of

corrected classified pixels indicate that the results of these LCLU classifications are acceptable and accurate.

The results of image processing revealed a significant change in land cover feature classes in Ain Salah area over the study period (see Tab 4. and Fig. 3).

DISCUSSION

When comparing the surfaces of sand dunes for the four different dates it appears that there was a remarkable increase. In 2005, sand dunes occupied 18.03% of the total study area, in 2009 this area increased to 26.16%, there was a slight increase again between 2009 and 2013, followed by an increase reaching 35.16% of the total area during the last period (2013-2017). Over the study period from 2005 to 2017 the annual rate of increase of sand dunes area was 1.7%.

Bare land showed an opposite trend of change having an initial decline from 70.81% to 63% during the first period followed by a decrease that caused a loss of 3.76% of its area in 2013. In 2017 it decreased to nearly 52%; overall, bare land cover lost an area of 18.61% to other classes, and especially to sand dunes.

The increase in sand dune surfaces at the expense of other land use classes and the changes in bare land, vegetation and urban area over time will lead to more encroachment by sand dunes and more acceleration of its movements.

The transition matrix (see Tab 5.) represents the loss and gain for each category of land cover and land use, where the rows represent the state of LU/LC at the beginning of the study (2005) whereas the columns represent the categories at the end of the study (2017) and the diagonal cells show their persistence size.

Figure 3 shows the loss and gain size and intensity in each class, divided into three components: quantity, exchange and shift using PontiusMatrix42 to indicate the change patterns dynamic.

Figure 3a shows the size of loss and gain in each class, the focus here is on the largest losses and gains, where bare land surface change is nearly similar to the one in sand dune areas and its quantities are the most distributed component.

The exchange is nearly the total component for vegetation and urban area categories. Figure 3b illustrates uniform change intensity for bare land and sand dunes while the urban area category has 15% of shift component and 75% of exchange component.

GIS tools were used to estimate barchan dune migration rate and direction by measuring the distance between the same barchan acquired at different dates. The overlapped barchan dune layers (see Fig. 4) resulting from different dates allowed us to monitor dynamics and patterns of dune migration. The visual interpretation of the obtained results showed that the barchans migration is characterized by a constant direction from the northeast to the southwest. The migration rate of barchans depends on their individual size, and wind velocity.

The highest dune migration rate belongs to the central and northwest parts of the study area especially between 2013 and 2017, where there were no obstacles against the wind blowing from the Northeast. Also, the smallest barchan dunes are located in the north-western region having a fast migration rate of 120 m per year with changing in their size and shape. However, the larger dunes migrate more slowly with a rate of 30 m per year keeping the same size and shape.

The analysis of sand dune migration by using the multi-date images was considered as an

TABLE 5 Pontius Matrix 42 between 2005 and 2019

Category	Bare land	Sand dunes	Urban area	Vegetation
Bare land	47	21	2	0
Sand dunes	3	13	1	0
Urban area	1	1	7	1
Vegetation	0	0	1	2

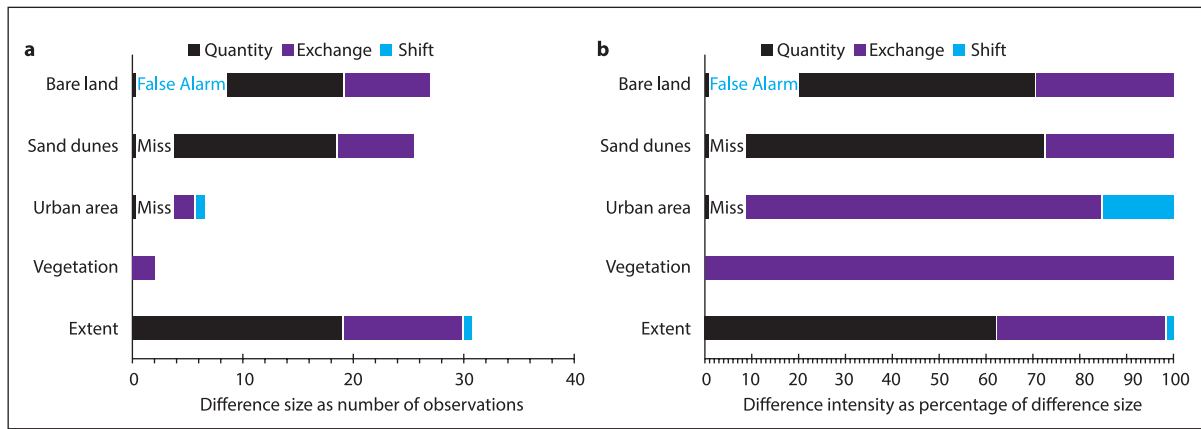


FIGURE 3 Interval level change components in terms of (a) size and (b) intensity

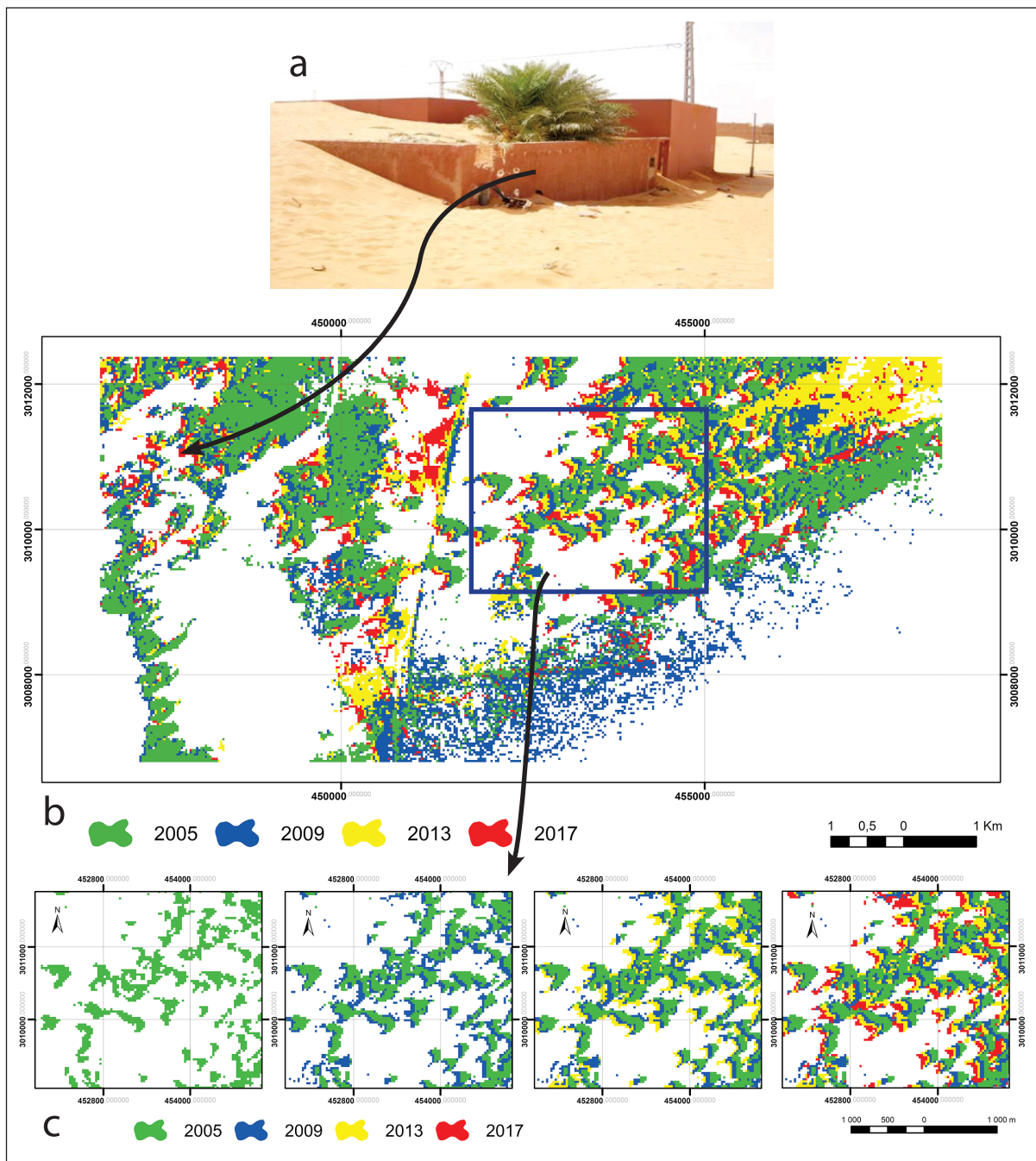


FIGURE 4 (a) Sand dunes encroachment on urban area; (b) Overlapped sand dune layers for the study period, (c) Migration of barchan dunes over time

efficient approach to understand the local and regional sand movement and the patterns of deposit. The results showed that the source of sand is from north east which is the Grand Erg Oriental and created also by the wind erosion actions on Tadmait hill, then the sand transported was accumulated in Tidekelt region to form barchan dunes and to deposit over the urban area and agricultural lands as the mapped results showed on Figure 4.

In the southwest part of the study area sand dunes were stable from 2005 to 2017 due to the vegetation cover that formed an obstacle against Northeast winds forming a sand accumulation zone, in addition to the Ergs of Sidi Moussa that presents a topographical obstacle which is the reason of the dune migration stability in this region.

CONCLUSION

The main purpose of this research was to understand deposit patterns in the region of Ain Salah in south Algeria and to monitor this environmental and socioeconomic problem. We used the approach of post-classification comparison based on supervised classification of a multi-date data of Landsat images and monitor the movement of sand dune features through time. Satellite imagery is a useful technique to monitor barchan dune migration and to calculate its distance between two dates.

Results obtained showed that the migration rate was variable over time and space, ranging from 30 m to 120 m per year, depending on the barchan shape and size besides the wind velocity.

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KONKURENTNOST GRADOVA U HRVATSKOJ: ANALIZA DINAMIKE ZAPOSLENOSTI 2001. – 2019.

COMPETITIVENESS OF CITIES IN CROATIA: ANALYSIS OF EMPLOYMENT DYNAMICS 2001-2019

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Cilj rada je istražiti razvojnu dinamiku dvadeset većih hrvatskih gradova, makro-regionalnih i regionalnih centara, kako bi se ukazalo na promjene njihovih konkurentskih sposobnosti. Analize su provedene za tri relevantna razdoblja: razdoblje rasta prije globalne recesije (2001. – 2008.), razdoblje globalne recesije (2009. – 2014.) i razdoblje oporavka hrvatskoga gospodarstva (2015. – 2019.). Zaposlenost je jedan od najznačajnijih pokazatelja gospodarskog rasta pa su u analizama upotrijebljeni podaci o dinamici zaposlenosti. U radu se upućuje na razlike u rastu zaposlenosti pojedinih hrvatskih gradova u odnosu na nacionalni prosjek te se nastoji utvrditi je li taj rast rezultat djelovanja strukturnih (egzogenih) čimbenika ili lokalnih (endogenih) čimbenika. Shift-share analizom dobiveni su izračuni regionalnog, strukturnog i lokalnog čimbenika. Utvrđeno je da su u godinama prije recesije veći gradovi u prosjeku imali znatno snažniji rast zaposlenosti od hrvatskog prosjeka. Lokalni čimbenik u predrecesijskom razdoblju imao je izrazito važnu ulogu u formiranju rasta zaposlenosti, u većini gradova značajniju od strukturnog čimbenika. Već su gradovi u recesiji zabilježili pad zaposlenosti približno jednako intenziteta kao na državnoj razini, dok se u postrecesijskom razdoblju opaža njihov nešto sporiji oporavak od hrvatskog prosjeka. U recesijskom se razdoblju dogodio snažan pad lokalne konkurentnosti gradova čiji je značajniji oporavak u postrecesijskom razdoblju zasad izostao. Sve je manje gradova koji su po dinamici zaposlenosti iznad nacionalnog prosjeka. Iznadprosječan razvoj ostvarili su tijekom svih triju relevantnih razdoblja jedino Split, Zadar, Dubrovnik i Varaždin. U svim trima razdobljima lokalne konkurentne prednosti posjedovali su Split, Zadar, Slavonski Brod i Varaždin.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: Hrvatska, gradovi, zaposlenost, lokalna konkurentnost, globalna recesija, shift-share analiza

The aim of this paper is to investigate the growth dynamics of 20 larger Croatian cities, macro-regional and regional centres, in order to indicate changes in their competitiveness. The analyses were carried out for three relevant periods: the period of growth before the global recession (2001-2008), the period of the global recession (2009-2014) and the recovery period of the Croatian economy (2015-

2019). Employment is one of the most important indicators of economic growth, so employment dynamics data were used in the analyses. The paper points to differences in employment growth of individual Croatian cities compared to the national average and seeks to determine whether this growth is the result of the action of structural (exogenous) factors or local (endogenous) factors. Therefore, a shift-share analysis was carried out, resulting in calculations of the regional, structural, and local factors. It found that in the years before the recession, larger cities had on average much stronger employment growth than the Croatian average. In the pre-recession period, the local factor played an extremely important role in shaping employment growth; in most cities, it was more significant than the structural factor. When the recession hit, larger cities saw a drop in employment of about the same intensity as at the state level, while in the post-recession period they had a slightly slower recovery compared to the Croatian average. In the recession period, there was a sharp decline in the local competitiveness of cities, whose significant recovery in the post-recession period has so far been absent. The number of cities that are above the national average in terms of employment dynamics was decreasing. Above-average growth was achieved during all three relevant periods only Split, Zadar, Dubrovnik and Varaždin. In all three periods, Split, Zadar, Slavonski Brod and Varaždin had local competitive advantages.

KEY WORDS: Croatia, cities, employment, local competitiveness, global recession, shift-share analysis

UVOD

Posljednjih trideset godina, od uspostave samostalne države Hrvatske do danas, u hrvatskim su se gradovima dogodile značajne društvene i gospodarske promjene. Gospodarska kretanja u gradovima obilježena su izmjenom padova i uspona. Gospodarski se razvoj gradova, kao uostalom i hrvatskoga gospodarstva u cjelini, može podijeliti u nekoliko etapa. Najdramatičnije je bilo razdoblje gospodarske tranzicije s centralno-planskog na tržišno gospodarstvo od 1990. do 2000. godine. Ono je obilježeno nizom procesa kao što su pad zaposlenosti i rast nezaposlenosti, gašenje radnih mjesta u državnom sektoru i otvaranje novih radnih mjesta u privatnom sektoru, deindustrijalizacija i tercijarizacija (OBADIĆ, 2016.). Sektor industrije, koji se često naziva i gradotvornom djelatnošću, u ovome je razdoblju bio najviše izložen promjenama (TEODOROVIĆ, 2000.). Velike tvrtke smještene u gradovima prestrukturiraju se i prilagođavaju novim tržišnim prilikama (KOVAČEVIĆ, 2001. prema LONČAR, STIPERSKI, 2019.). Mnogi gradovi bilježe slabljenje funkcije rada pri čemu je naročito smanjen broj radnih mjesta u prerađivačkoj industriji (BRAIČIĆ, 2012.). Za završetak tranzicije obično se uzima 2000. godina nakon čega je uslijedilo razdoblje obilježeno gospodarskim rastom, odnosno posttranzicijsko razdoblje, u kojem se tržište rada normaliziralo te se otvaraju nova radna mjesta (MATKOVIĆ, 2002. prema LONČAR, STIPERSKI, 2019.). Taj je rast prekinut globalnom financijskom krizom koja se 2009. godine prelila i na hrvatsko gospodarstvo. Uz globalne poremećaje, krizu su u nas dodatno produbili ubrzani rast inozemnog duga, vanjskotrgovinski deficit i od ranije prisutne pogreške u koncipiranju gospodarske politike (MLIKOTIĆ, 2020.). Recesija je u Hrvatskoj trajala od 2009. do 2014. godine (DRUŽIĆ I DR., 2016.). Nakon toga dolazi do postupnog oporavka gospodarstva pa se govori o postrecesijskom razdoblju.

Značajne gospodarske promjene obilježene deindustrijalizacijom, tercijarizacijom i drugim tranzicijskim i posttranzicijskim procesima utjecale su posljednjih desetljeća na funkcije rada gradskih središta Hrvatske. Dolazi do promjena

INTRODUCTION

In the last 30 years, since the creation of an independent Croatian state to the present day, significant social and economic changes have occurred in Croatian cities. Economic trends in cities are marked by ups and downs. The economic growth of cities, as well as the Croatian economy in general, can be divided into several stages. The most dramatic was the period of economic transition from the centrally planned economy to the market economy, from 1990 to 2000. It was marked by a series of processes, such as declining employment and rising unemployment, job losses in the public sector and job creation in the private sector, deindustrialisation and tertiarization (OBADIĆ, 2016). The industry sector often referred to as the city-forming activity was most exposed to change during this period (TEODOROVIĆ, 2000). Large companies located in cities were restructured and adapted to new market opportunities (KOVAČEVIĆ, 2001 according to LONČAR, STIPERSKI, 2019). Many cities experienced a weakening of the job function, with the number of jobs in the manufacturing being particularly reduced (BRAIČIĆ, 2012). The year 2000 is usually taken as the year of the end of the transition period, followed by a period marked by the economic growth, i.e., the post-transition period, in which the labour market normalized, and new jobs were created (MATKOVIĆ, 2002 according to LONČAR, STIPERSKI, 2019). This growth was interrupted by the global financial crisis, which spilled over into the Croatian economy in 2009. In addition to global disruptions, the crisis was further deepened by accelerated foreign debt growth, foreign trade deficits and previously present mistakes in designing economic policy (MLIKOTIĆ, 2020). The recession in Croatia lasted from 2009 to 2014 (DRUŽIĆ ET AL., 2016). After that, there is a gradual recovery of the economy, indicating the post-recession period.

Significant economic changes marked by deindustrialization, tertiarization and other transitional and post-transitional processes have influenced the functions of the city centres of Croatia in recent decades. There were changes in the gravitational areas of cities and the daily mobility. In relation

u gravitacijskim područjima gradova i dnevnoj cirkulaciji stanovništva. U odnosu na predtranzicijsko razdoblje intenzivirana je stambena i radna suburbanizacija (KLEMPIĆ BOGADI, 2010.). Na gospodarski su razvoj pojedinih gradova također bitno utjecali rat i ratna uništavanja s kraja prošlog stoljeća. Zbog navedenoga, jasno je kako se atraktivnost i privlačnost pojedinih gradova mijenjaju s vremenom, tj. konkurentnost grada može se smanjiti ili porasti (ČAVRAK, 2012.). Pojedini gradovi postupno gube centralne funkcije, a kod drugih se njihov broj povećava. Posljednjih su desetljeća neki od najvećih gradova u Hrvatskoj zabilježili stagnaciju makroregionalnih funkcija dok je smanjenje ili stagnacija funkcija zabilježena kod glavnine regionalnih centara (MAGAŠ, 2013.). S druge strane, raste privlačnost Zagreba što pridonosi izraženoj polarizaciji gospodarskih aktivnosti u Hrvatskoj (PAVLAKOVIĆ-KOČI, PEJNOVIĆ, 2005.). R. Martin i J. Simmie (2008.) definirali su urbanu konkurentnost kao sposobnost gradova da permanentno unaprjeđuju svoje poslovno okruženje, fizičku, socijalnu i kulturnu infrastrukturu radi privlačenja i zadržavanja uspješnih tvrtki, obrazovane i kreativne radne snage, a sve radi postizanja visoke produktivnosti, zaposlenosti, većih plaća i dr.

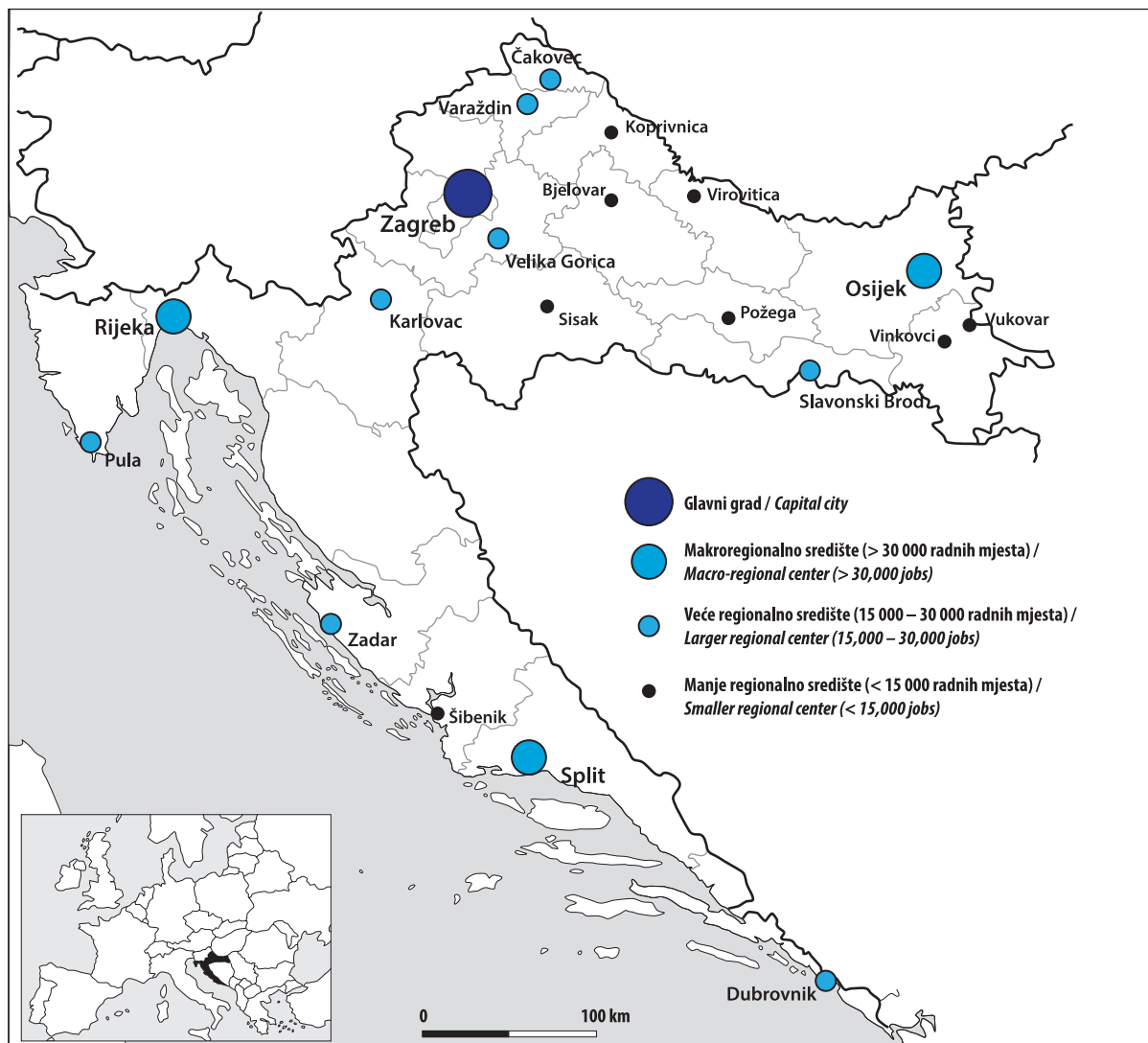
Cilj rada je istražiti razvojnu dinamiku većih hrvatskih gradova kako bi se ukazalo na promjene njihove lokalne konkurentnosti. Analize su provedene za tri relevantna razdoblja: 1. razdoblje rasta prije globalne ekonomske krize (2001. – 2008.), 2. razdoblje globalne ekonomske krize (2009. – 2014.) i 3. razdoblje oporavka hrvatskog gospodarstva (2015. – 2019.). Općenito formulirani istraživački cilj raščlanjen je na dva središnja zadatka:

- utvrditi razlike gospodarskog rasta hrvatskih gradova u odnosu na nacionalni rast, odnosno identificirati koji su se gradovi razvijali po ispodprosječnim ili iznadprosječnim stopama u odnosu na Hrvatsku
- objasniti razlike u razvojnoj dinamici pojedinih gradova i Hrvatske, odnosno utvrditi je li gospodarski rast pojedinih gradova rezultat djelovanja lokalnih (endogenih) ili strukturalnih (egzogenih) čimbenika.

to the pre-transitional period, housing and labour suburbanization have intensified (KLEMPIĆ BOGADI, 2010). The economic growth of certain cities was also significantly influenced by the war and the war destructions of the late last century. Following the above, it is evident that the attractiveness of individual cities changes over time, i.e. the competitiveness of the city can decrease or increase (ČAVRAK, 2012). Some cities gradually lose their central functions, and in others, their numbers increase. In the last decades, the largest cities in Croatia have seen a stagnation of macro-regional functions, while the decrease or stagnation of functions has been observed in most regional centres (MAGAŠ, 2013). On the other hand, Zagreb's attractiveness is growing, which contributes to the pronounced polarization of economic activities in Croatia (PAVLAKOVIĆ-KOČI, PEJNOVIĆ, 2005). Martin and J. Simmie (2008) defined urban competitiveness as the ability of cities to permanently improve their business environment, physical, social and cultural infrastructure in order to attract and keep successful companies, educational and creative work force, all with the same goal of achieving high productivity, employment, higher salaries, etc.

The aim of this paper is to investigate the growth dynamics of larger Croatian cities in order to highlight the changes of their local competitiveness. The analyses were carried out for three relevant periods: (1) the period of growth before the global economic crisis (2001-2008), (2) the period of the global economic crisis (2009-2014) and (3) the recovery period of the Croatian economy (2015-2019). Generally formulated research goal is divided into two central tasks:

- to determine the differences in the economic growth of Croatian cities in relation to national growth, i.e. identify which cities developed at below - or above-average rates compared to Croatia;
- to explain the differences in the growth dynamics of individual cities and Croatia, i.e. determine whether the economic growth of individual cities is the result of the action of local (endogenous) or structural (exogenous) factors.



SLIKA 1. Prostorna distribucija gradova u Hrvatskoj obuhvaćenih istraživanjem

FIGURE 1 Spatial distribution of cities in Croatia covered by the research

Izvor: prilagođeno prema Lukić, 2012. / Source: adapted according to Lukić, 2012

Analizom je obuhvaćeno dvadeset većih hrvatskih gradova koje je A. Lukić (2012.) prema snazi centralnih funkcija ocijenio kao makroregionalna i regionalna središta (Sl. 1.). U Hrvatskoj se, prema A. Lukiću (2012.), uz glavni grad Zagreb koji je nacionalno središte, izdvajaju tri makroregionalna središta (Split, Rijeka i Osijek) i šesnaest regionalnih središta (Varaždin, Zadar, Pula, Slavonki Brod, Karlovac, Dubrovnik, Čakovec, Velika Gorica, Vinkovci, Šibenik, Bjelovar, Koprivnica, Sisak, Požega, Vukovar i Virovitica). Prema razvijenosti funkcije rada u 2019. godini regionalna su središta, za potrebe ove analize, razvrstana u dvije skupine: veća regionalna središta (više od 15 000 radnih mjesta u pravnim osobama) i manja regionalna središta (manje od 15 000 radnih mjesta u pravnim osobama).

The analysis included 20 major Croatian cities rated by Lukić (2012) as macro-regional and regional centres according to the strength of their central functions (Fig.1). In Croatia, according to Lukić (2012), in addition to the capital of Zagreb, which is the national centre, three macro-regional centres (Split, Rijeka and Osijek) and 16 regional centres (Varaždin, Zadar, Pula, Slavonki Brod, Karlovac, Dubrovnik, Čakovec, Velika Gorica, Vinkovci, Šibenik, Bjelovar, Koprivnica, Sisak, Požega, Vukovar and Virovitica) stand out. According to the growth of the job function in 2019, regional centres are classified into two groups: larger regional centres (more than 15,000 jobs in legal entities) and smaller regional centres (less than 15,000 jobs).

METODOLOGIJA ISTRAŽIVANJA

Zaposlenost je jedan od najznačajnijih pokazatelja gospodarskog rasta pa se u analiza ma opće razine aktivnosti gospodarstva često upotrebljavaju podaci o dinamici zaposlenosti (WOLF, 2002.). U ovom su radu analizirani podaci o broju zaposlenih po djelatnostima u pravnim osobama Hrvatske koje na razini gradova i općina objavljuje Državni zavod za statistiku (godišnja publikacija *Zaposlenost i plaće*).

Kako bi se istražila razvojna dinamika hrvatskih gradova provedena je *shift-share* analiza koja se temelji na usporedbi rasta zaposlenosti po djelatnostima između dvaju geografskih područja. U našem se slučaju *shift-share* analizom mjeri odstupanje razvojne dinamike gradova od razvoja ukupnog prostora Hrvatske. Stvarni razvoj zaposlenosti u gradovima uspoređuje se s fiktivnom promjenom koja bi se u njima dogodila kada bi se djelatnosti razvijale istom dinamikom kao na nacionalnoj razini (FARHAUER, KRÖLL, 2013.). Proizlazi da *shift-share* analiza organizira podatke u tri dimenzije: geografiji, tj. prostoru, djelatnostima i vremenu (ARTIGE, VAN NEUSS, 2014.). Iako su razvijene različite varijante *shift-share* analize, svima je zajednička podjela (raščlamba) rasta zaposlenosti na dvije ili više komponenti (WOLF, 2002.). U ovom se radu razlika između stope rasta zaposlenosti u određenom gradu i stope rasta u državi (*net relativ change*) raščlanjuje na dvije komponente: strukturnu komponentu (rast uslijed djelovanja strukturnih čimbenika) i lokalnu komponentu (rast uslijed djelovanja lokalnih čimbenika) (WENJUAN, 2006.). Utjecaji na gospodarski razvoj grada tako se, s jedne strane, dovode u vezu s gospodarskom strukturom, a s druge strane s njegovim lokalnim uvjetima (MÖLLER, 2012.).

Strukturna komponenta objašnjava razvoj zaposlenosti na temelju gospodarske strukture djelatnosti. Ova komponenta predstavlja razliku između broja zaposlenih koji se u pojedinom gradu očekuje na kraju razdoblja ako zaposlenost u svim djelatnostima raste po nacionalnoj stopi rasta ukupne zaposlenosti i broja zaposlenih koji se očekuje kada bi zaposlenost u pojedinim djelatnostima rasla po stopama tih dje-

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Employment is one of the most important indicators of economic growth, so in analyses of the general level of economic activity, employment dynamics data are often used (WOLF, 2002). This paper uses data on the number of employed persons per activity in legal entities of Croatia published at the level of cities and municipalities by the Croatian Bureau of Statistics (annual publication *Employment and Wages*).

In order to investigate the growth dynamics of Croatian cities, a *shift-share* analysis was carried out. It is based on a comparison of employment growth by activities between the two geographical areas. In our case, *shift-share* analysis measures the deviation of the growth dynamics of cities from the growth of the overall territory of Croatia. The growth of employment in cities is compared to the fictitious change that would occur in them if activities developed at the same dynamics as at the national level (FARHAUER, KRÖLL, 2013). It turns out that shift-share analysis organizes data in three dimensions: geography, i.e. area, activities, and time (ARTIGE, VAN NEUSS, 2014).

Although different variants of shift-share analysis have been developed, all have a common distribution (breakdown) of employment growth into two or more components (WOLF, 2002). In this paper, the difference between the growth rate of employment in a particular city and the growth rate in the state (*net relative change*) is broken down into two components: structural component (growth due to the action of structural factors) and the local component (growth due to the action of local factors) (WENJUAN, 2006). The impacts on the economic growth of the city are thus, on the one hand, related to the economic structure, and on the other hand to its local conditions (MÖLLER, 2012).

The structural component explains the growth of employment based on the economic activities structure. This component represents the difference between the number of employed persons expected in a particular city at the end of the period if the employment in all activities increases at the national growth rate of total employment, and the number of the employed persons ex-

latnosti u Hrvatskoj. Strukturna će komponenta biti pozitivna kod gradova koji imaju „povoljniju“ strukturu djelatnosti, tj. u čijem su gospodarstvu natprosječno zastupljene brzorastuće djelatnosti na nacionalnoj razini. U gradovima orijentiranim na nacionalno stagnirajuće ili opadajuće djelatnosti, strukturna će komponenta biti negativna (DAWSON, 1987.; HEIJMAN, VAN DER HEIDE, 1998.). Stvarna je promjena broja zaposlenih veća ili manja od očekivane. Lokalna komponenta predstavlja odstupanje stvarnog od hipotetski očekivanog broja zaposlenih izračunatog tako da sve gradske djelatnosti rastu po nacionalnim stopama rasta tih djelatnosti. Lokalna će komponenta biti pozitivna ako se u gradu zaposlenost poveća više negoli proizlazi iz strukturne komponente, dok će u obrnutom slučaju biti negativna (DAWSON, 1987.).

Rezultati *shift-share* analize mogu se predstaviti na više načina – apsolutnim vrijednostima promjene, indeksima ili postotnim bodovima (WOLF, 2002.; FARHAUER, KRÖLL, 2013.). U ovom je radu primijenjen model indeksa. Prvi korak u analizi je izračun regionalnog čimbenika (*RF*) ili *net total shift*, koji relativnu promjenu broja zaposlenih u gradu stavlja u odnos s relativnom promjenom broja zaposlenih u Hrvatskoj (KOSFELD, 2018.). Za izračun je primijenjen sljedeći izraz (KOSFELD, 2018.):

$$RF = \frac{e^{t+1}}{e^t} : \frac{E^{t+1}}{E^t} \quad (1)$$

gdje je e^{t+1} broj zaposlenih u gradu u novijoj godini, e^t broj zaposlenih u gradu u ranijoj godini, E^{t+1} broj zaposlenih u Hrvatskoj u novijoj godini, E^t broj zaposlenih u Hrvatskoj u ranijoj godini. Regionalni čimbenik veći od 1 ($RF > 1$) označava da je grad ostvario iznadprosječan rast zaposlenosti u odnosu na ukupni prostor Hrvatske. Rast zaposlenosti u gradu manji je nego na ukupnom prostoru ako je $RF < 1$.

U nastavku analize valjalo je utvrditi uzrok ispodprosječnog ili iznadprosječnog razvoja grada, tj. je li on rezultat djelovanja strukturnih (egzogenih) ili lokalnih (endogenih) čimbenika. To znači da se regionalni čimbenik raščlanjuje na strukturnu i lokalnu komponentu te se u

pected if employment in some activities grew at rates of these activities in Croatia. The structural component will be positive for cities that have a “favourable” activity structure, i.e. whose economy has above-average fast-growing activities at the national level. In cities oriented towards nationally stagnant or declining activities, the structural component will be negative (DAWSON, 1987; HEIJMAN, VAN DER HEIDE, 1998). The actual change in the number of employed persons, of course, is larger or smaller than expected. The local component represents the deviation of the actual from the expected number of employed persons calculated in such a way that all urban activities grow at the national growth rates of these activities. The local component will be positive if employment in the city increases more than it would due to the structural component, while in the reverse case it will be negative (DAWSON, 1987).

Shift-share analysis results can be presented in several ways – absolute change values, indices, or percentage points (WOLF, 2002; FARHAUER, KRÖLL, 2013). In this paper, the index model was used. The first step of the analysis is the calculation of the *regional factor* (*RF*), or net total shift, which puts the relative change in the number of employed persons in the city in relation to the relative change in the number of employed persons in Croatia (KOSFELD, 2018). For the calculation, the following expression was used (KOSFELD, 2018):

$$RF = \frac{e^{t+1}}{e^t} : \frac{E^{t+1}}{E^t} \quad (1)$$

where: e^{t+1} is the number of employed persons in the city in the earlier year, e^t is the number of employed persons in the city in the more recent year, E^{t+1} is the number of employed persons in Croatia in the previous year, E^t is the number of employed persons in Croatia in the previous year.

The regional factor higher than 1 ($RF > 1$) indicates that the city achieved above-average employment growth compared to the overall territory of Croatia. Employment growth in the city is lower than in the overall territory if $RF < 1$.

As the next step in the analysis, it was neces-

sljedećim koracima pristupilo njihovu izračunu. *Strukturni čimbenik (SF)* ili *net proportionality shift* izračunat je prema izrazu (FARHAUER, KRÖLL, 2013.; KOSFELD, 2018.):

$$SF = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^I (e_i^t * E_i^{t+1} / E_i^t) / e^t}{E^{t+1} / E^t} \quad (2)$$

gdje je e_i^t broj zaposlenih u djelatnosti i u gradu u ranijoj godini, E_i^t broj zaposlenih u djelatnosti i u Hrvatskoj u ranijoj godini, E_i^{t+1} broj zaposlenih u djelatnosti i u Hrvatskoj u novijoj godini. Strukturni čimbenik veći od 1 znači da u gospodarskoj strukturi grada prevladavaju brzorastuće djelatnosti na ukupnom prostoru Hrvatske. Kada je $SF < 1$, tada u gospodarskoj strukturi grada prevladavaju djelatnosti koje na nacionalnoj razini stagniraju ili bilježe pad (URL 1).

Lokalni čimbenik (LF) ili *net differential shift* upućuje na (ne)konkurentnost pojedinih gradova, a računa se na sljedeći način (FARHAUER, KRÖLL, 2013.; KOSFELD, 2018.):

$$LF = \frac{e^{t+1}}{\sum_{i=1}^I e_i^t * E_i^{t+1} / E_i^t} \quad (3)$$

Lokalni čimbenik veći od 1 ($LF > 1$) znači da grad ima prednosti lokacije, odnosno lokalne konkurentne prednosti imaju povoljan utjecaj na rast zaposlenosti. Kada je $LF < 1$, grad ima nedostatke lokacije (URL 1; URL 2). Regionalni čimbenik može se dobiti i kao umnožak preostalih dvaju čimbenika (KOSFELD, 2018.):

$$RF = SF * LF \quad (4)$$

Shift-share tehnika omogućila je da se na kraju analize veći hrvatski gradovi razvrstaju u skupine. S obzirom na vrijednosti triju čimbenika, gradovi su svrstani u šest skupina, i to:

- a1 – gradovi s $RF > 1$, $SF > 1$ i $LF > 1$
- a2 – gradovi s $RF > 1$, $SF < 1$ i $LF > 1$
- a3 – gradovi s $RF > 1$, $SF > 1$ i $LF < 1$
- b1 – gradovi s $RF < 1$, $SF < 1$ i $LF > 1$

sary to determine the cause of the below-average or above-average growth of the city, i.e. whether it was the result of the action of structural (exogenous) or local (endogenous) factors. This means that the regional factor is broken down into structural and local components, and the following steps have been calculated. *Structural factor (SF)* or *net proportionality shift* is calculated by expression (FARHAUER, KRÖLL, 2013; KOSFELD, 2018):

$$SF = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^I (e_i^t * E_i^{t+1} / E_i^t) / e^t}{E^{t+1} / E^t} \quad (2)$$

where: e_i^t is the number of employed persons in the activity i in Croatia in the earlier year, E_i^t the number of employed persons in the activity i in Croatia in the earlier year, and E_i^{t+1} the number of employed persons in the activity i in Croatia in the recent year. The structural factor higher than 1 means that the economic structure of the city is dominated by fast-growing activities in the entire area of Croatia. When $SF < 1$, the economic structure of the city is dominated by activities which are stagnant or declining at the national level (URL 1).

The local factor (LF) or *net differential shift* indicates the (in)competitiveness of some cities, and is calculated as follows (FARHAUER, KRÖLL, 2013; KOSFELD, 2018):

$$LF = \frac{e^{t+1}}{\sum_{i=1}^I e_i^t * E_i^{t+1} / E_i^t} \quad (3)$$

The local factor higher than 1 ($LF > 1$) means that the city has location advantages, that is, local competitive advantages have a favourable impact on employment growth. When $LF < 1$, the city has location disadvantages (URL 1; URL 2). The regional factor can also be obtained as a product of the remaining two factors (KOSFELD, 2018):

$$RF = SF * LF \quad (4)$$

Shift share technique made it possible to classify larger Croatian cities into groups at the end of the analysis. Given the values of the three factors, cities are classified into six groups:

- b2 – gradovi s $RF < 1$, $SF > 1$ i $LF < 1$
 b3 – gradovi s $RF < 1$, $SF < 1$ i $LF < 1$.

REZULTATI

Promjena broja zaposlenih u većim hrvatskim gradovima (2001. – 2019.)

Početak novog stoljeća obilježen je rastom hrvatskoga gospodarstva, okončanim globalnom recesijom koja se u Hrvatskoj manifestirala 2009. godine. Otpornost na krizu i njezino trajanje značajno ovisi o gospodarskoj strukturi gradova jer recesija nije jednako pogodila sve djelatnosti. U većini je hrvatskih gradova recesija trajala punih šest godina, i to najčešće od 2009. do 2014. godine. Vrhunac zaposlenosti uglavnom je ostvaren u 2008. godini, tj. zadnjoj predrecesijskoj godini, dok je zaposlenost na najnižoj razini u glavnini slučajeva bila 2014. godine. Prema tome, u većini hrvatskih gradova prvi znaci oporavka gospodarstva obilježenog rastom zaposlenosti vidljivi su tek 2015. godine.

Ovaj dio analize počinje grafičkim prikazom promjene broja zaposlenih u skupinama gradova Hrvatske definiranim stupnjem njihova centraliteta, odnosno razvijenošću funkcije rada (Sl. 2.). Krivulje kretanja broja zaposlenih između 2001. i 2019. godine otkrivaju izmjene razdoblja razvojnih uspona i padova, pritom odražavajući predrecesijsko, recesijsko i postrecesijsko razdoblje. Usprkos financijskoj recesiji i razvojnim oscilacijama, sve su skupine gradova, makroregionalna te veća i manja regionalna središta, na kraju analiziranog razdoblja imale više zaposlenih nego na njegovu početku. U usporedbi s baznom godinom broj zaposlenih je najviše porastao u glavnom gradu, a potom u skupini većih regionalnih središta. Znakovito je da je u skupini makroregionalnih središta zabilježen manji relativni porast broja zaposlenih naspram većih regionalnih središta. Kao što će se kasnije u iscrpnijoj analizi pokazati, posljedica je to sporijeg rasta zaposlenosti u Rijeci i Osijeku, iako je Split ostvario iznadprosječan rast. Najmanji rast zaposlenosti zamijećen je u skupini manjih regionalnih središta. Naposljet-

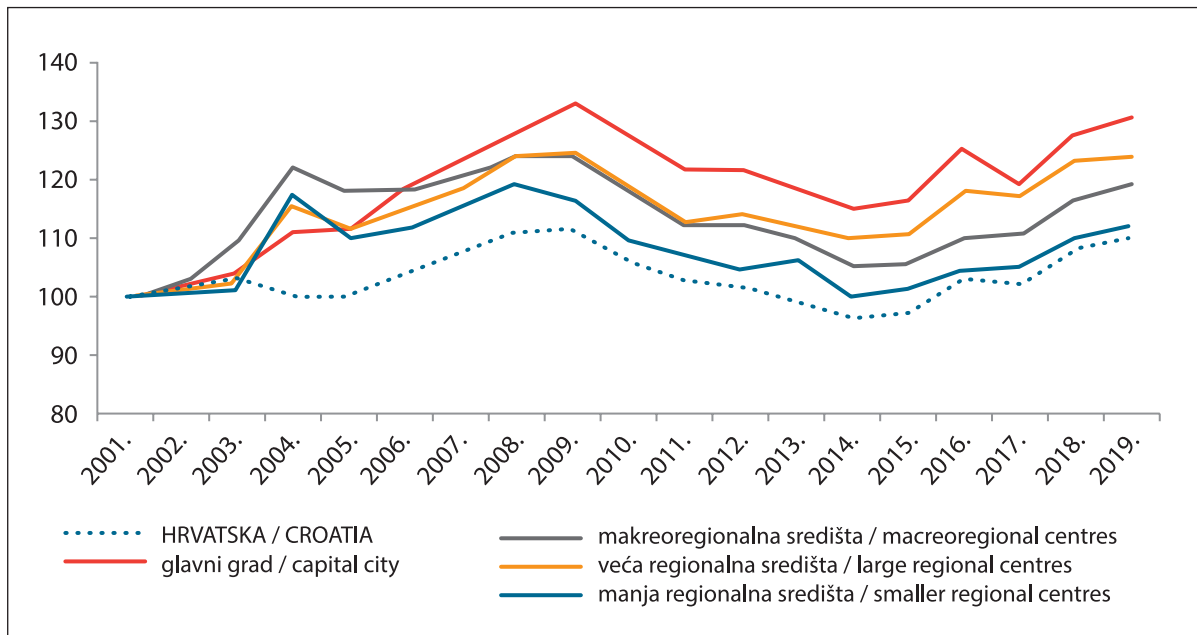
- a1 - cities with $RF > 1$, $SF > 1$ and $LF > 1$;
 a2 - cities with $RF > 1$, $SF < 1$ and $LF > 1$;
 a3 - cities with $RF > 1$, $SF > 1$ and $LF < 1$;
 b1 - cities with $RF < 1$, $SF < 1$ and $LF > 1$;
 b2 - cities with $RF < 1$, $SF > 1$ and $LF < 1$;
 b3 - cities with $RF < 1$, $SF < 1$ and $LF < 1$.

RESULTS

Change in the number of employed persons in major Croatian cities (2001–2019)

The beginning of the new century was marked by the growth of the Croatian economy, which ended with a global recession that manifested itself here in 2009. Resilience to the crisis and its duration depend significantly on the economic structure of cities, as the recession did not affect all the activities equally. In most Croatian cities, the recession lasted for six years, and mostly from 2009 to 2014. The peak of employment was mainly achieved in 2008, i.e. in the last pre-recession year, while employment was in most cases at its lowest level in 2014. Therefore, in most Croatian cities, the first signs of the economic recovery marked by employment growth were not visible until 2015.

This part of the analysis opens with the graph showing changes in the number of employed persons in the groups of cities in Croatia defined by the degree of their centralicity or the development of job function (Fig. 2). The curves showing the number of employed persons between 2001 and 2019 reveal the exchanges of periods of rise and fall whilst reflecting pre-recession, recession and post-recession period. Despite financial recession and developmental oscillations all groups of cities, macro-regional as well as larger and smaller regional centers, had more employed persons at the end of the analysed period than at the beginning. In comparison to the base year, the number of employed persons had the highest rise in the capital city, followed by larger regional centers in the group. Indicatively, in the group of macro-regional centers a smaller relative rise in the number of employed persons was noted in comparison to larger regional centers. As it will later be shown in the detailed analy-



SLIKA 2. Kretanje broja zaposlenih u većim gradovima Hrvatske prema stupnju centraliteta od 2001. do 2019. godine (2001. = 100)

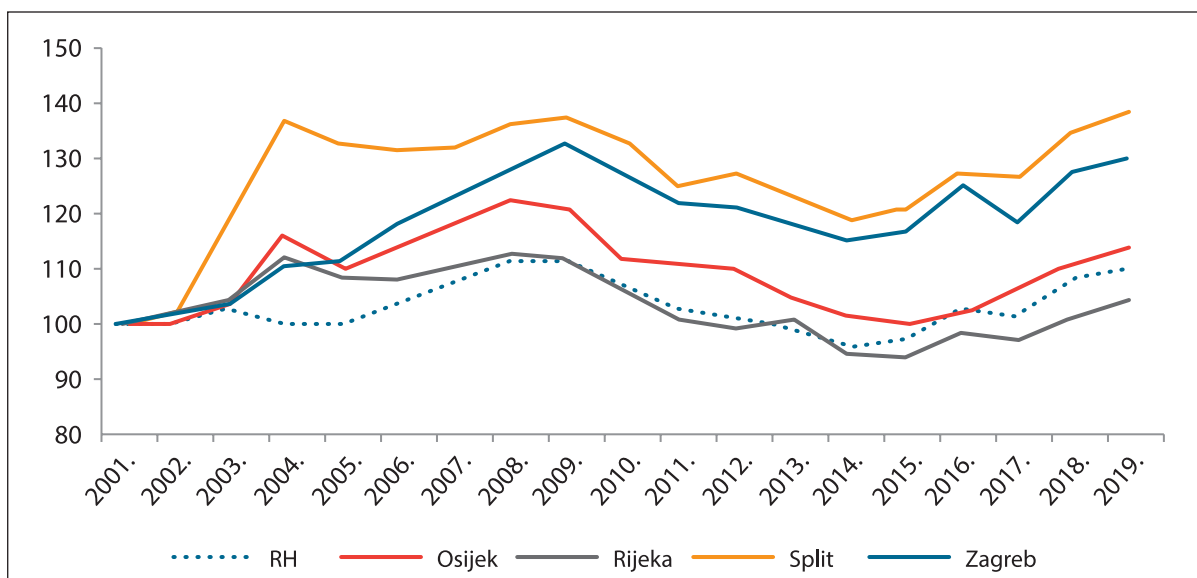
FIGURE 2 Trends in the number of employed persons in major Croatian cities according to the degree of centrality from 2001 to 2019 (2001 = 100)

Izvor: *Zaposlenost i plaće u ...* [tisak + e-dokument], Statistička izvješća, Državni zavod za statistiku, Zagreb, Hrvatska, 2002.-2019.; URL 3. / Source: *Employment and wages in ...* [print + e-document], Statistical Reports, Central Bureau of Statistics, Zagreb, Croatia, 2002-2019; URL 3

ku, uzevši u obzir cijelo razdoblje 2001. – 2019. evidentno je da su sve skupine većih gradova, neovisno o stupnju centraliteta, ostvarile snažniji rast zaposlenosti nego cijela Hrvatska.

Iscrpnija analiza ukazala je na razvojna kre-

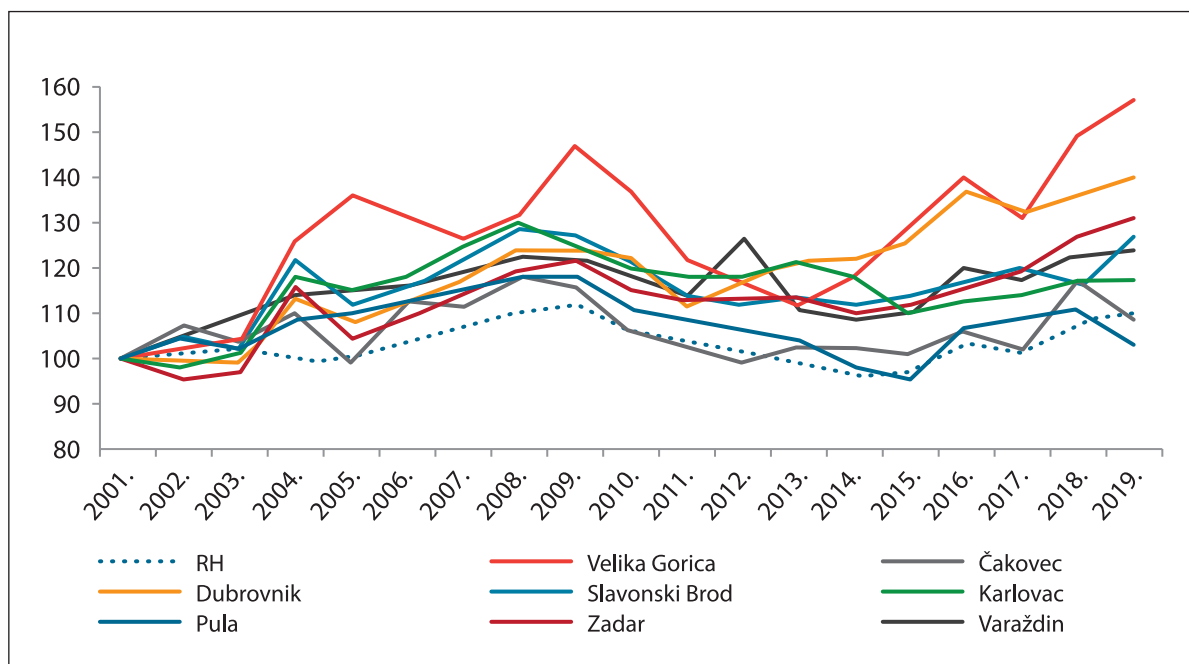
sis, it is the consequence of slower employment rate in Rijeka and Osijek, even though Split had the above average rise. The lowest employment rise was noticed in the group of smaller regional centers. Finally, taking into consideration the



SLIKA 3. Kretanje broja zaposlenih u Zagrebu i makroregionalnim središtima Hrvatske od 2001. do 2019. godine (2001. = 100)

FIGURE 3 Trends in the number of employed persons in Zagreb and macro-regional centres of Croatia from 2001 to 2019 (2001 = 100)

Izvor: *Zaposlenost i plaće u ...* [tisak + e-dokument], Statistička izvješća, Državni zavod za statistiku, Zagreb, Hrvatska, 2002.-2019.; URL 3. / Source: *Employment and wages in ...* [print + e-document], Statistical Reports, Central Bureau of Statistics, Zagreb, Croatia, 2002-2019; URL 3



SLIKA 4. Kretanje broja zaposlenih u većim regionalnim središtima Hrvatske od 2001. do 2019. godine (2001. = 100)¹
 FIGURE 4 Trends in the number of employed persons in major regional centres of Croatia from 2001 to 2019 (2001 = 100)¹

Izvor: *Zaposlenost i plaće u ...* [tisak + e-dokument], Statistička izvješća, Državni zavod za statistiku, Zagreb, Hrvatska, 2002.-2019.; URL 3. /
 Source: *Employment and wages in ...* [print + e-document], Statistical Reports, Central Bureau of Statistics, Zagreb, Croatia, 2002-2019; URL 3

tanja pojedinih makroregionalnih i regionalnih središta. Među četiri najveća hrvatska grada, recesijom su manje bila pogođena gospodarstva Zagreba i Splita. U njima je recesija počela kasnije, a završila ranije nego u Rijeci i Osijeku (Sl. 3.). U nekoliko je recesijskih i postrecesijskih godina, između 2012. i 2018. godine, Rijeka imala manje zaposlenih (radnih mjesta) negoli 2001. godine što je izdvaja od ostalih makroregionalnih centara (pogotovo ako se uspoređi sa Zagrebom i Splitom u kojima je zaposlenost tijekom cijelog razdoblja iznad razine za 2001. godinu). Posljednjih je godina Rijeka jedini makroregionalni centar u kojem zaposlenost raste sporije nego na državnoj razini. Autori ovoga istraživanja smatraju da se to dijelom može pripisati i intenziviranju radne suburbanizacije usmjerene izvan administrativnih granica grada.

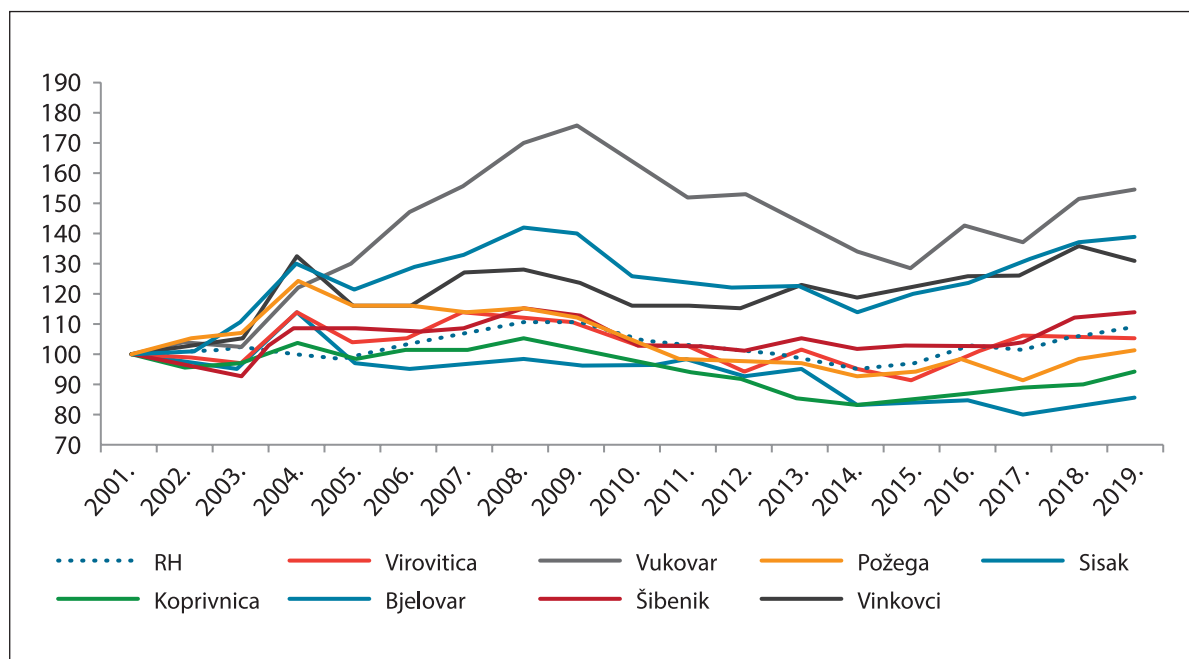
Na priloženim grafikonima (sl. 4. i 5.) prikazano je kretanje broja zaposlenih u pravnim

entire period between 2001 and 2019 it is evident that all groups of larger cities, regardless of their centrality rate, managed to achieve stronger rise in the employment rate than the entire Croatia.

A more detailed analysis indicated the development trends of certain macro-regional and regional centers. Among Croatia's four largest cities, the economies of Zagreb and Split were less affected by the recession. The recession there began later and ended earlier than in Rijeka and Osijek (Fig. 3). In several recession and post-recession years, between 2012 and 2018, Rijeka had fewer employees (jobs) than in 2001, which sets it apart from other macro-regional centres (especially when compared to Zagreb and Split, where employment is throughout period above the 2001 level). In recent years, Rijeka has been the only macro-regional center where employment is growing more slowly than at the state level. We believe that this fact can be partly attribut-

¹ Tijekom 2013. godine Gradu Čakovcu je pripojeno naselje Štefanec (*Zakon o izmjeni i dopuni Zakona o područjima županija, gradova i općina u Republici Hrvatskoj*, 2013.). Stoga pri usporedbi broja zaposlenih 2014. s prethodnim godinama valja u metodološkom smislu razumjeti povećanje broja zaposlenih pripajanjem navedenog naselja administrativnom području Grada Čakovca.

¹ During 2013, the settlement of Štefanec was annexed to the City of Čakovec (*Zakon o izmjeni i dopuni Zakona o područjima županija, gradova i općina u Republici Hrvatskoj*, 2013). Therefore, when comparing the number of employees in 2014 with previous years, it is necessary to understand in methodological terms the increase in the number of employees by merging the said settlement with the administrative area of the City of Čakovec.



SLIKA 5. Kretanje broja zaposlenih u manjim regionalnim središtima Hrvatske od 2001. do 2019. godine (2001. = 100)
FIGURE 5 Trends in the number of employed persons in smaller regional centres of Croatia from 2001 to 2019 (2001 = 100)
 Izvor: *Zaposlenost i plaće u ...* [tisak + e-dokument], Statistička izvješća, Državni zavod za statistiku, Zagreb, Hrvatska, 2002.-2019.; URL 3. /
 Source: *Employment and wages in ...* [print + e-document], Statistical Reports, Central Bureau of Statistics, Zagreb, Croatia, 2002-2019; URL 3

osobama u regionalnim središtima tijekom razdoblja 2001. – 2019. Iz grafikona se da iščitati kako je recesija najkraće trajala u Velikoj Gorici i Dubrovniku, odnosno samo tri i četiri godine. Grad Dubrovnik već u 2012. godini bilježi porast broja zaposlenih što je tri godine ranije u odnosu na nacionalnu razinu. Dijelom je to posljedica rasta pojedinih djelatnosti koje su na nacionalnoj razini ostvarile pad, kao što su smještaj i prehrana, umjetnost i zabava te ostale uslužne djelatnosti, iako je još više od toga u Dubrovniku narasla javna uprava i obrana. Prerađivačka je industrija, kao jedna od recesijom najpogođenijih djelatnosti, u gospodarstvu Dubrovnika izrazito podzastupljena. Pokazalo se, također, da gradovi sa širom gospodarskom strukturom, poput Velike Gorice, općenito imaju veću otpornost prema recesiji (ČAVRAK, 2012.). No, iako je recesija u Velikoj Gorici trajala kratko, opaža se da je pad bio izrazit.

Predrecesijsko razdoblje (2001. – 2008.) ujedno je postranzicijsko razdoblje koje započinje nekoliko godina od završetka ratnih zbivanja. Nova radna mjesta otvaraju se u većini gospodarskih djelatnosti, a najveća je ekspanzija u trgovini, građevinarstvu te poslovanju nekretninama (*Zaposlenost i plaće*, 2002. – 2019.). Re-

ed to the intensification of labor suburbanization directed beyond the administrative boundaries of the city.

The graphs (Fig. 4 - 5) show the evolution of the number of employed persons in legal entities in regional centres during the 2001-2019 period. It can be observed that the recession in Velika Gorica and Dubrovnik was the shortest, that is, it lasted only for three and four years respectively. The city of Dubrovnik saw an increase in the number of employed persons already in 2012, which is three years earlier compared to the national level. This is partly due to the growth of certain activities that have declined nationally, such as accommodation, food, art, entertainment, and other service activities, although even more than that, there was a growth in public administration and defence in Dubrovnik. The manufacturing, as one of the activities most affected by the recession, is highly underrepresented in Dubrovnik's economy. It also turned out that cities with a wider economic structure, such as Velika Gorica, generally have higher resilience to recession (ČAVRAK, 2012). But even though the recession in Velika Gorica was short, the decline was visibly pronounced.

gionalni i makroregionalni centri imaju u ovom razdoblju znatno veći rast broja zaposlenih od hrvatskog prosjeka što implicira koncentraciju radnih mjesta u većim gradovima i jačanje polarizacijskih procesa (Tab. 1.). Svi veći gradovi, uz iznimku Siska, bilježe rast broja zaposlenih, odnosno otvaranje novih radnih mjesta u jednim djelatnostima uvelike nadmašuje zatvaranje postojećih radnih mjesta u drugim djelatnostima (npr. prerađivačkoj industriji). Sisak značajnije odstupa od ostalih gradova jer se, u gradu nekoć izrazite orijentacije na baznu industriju, duboka tranzicijska kriza gospodarstva iz devedesetih godina prošlog stoljeća nastavila i nadalje (BRAIČIĆ I DR., 2009.).

Najveći porast broja zaposlenih od čak 66,9 % zabilježen je u Vukovaru, ali je i u Bjelovaru, Splitu, Velikoj Gorici i Karlovcu zaposlenost porasla za više od 30 %. Visok rast broja zaposlenih u Vukovaru posljedica je obnove u ratu posve uništenoga gospodarstva te je njegovo gospodarstvo, unatoč ostvarenom rastu, i nadalje kudikamo ispod prijeratne razine. Velika Gorica, pak, prerasta u značajniji centar rada i prestaje biti samo „spavaonica“ glavnoga grada.² Njezin se uspon može pripisati „borrowed-size“ učinku (učinak posuđenosti) kada se manji gradovi u urbanim aglomeracijama koriste prednostima blizine velikoga grada, a istodobno izbjegavaju njegove nedostatke (npr. visoke cijene zemljišta, stanovanja, prometne probleme i dr.) (MEIJERS, BURGER, 2017.). Broj zaposlenih osjetno raste i u četiri najveća grada (makroregionalna središta), ali intenzivnije u Zagrebu i Splitu nego u Osijeku i Rijeci. Usporeni rast zaposlenosti u Osijeku može se pripisati činjenici da se devedesetih godina prošlog stoljeća, za razliku od ostalih makroregionalnih središta, grad nije razvijao, te je i kasnije, zbog posljedica ratnih razaranja te smanjena gravitacijskog područja, nastavio zaostajati izgubivši svoje prometno i tranzitno obilježje (NJEGAČ I DR., 2010.).

U recesijskom je razdoblju (2009. – 2014.)

² Primjera radi, 1991. godine u Veliku Goricu kao centar rada na posao je dolazio samo 2 701 dnevni migrant, da bi u 2001. godini njihov broj narastao na 6 851 (prema podacima DZS-a Lončar, 2011.).

The pre-recession period (2001-2008) also represents the post-transition period that began a few years after the end of the war. New jobs were created in most economic activities, the largest being expansion in trade, construction, and real estate business (*Zaposlenost i plaće*, 2002-2019). In this period, regional and macro-regional centres had significantly higher growth in the number of employed persons than the Croatian average, implying the concentration of jobs in major cities and the strengthening of polarization processes (see Tab. 1). All major cities, with the exception of Sisak, saw an increase in the number of employed persons, i.e. the creation of new jobs in some activities greatly outweighs the closure of existing ones in others (e.g. the manufacturing). Sisak deviates significantly from other cities because, in a city with a strong orientation towards the core industry, the deep transition crisis of the economy of the 1990s continued onwards (BRAIČIĆ ET AL., 2009).

The largest increase in the number of employed persons of as much as 66.9% was recorded in Vukovar, but also in Bjelovar, Split, Velika Gorica and Karlovac employment increased by more than 30%. The high growth in the number of employed persons in Vukovar is a consequence of the reconstruction of the economy completely destroyed in the war, which is why its economy, despite the achieved growth, remains far below the pre-war level. Velika Gorica, in turn, grew into a more important work centre and ceased to be just the capital's "dormitory".² The rise of this city can be attributed to the "borrowed-size" effect when smaller cities in urban agglomerations take advantage of the proximity of a large city while avoiding its disadvantages (e.g. high land and housing prices, traffic problems, etc.) (MEIJERS, BURGER, 2017). The number of employed persons was also growing significantly in the four largest cities (macro-regional centres), but more intensively in Zagreb and Split than in Osijek and Rijeka. Slower employment growth in Osijek can be attributed to the fact that in

² For example, in 1991, only 2,701 daily migrants came to Velika Gorica as the work centre, and in 2001 their number grew to 6,851 (according to CBS Lončar, 2011).

TABLICA I. Zaposleni u pravnim osobama u većim hrvatskim gradovima 2001., 2008., 2014. i 2019. godine
 TABLE I Persons employed by legal entities in major Croatian cities in 2001, 2008, 2014 and 2019

Grad / city	Broj zaposlenih / Number of persons employed				Promjena u % / Change in %		
	2001.	2008.	2014.	2019.	2008./ 2001.	2014./ 2008.	2019./ 2014.
Virovitica	6 774	7 720	6 495	7 173	14,0	-15,9	10,4
Vukovar	4 975	8 453	6 678	7 675	69,9	-21,0	14,9
Požega	8 506	9 773	7 933	8 697	14,9	-18,8	9,6
Sisak	13 861	13 626	11 606	11 925	-1,7	-14,8	2,7
Koprivnica	13 868	14 711	11 649	13 160	6,1	-20,8	13,0
Bjelovar	9 743	13 856	11 085	13 460	42,2	-20,0	21,4
Šibenik	12 216	14 122	12 487	14 008	15,6	-11,6	12,2
Vinkovci	10 754	13 750	12 844	14 159	27,9	-6,6	10,2
Manja regionalna središta / Smaller regional centres	80 697	96 011	80 777	90 257	19,0	-15,9	11,7
Velika Gorica	9 608	12 750	11 327	15 270	32,7	-11,2	34,8
Čakovec	14 223	16 861	14 570	15 416	18,5	-13,6	5,8
Dubrovnik	12 401	15 552	15 194	17 505	25,4	-2,3	15,2
Karlovac	14 860	19 412	17 559	17 511	30,6	-9,5	-0,3
Slavonski Brod	14 774	19 165	16 644	18 761	29,7	-13,2	12,7
Pula	20 563	24 611	20 077	21 265	19,7	-18,4	5,9
Zadar	18 482	22 205	20 438	24 332	20,1	-8,0	19,1
Varaždin	22 706	27 952	24 689	28 392	23,1	-11,7	15,0
Veća regionalna središta / Larger regional centres	127 617	158 508	140 498	158 452	24,2	-11,4	12,8
Osijek	36 107	44 218	36 665	41 114	22,5	-17,1	12,1
Rijeka	46 341	52 285	43 874	48 469	12,8	-16,1	10,5
Split	45 139	61 793	53 969	62 841	36,9	-12,7	16,4
Makroreg. središta / Macroreg. Centres	127 587	158 296	134 508	152 424	24,1	-15,0	13,3
Zagreb	268 750	344 557	309 178	350 481	28,2	-10,3	13,4
Hrvatska / Croatia	1 049 096	1 165 890	1 009 841	1 155 402	11,1	-13,4	14,4

Izvor: Zaposlenost i plaće u ... [tisak + e-dokument], Statistička izvješća, Državni zavod za statistiku, Zagreb, Hrvatska, 2002.-2019.; URL 3. /
 Source: Employment and wages in ... [print + e-document], Statistical Reports, Central Bureau of Statistics, Zagreb, Croatia, 2002-2019; URL 3

došlo do smanjenja zaposlenosti u svim većim gradovima i u glavnini gospodarskih djelatnosti. Neke djelatnosti koje su u predrecesijskom razdoblju snažno ekspandirale, sada doživljavaju veliki pad, primjerice, građevinarstvo i trgovina. Značajan je pad broja zaposlenosti i u prerađivačkoj industriji, djelatnostima prijevoza itd. Te su se djelatnosti pokazale manje imunima na krizu. Na nacionalnoj je razini zaposlenost porasla samo u djelatnostima financiranim iz državnog proračuna ili pojedinim naprednim uslugama (zdravstvo, obrazovanje, administracija te poslovanje nekretninama). Pritom nema značajnije razlike između stopa ukupne promjene broja zaposlenih većih gradova i Hrvatske, po čemu se ovo razdoblje bitno razlikuje od prethodnog. Zaposlenost je, primjerice, u većim regionalnim središtima smanjena za 11,4 % (u odnosu na predrecesijsku 2008. godinu) što je tek neznatno manje od gubitka zaposlenosti na državnoj razini. U manjim je regionalnim središtima pad zaposlenosti bio i nešto izraženiji nego na državnoj razini. U odnosu na posljednju predrecesijsku godinu, broj je zaposlenih u ovom razdoblju najviše smanjen u Vukovaru, Koprivnici i Bjelovaru (za više od 20 %), dok je najmanji, neznatan, pad zabilježen u Dubrovniku. Nijedan veći grad nema tako homogenu gospodarsku strukturu usmjerenu na jednu djelatnost kao Koprivnica (čak 45,1 % zaposlenih je u prerađivačkoj industriji, najvećim dijelom prehrambenoj). Upravo je prerađivačka industrija nadaleko najviše pridonijela ukupnom padu zaposlenosti u ovom gradu. Broj zaposlenih je smanjen i u četiri najveća hrvatska grada, ali manje u Zagrebu i Splitu nego u Osijeku i Rijeci. Uz ranije navedene razloge sporijeg razvoja Osijeka, značajnije se smanjenje broja zaposlenih u Rijeci u ovom razdoblju dobrim dijelom može pripisati stanju u brodogradnji na koje je njezino gospodarstvo uvelike orijentirano.³ Recesija se poklopila s drastičnim smanjenjem državnih potpora brodograđevnoj industriji koje su ranije bile značajne (BENDE-

³ Primjerice, riječko brodogradilište *3. maj* zapošljavalo je prije recesije oko 2 800 radnika (2003.), da bi po njezinu okončanju (2015.) u njemu ostalo samo 1 200 radnika (URL 4).

the 1990s, unlike other macro-regional centres, the city did not develop, and later, due to the effects of war destruction and reduced gravitational area, continued to lag behind, losing its transport and transit characteristics (NJEGAČ ET AL., 2010).

In the recession period (2009-2014) there was a decrease in employment in all major cities and in the majority of economic activities. Some activities that expanded strongly in the pre-recession period were experiencing a sharp decline, such as construction and trade activities. There was also a significant decrease in employment in the manufacturing, transport activities, etc. These activities proved less immune to the crisis. At the national level, employment rose only in the activities financed from the state budget or certain advanced services (health, education, administration, and real estate). There was no significant difference between the rates of overall change in the number of employed persons of major cities and Croatia, which makes this period very different from the previous one. Employment, for example, decreased by 11.4% in larger regional centres (compared to the pre-recession year 2008), which is only slightly below the loss of employment at the state level. In smaller regional centres, the decrease in employment was also slightly more pronounced than at the state level. Compared to the last pre-recession year, the number of employed persons in this period had the maximum decrease in Vukovar, Koprivnica and Bjelovar (by more than 20%), while the smallest, insignificant, decline was recorded in Dubrovnik. No major city has such a homogenous economic structure focused on a single activity as Koprivnica (as many as 45.1% of employed persons are in the processing, mostly food, industry). It was the manufacturing that mostly contributed to the overall decrease in employment in this city. The number of employed persons was also reduced in the four largest Croatian cities, but less in Zagreb and Split than in Osijek and Rijeka. In addition to the already mentioned reasons for the slower growth of Osijek, let us add that a significant decrease in the number of employed persons in Rijeka in this period is largely attributable to the state of shipbuilding, to which its economy is

KOVIĆ, 2011.).

S obzirom na djelatnosti koje su najviše pridonijele smanjenju broja zaposlenih, gradovi recesijskog razdoblja mogu se svrstati u nekoliko skupina. Jednu skupinu čine gradovi u kojima je ukupan pad broja zaposlenih u najvećoj mogućoj mjeri posljedica smanjenja zaposlenosti u prerađivačkoj industriji. To su Sisak, Koprivnica i Virovitica. U pojedinim gradovima smanjenju ukupne zaposlenosti podjednako su pridonijele prerađivačka industrija i trgovina (Šibenik, Pula), a u više gradova, uz navedene dvije djelatnosti, i građevinarstvo (Zagreb, Split, Rijeka, Slavonski Brod, Požega). U Vinkovcima i Čakovcu pad zaposlenosti najviše je bio uvjetovan građevinarstvom te potom prerađivačkom industrijom. U pojedinim je gradovima pad zaposlenosti ponajprije generiran smanjenjem zaposlenosti u trgovini i, zatim, građevinarstvu (Velika Gorica, Osijek, Zadar). Padu broja zaposlenih u Vukovaru, Varaždinu i Dubrovniku izraženije je pridonijela djelatnost građevinarstva. Prerađivačka industrija je veliki „gubitnik“ radnih mjesta u mnogim gradovima te je malo primjera onih s manjim padom industrijske zaposlenosti. Takvima se mogu apostrofirati Varaždin, Vukovar i Karlovac (u kojem je čak zabilježen blaži rast industrijske zaposlenosti) (*Zaposlenost i plaće*, 2002. – 2019.).

Postrecesijsko razdoblje (2015. – 2019.) obilježeno je ponovnim rastom nacionalnoga gospodarstva i zaposlenosti, najviše u djelatnostima trgovine te pružanja usluga smještaja i prehrane. Upravo pojedine djelatnosti koje su u recesijskom razdoblju zabilježile snažan pad zaposlenosti, poput trgovine ili građevinarstva, sada bilježe natprosječan rast (*Zaposlenost i plaće*, 2002. – 2019.). U usporedbi s predrecesijskim godinama, kada su gotovo svi veći gradovi imali zamjetno snažniji rast broja zaposlenih od hrvatskog prosjeka, u ovom razdoblju zaposlenost u njima raste sporije. Ako je suditi po tome, oporavak je od recesije u većim gradovima, koji bi trebali biti nositelji regionalnog razvoja, nešto sporiji nego na preostalom državnom teritoriju sazdanom od manjih gradova i njihovih ruralnih okolica. Zamjetnije iznad državnog prosjeka broj se zaposlenih povećao u

largely oriented.³ The recession coincided with a drastic reduction in state aid to the shipbuilding industry, which was previously significant (BENDEKOVIĆ, 2011).

Given the activities that contributed most to the decrease in the number of employed persons, the cities of the recession period can be classified into several groups. One group consists of cities in which the overall decline in the number of employed persons is largely due to a decrease in employment in the manufacturing. These are the cities of Sisak, Koprivnica and Virovitica. In some cities, the manufacturing and trade contributed equally to the decrease in total employment (Šibenik, Pula), and in several cities, in addition to these two activities, there was also construction activity (Zagreb, Split, Rijeka, Slavonski Brod, Požega). In Vinkovci and Čakovec, the decrease in employment was mostly conditioned by the construction industry, followed by the manufacturing. In some cities, the decrease in employment was primarily generated by a decrease in employment in trade followed by the construction industry (Velika Gorica, Osijek, Zadar). The construction activity contributed more to the decline in the number of employed persons in Vukovar, Varaždin and Dubrovnik. The manufacturing was a major "loser" of jobs in many cities, and there were few cities with a less prominent industrial employment decrease. Varaždin, Vukovar and Karlovac can be singled out as such (with Karlovac even having a slight industrial employment increase) (*Zaposlenost i plaće*, 2002-2019).

The post-recession period (2015-2019) is characterised by the resurgence of the national economy and employment, mostly in trade and accommodation and food services. Certain activities that saw a sharp decrease in employment during the recession, such as trade or construction, afterwards experienced above-average growth (*Zaposlenost i plaće*, 2002-2019). In comparison with the pre-recession years, when almost all major cities had noticeably stronger growth in the num-

³ For example, before the recession, Rijeka's shipyard *Treći maj* employed about 2,800 workers (2003), with only 1,200 of them still employed after the recession ended (in 2015) (URL 4).

Velikoj Gorici, u kojoj je kriza najkraće trajala iako je pad bio dubok, te u Bjelovaru i Zadru. Dodajmo ovdje da se o Zadru, kao uostalom i o Puli, često govori kao o dinamičnijem razvojnem žarištu na obali i potencijalnom makroregionalnom središtu (ŠIMUNOVIĆ I DR., 2011.). Usporede li se ova dva grada, u ovom se razdoblju opaža snažniji rast zaposlenosti u Zadru, koji se, usto, i u recesijskom razdoblju pokazao otpornijim na krizu od Pule u čijem je gospodarstvu tada „ugašeno“ više radnih mjesta. Kada su posrijedi četiri najveća hrvatska grada, Split i Zagreb i nadalje ostvaruju nešto bolje rezultate u odnosu na Rijeku i Osijek. Koristeći se, uz ostalo, svojim geoprometnim prednostima (npr. izgradnja autoceste na koridoru Vc) Osijek će pokušati osnažiti svoju važnost (NJEGAČ I DR., 2010.). Na istoku Hrvatske svoju važnost pokušava vratiti i Vukovar pomoću svojih razvojnih potencijala, npr. položaj na međunarodnom plovnom putu (ŽIVIĆ, 2012.).

Shift-share analiza zaposlenosti u većim hrvatskim gradovima

Kako bi se utvrdilo i objasnilo odstupanje razvojne dinamike hrvatskih gradova od nacionalnog prosjeka, pristupilo se *shift-share* analizi. Rast zaposlenosti u pojedinom gradu može biti veći ili manji od nacionalnog rasta, tj. iznadprosječan ili ispodprosječan. Razlika između stope rasta zaposlenosti grada i stope rasta zaposlenosti na ukupnom prostoru Hrvatske jest regionalni čimbenik (HEIJMAN, VAN DER HEIDE, 1998.). Ova analiza odgovorit će na pitanje u kojoj je mjeri odstupanje razvojne dinamike grada od dinamike razvoja Hrvatske uvjetovano egzogenim ili strukturnim čimbenicima, a koliko endogenim čimbenicima ili lokalnim uvjetima.

Za grad koji u svojoj gospodarskoj strukturi ima natprosječno zastupljene brzo rastuće djelatnosti na nacionalnoj razini kaže se da ima povoljna strukturno-ekonomska obilježja. Ovdje je riječ o utjecaju egzogenog ili strukturnog čimbenika. To nužno ne znači da će se grad natprosječno razvijati jer može imati nepovoljne lokalne uvjete. Pod endogenim ili

ber of employed persons compared to the Croatian average, the employment during this period was growing at a slower pace. Judging by this, major cities, who should be the regional growth leaders, were recovering from the recession somewhat more slowly than the remaining state territory consisting of smaller towns and their rural surroundings. Significantly more than the national average, the number of employed persons increased in Velika Gorica, where the crisis was the shortest, even though the decline was deep, as well as in Bjelovar and Zadar. Let us add here that Zadar, as well as Pula, is often referred to as a more dynamic-growth coastal hotspot and a potential macro-regional centre (ŠIMUNOVIĆ ET AL., 2011). If we compare these two cities, this period shows stronger employment growth in Zadar, which, in addition, in the recession period proved more resilient to the crisis than Pula, whose economy then "lost" more jobs. When it comes to the four largest Croatian cities, Split and Zagreb continued to perform slightly better than Rijeka and Osijek. Using, among other things, its advantages in terms of transport geography (e.g. a highway construction on the Vc Corridor), Osijek was trying to strengthen its importance (NJEGAČ ET AL., 2010). Vukovar was also trying to restore its importance in the east of Croatia through its growth potentials, such as its position on the international waterway (ŽIVIĆ, 2012).

Shift share analysis of employment in major Croatian cities

In order to determine and explain the deviation of the development dynamics of Croatian cities from the national average, a shift-share analysis was used. Employment growth in a particular city may be higher or lower than national growth, i.e. above or below average. The difference between the city employment growth rate and the employment growth rate in the overall territory of Croatia is the regional factor (HEIJMAN, VAN DER HEIDE, 1998). This analysis should answer the question of the extent to which the deviation of the growth dynamics of the city from the dynamics of the growth of Croatia is conditioned by exogenous or structur-

TABLICA 2. *Shift-share analiza zaposlenosti u većim hrvatskim gradovima između 2001. i 2008. godine*
 TABLE 2 *Shift-share analysis of employment in major Croatian cities between 2001 and 2008*

Skupina gradova / Group of cities		Grad / City	RF	SF	LF
RF > 1,0					
a1	SF > 1,0 LF > 1,0	Bjelovar	1,280	1,000	1,279
		Split	1,232	1,038	1,187
		Velika Gorica	1,194	1,024	1,166
		Slavonski Brod	1,167	1,010	1,156
		Zagreb	1,154	1,046	1,102
		Dubrovnik	1,128	1,030	1,095
		Osijek	1,102	1,037	1,062
		Zadar	1,081	1,033	1,047
		Pula	1,077	1,029	1,047
		Čakovec	1,067	1,016	1,050
a2	SF < 1,0 LF > 1,0	Vukovar	1,529	0,972	1,573
		Karlovac	1,175	0,990	1,187
		Vinkovci	1,151	0,997	1,155
		Varaždin	1,108	0,980	1,130
		Šibenik	1,040	0,999	1,042
		Požega	1,034	0,958	1,080
		Virovitica	1,025	0,969	1,058
a3	SF > 1,0 LF < 1,0	Rijeka	1,015	1,018	0,997
RF < 1,0					
b1	SF < 1,0 LF > 1,0	Koprivnica	0,955	0,941	1,015
b2	SF > 1,0 LF < 1,0	-	-	-	-
b3	SF < 1,0 LF < 1,0	Sisak	0,885	0,972	0,910

Izvor: Izračunato od strane autora prema *Zaposlenost i plaće u ...* [tisak + e-dokument], Statistička izvješća, Državni zavod za statistiku, Zagreb, Hrvatska, 2002.-2019.; URL 3. / Source: Calculated by the authors according to *Zaposlenost i plaće u ...*, Statistička izvješća, Državni zavod za statistiku, Zagreb, 2002.-2019., URL 3

lokalnim čimbenicima podrazumijevaju se različite lokalne prednosti ili nedostaci kao što su poduzetnička sposobnost, vodstvo, institucije, učinci regionalne politike, fizička infrastruktura, ljudski i društveni kapital (HEIJMAN, VAN DER HEIDE, 1998.; WENJUAN, 2006.), troškovi rada, cijene zemljišta, lokalni porezi (MÖLLER, 2012.) i dr.

U Tab. 2. prikazani su rezultati *shift-share* analize zaposlenosti gradova u predrecesijskom razdoblju. Gotovo svi veći gradovi u razdoblju

al factors, and how much by endogenous factors or local conditions.

For a city that has above-average rapidly growing activities at the national level in its economic structure, we say that it has favourable structural and economic characteristics. This is due to the influence of exogenous or structural factors. It does not necessarily mean that the city will develop above average as it may have unfavourable local conditions. Endogenous or local factors include various local advantages or disadvantages,

2001. – 2008. imaju $RF > 1$ (u nekima je regionalni čimbenik čak iznad 1,1) što govori o njihovu natprosječnom razvoju u odnosu na ukupni prostor Hrvatske. Primjerice, Bjelovar je u ovom razdoblju imao $RF = 1,280$ što znači da je u njemu broj zaposlenih porastao za čak 28 % više nego da se rast odvijao po nacionalnoj stopi. Kod mnogih je gradova natprosječan rast zaposlenosti rezultat uzajamnog djelovanja povoljnih strukturnih (egzogenih) i lokalnih (endogenih čimbenika). To su gradovi skupine *a1*, poput Bjelovara, Splita, Velike Gorice, Slavenskog Broda, Zagreba, Dubrovnika i drugih. Niz je gradova zahvaljujući povoljnom lokalnom čimbeniku ostvario natprosječan rast, unatoč nepovoljnim strukturnim obilježjima. Ti se gradovi nalaze u skupini *a2*, npr. Vukovar, Karlovac, Vinkovci, Varaždin i dr. Jedini grad koji je unatoč nepovoljnim lokalnim prilikama, zahvaljujući povoljnoj strukturi gospodarstva, uspio zabilježiti rast veći od nacionalnog prosjeka je Rijeka (*a3*). Koprivnica i Sisak su, pak, jedini gradovi koji u ovom propulzivnom razdoblju imaju sporiji rast zaposlenosti od ukupnog prostora.

U ovom razdoblju jedanaest gradova ima povoljna strukturno-ekonomska obilježja, tj. u strukturi njihova gospodarstva značajno su zastupljene brzo rastuće djelatnosti na nacionalnoj razini. To su u ovom razdoblju djelatnosti vezane uz poslovanje nekretninama, građevinarstvo, ostale društvene djelatnosti, trgovina, financijsko posredovanje (u njima je zaposlenost porasla za više od 20 %). Povoljna strukturna obilježja imali su gotovo svi makroregionalni i veći regionalni centri, dok je u većini manjih regionalnih centara (manjih centara rada) granska struktura bila nepovoljnija. U isto je vrijeme čak osamnaest gradova imalo povoljne lokalne prilike, odnosno bilo ih je znatno više od onih sa strukturno-ekonomskim prednostima. U gotovo je svim gradovima lokalni čimbenik bio veći od strukturnog čimbenika. Pojedininim je istraživanjima u svijetu također utvrđeno da u većini regija ili gradova lokalna komponenta ima važniju ulogu u formiranju regionalnog rasta od strukturne komponente (WOLF, 2002.; WENJUAN, 2006.).

such as entrepreneurial ability, leadership, institutions, regional policy effects, physical infrastructure, human and social capital (HEIJMAN, VAN DER HEIDE, 1998; WENJUAN, 2006), labour costs, land prices, local taxes (MÖLLER, 2012) etc.

Table 2 shows the results of shift-share analysis of employment in cities in the pre-recession period. Almost all major cities in the 2001-2008 period have $RF > 1$ (the regional factor in some of them is even above 1.1) which reflects their above-average growth in relation to the overall territory of Croatia. For example, in this period Bjelovar had an $RF=1,280$, which means that the number of employed persons increased by as much as 28.0% more than if the growth followed the national rate. In many cities, above-average employment growth is the result of the mutual action of favourable structural (exogenous) and local (endogenous) factors. These are the cities of the *a1* group, such as Bjelovar, Split, Velika Gorica, Slavonski Brod, Zagreb, Dubrovnik and others. Numerous cities achieved above-average growth thanks to the favourable local factor, despite the unfavourable structural characteristics. These cities are in the *a2* group, e.g., Vukovar, Karlovac, Vinkovci, Varaždin, etc. The only city that, despite unfavourable local conditions, owing to the favourable economic structure, managed to record a growth higher than the national average is Rijeka (*a3*). Koprivnica and Sisak, meanwhile, were the only cities having slower employment growth than the overall territory in this propulsive period.

In this period, 11 cities had favourable structural and economic characteristics, i.e. rapidly growing activities at a national level are significantly represented in their economic structure. These are activities related to real estate, construction, other social activities, trade, financial intermediation (in which employment increased by more than 20%). Almost all macro-regional and larger

⁴ Due to the change in the National Classification of Activities (NKD 2002 was replaced by NKD 2007), the data on the number of employed persons by sections of activity in 2008 and earlier are not comparable to the data from 2009 and later. Although it would have been more suitable for this paper if the year 2008 were chosen as the *shift-share* analysis reference year, as the number of employed persons was at the highest level at that time, the data from 2009 were used for the above mentioned methodological reason.

TABLICA 3. *Shift-share analiza zaposlenosti u većim hrvatskim gradovima između 2009. i 2014. godine*⁴
 TABLE 3 *Shift-share analysis of employment in major Croatian cities between 2009 and 2014*⁴

Skupina gradova / Group of cities		Grad / City	RF	SF	LF
RF > 1,0					
a1	SF > 1,0 LF > 1,0	Dubrovnik	1,142	1,022	1,118
		Karlovac	1,090	1,019	1,070
		Zadar	1,051	1,023	1,027
		Šibenik	1,046	1,018	1,027
		Split	1,007	1,004	1,003
a2	SF < 1,0 LF > 1,0	Vinkovci	1,119	0,982	1,139
		Varaždin	1,030	0,978	1,053
		Slavonski Brod	1,024	0,992	1,032
		Čakovec	1,020	0,969	1,052
a3	SF > 1,0 LF < 1,0	Sisak	1,009	1,021	0,988
		Zagreb	1,004	1,008	0,996
RF < 1,0					
b1	SF < 1,0 LF > 1,0	-	-	-	-
b2	SF > 1,0 LF < 1,0	Požega	0,986	1,007	0,979
		Virovitica	0,983	1,014	0,970
		Rijeka	0,983	1,020	0,964
		Pula	0,951	1,008	0,944
		Vukovar	0,889	1,011	0,879
b3	SF < 1,0 LF < 1,0	Osijek	0,973	0,999	0,973
		Koprivnica	0,950	0,988	0,961
		Bjelovar	0,947	0,999	0,947
		Velika Gorica	0,921	0,982	0,938

Izvor: Izračunato od strane autora prema *Zaposlenost i plaće u ...* [tisak + e-dokument], Statistička izvješća, Državni zavod za statistiku, Zagreb, Hrvatska, 2002.-2019.; URL 3. / Source: Calculated by the authors according to *Zaposlenost i plaće u ...*, Statistička izvješća, Državni zavod za statistiku, Zagreb, 2002.-2019., URL 3

U recesijskom su se razdoblju zbile značajne promjene (Tab. 3.). Prije svega, dogodio se snažan pad lokalne konkurentnosti gradova s obzirom na to da je broj onih s LF > 1 prepolovljen. Preostalo je samo devet gradova s povoljnom lokalnom komponentom, i to redom: Dubrovnik, Karlovac, Zadar, Šibenik, Split, Vinkovci,

⁴ Zbog promjene Nacionalne klasifikacije djelatnosti (umjesto NKD 2002., prešlo se na NKD 2007.), podaci o broju zaposlenih po područjima djelatnosti 2008. godine i ranije nisu usporedivi s podacima iz 2009. godine i kasnije. Iako bi ovdje bilo prihvatljivije da je za referentnu godinu *shift share* analize uzeta 2008. godina, jer je tada broj zaposlenih bio na najvišoj razini, iz navedenog su metodološkog razloga upotrijebljeni podaci iz 2009. godine.

regional centres had favourable structural characteristics, while in the majority of smaller regional centres (smaller work centres) the activities structure was less favourable. At the same time, as many as 18 cities had favourable local characteristics, that is, their number was significantly higher than the number of those with structural and economic advantages. In almost all cities, the local factor was higher than the structural factor. Some studies worldwide also found that in most regions or cities the local component plays a more prominent role in the regional growth formation than the structural component (WOLF, 2002; WENJUAN, 2006).

Varaždin, Slavonski Brod i Čakovec. S tim u vezi, mnogim je gradovima strukturna komponenta postala bitnija od lokalne, što je suprotno nego u razdobljima gospodarskog rasta. Ponajviše zbog pada lokalne konkurentnosti došlo je do izraženije diferencijacije gradova na one s $RF > 1$ i gradove s $RF < 1$. Iako su svi veći gradovi zabilježili smanjenje broja zaposlenih, oni s $RF > 1$ imali su manji pad od državnog prosjeka. Njihov je povoljniji razvoj češće posljedica lokalnih ili endogenih čimbenika ($LF > SF$), a rjeđe strukturnih ili egzogenih čimbenika ($SF > LF$). Gradovi s $RF < 1$ imali su intenzivniji pad zaposlenosti od državnog prosjeka. Nijedan grad koji se u ovom razdoblju razvijao ispod prosjeka države nije imao povoljnu lokalnu komponentu. Neki su od njih imali povoljna strukturno-ekonomska obilježja (Požega, Virovitica, Rijeka, Pula, Vukovar), ali je zbog nepovoljnog lokalnog čimbenika razvoj izostao. Kod drugih je gradova ispodprosječni razvoj nusprodukt uzajamnog djelovanja nepovoljnih strukturnih i lokalnih čimbenika (Osijek, Koprivnica, Bjelovar, Velika Gorica).⁵

Tablica 4. donosi rezultate *shift-share* analize zaposlenosti u postrecesijskom razdoblju. Iako bi se očekivalo da će veći gradovi ponovno zadržati predznak nositelja regionalnog razvoja, kao u vrijeme prije recesije, to je očigledno izostalo. U ovom razdoblju tek manji broj gradova ima $RF > 1$, odnosno u većini je većih gradova rast zaposlenosti ispod hrvatskog prosjeka. Natprosječan je rast zaposlenosti u samo dva grada, Zadru i Splitu, rezultat uzajamnog djelovanja strukturnih i lokalnih čimbenika (skupina *aI*). U Velikoj Gorici, Bjelovaru, Varaždinu i Vukovaru natprosječan je rast ostvaren zahvaljujući povoljnom lokalnom čimbeniku, unatoč nepovoljnim strukturno-ekonomskim značajkama. Velika Gorica ima najvišu vrijednost regionalnog čimbenika u iznosu od 1,178 što znači da

⁵ Indikativno je zapaziti kako je u doba recesije zabilježen snažan pad lokalne konkurentnosti u Velikoj Gorici ($LF = 0,938$), unatoč činjenici da je prije recesije lokalna komponenta grada bila izrazito pozitivna. Iako je u Velikoj Gorici recesija trajala kraće, u tih je nekoliko kriznih godina zabilježen snažan pad zaposlenosti. No, nakon recesije ponovno će se dogoditi obrat, tj. lokalne će konkurentne prednosti u Velikoj Gorici iznova snažno porasti.

Significant changes occurred in the recession period (see Tab. 3). First of all, there was a sharp decline in the local competitiveness of cities, as the number of those with $LF > 1$ was halved. Only nine cities with a favourable local component remained, namely: Dubrovnik, Karlovac, Zadar, Šibenik, Split, Vinkovci, Varaždin, Slavonski Brod and Čakovec. In this regard, for many cities, the structural component became more important than the local one, which is the opposite of periods of economic growth. Mainly due to the decline in local competitiveness, there was a more pronounced differentiation of cities to those with $RF > 1$ and cities with $RF < 1$. Although all major cities saw a decrease in the number of employed persons, those with $RF > 1$ had a smaller decline than the national average. Their more favourable growth is more often due to local or endogenous factors ($LF > SF$), and less often structural or exogenous factors ($SF > LF$). Cities with $RF < 1$ had a more intense drop in employment than the national average. No city that developed below the state average in this period had a favourable local component. Some of them had favourable structural and economic characteristics (Požega, Virovitica, Rijeka, Pula, Vukovar), but due to an unfavourable local factor, growth was absent. In other cities, below-average growth is a by-product of the mutual action of unfavourable structural and local factors (Osijek, Koprivnica, Bjelovar, Velika Gorica).⁵

Table 4 presents the results of shift-share employment analysis in the post-recession period. While larger cities would be expected to regain the role of regional growth leaders, as in the pre-recession days, this was clearly not the case. In this period, only a small number of cities have $RF > 1$, that is, in most major cities, employment growth is below the Croatian average. The above-average growth of employment in only two cities, Zadar and Split, is the result

⁵ It is indicative to note that during the recession there was a sharp decline in the local competitiveness of Velika Gorica ($LF = 0,938$), even though before the recession the local component of the city was extremely positive. Although the recession was shorter in Velika Gorica, a sharp decline in employment in those few crisis years was recorded. However, after the recession, the turnaround occurred again, i.e. the local competitive advantages in Velika Gorica again increased sharply.

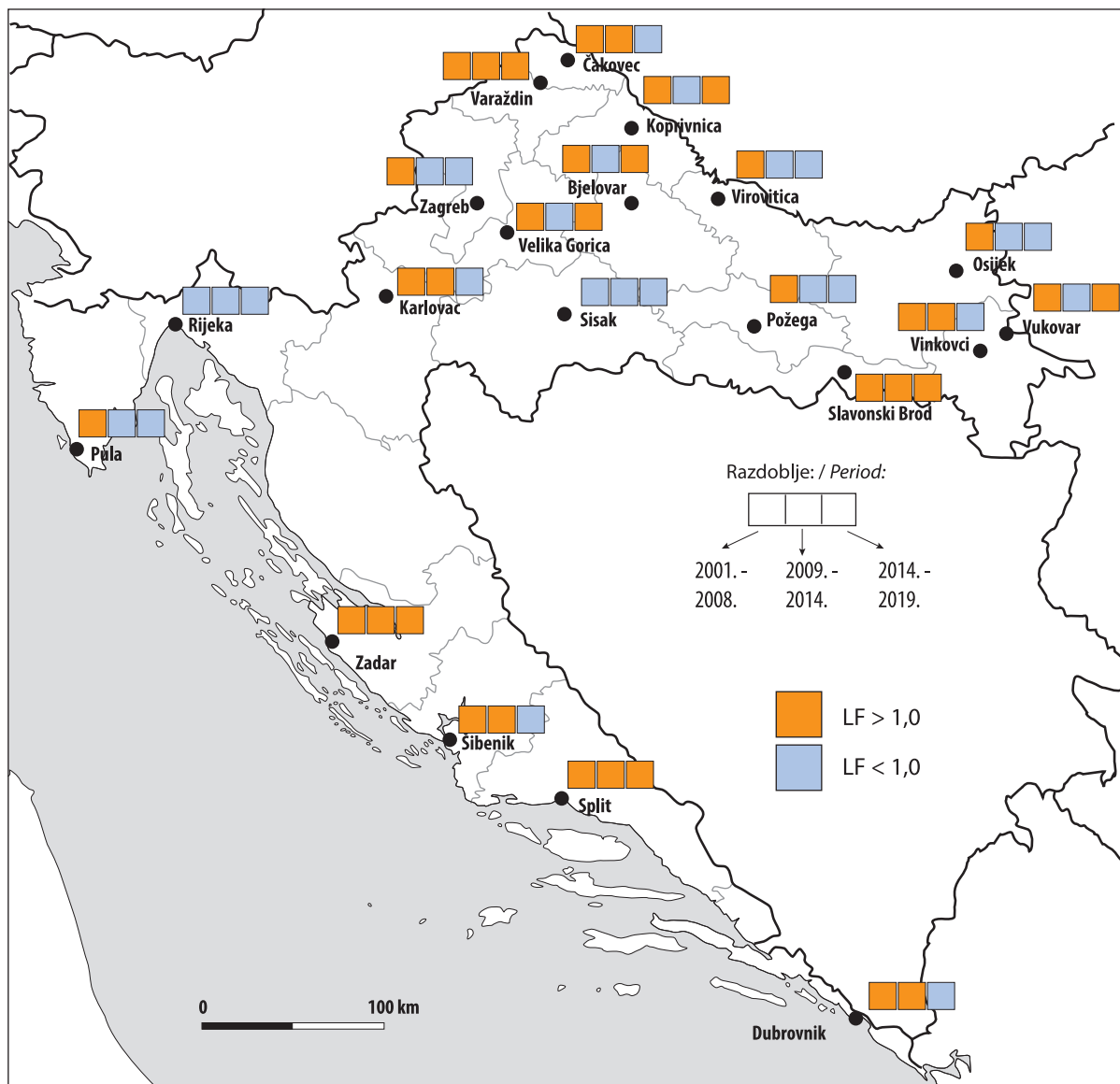
TABLICA 4. *Shift-share analiza zaposlenosti u većim hrvatskim gradovima između 2014. i 2019. godine*
TABLE 4 *Shift-share analysis of employment in major Croatian cities between 2014 and 2019*

Skupina gradova / Group of cities		Grad / City	RF	SF	LF
RF > 1,0					
a1	SF > 1,0 LF > 1,0	Zadar	1,041	1,008	1,032
		Split	1,018	1,002	1,016
a2	SF < 1,0 LF > 1,0	Velika Gorica	1,178	0,981	1,201
		Bjelovar	1,061	0,976	1,087
		Varaždin	1,005	0,987	1,018
		Vukovar	1,005	0,983	1,022
a3	SF > 1,0 LF < 1,0	Dubrovnik	1,007	1,074	0,938
RF < 1,0					
b1	SF < 1,0 LF > 1,0	Koprivnica	0,987	0,966	1,023
		Slavonski Brod	0,985	0,982	1,003
b2	SF > 1,0 LF < 1,0	Zagreb	0,991	1,008	0,983
		Šibenik	0,980	1,002	0,978
		Rijeka	0,966	1,005	0,961
		Pula	0,926	1,002	0,924
b3	SF < 1,0 LF < 1,0	Osijek	0,980	0,999	0,980
		Virovitica	0,965	0,977	0,988
		Vinkovci	0,964	0,968	0,995
		Požega	0,958	0,969	0,989
		Čakovec	0,925	0,988	0,936
		Sisak	0,898	0,980	0,917
		Karlovac	0,872	0,972	0,897

Izvor: Izračunato od strane autora prema *Zaposlenost i plaće u ...* [tisak + e-dokument], Statistička izvješća, Državni zavod za statistiku, Zagreb, Hrvatska, 2002.-2019.; URL 3. / Source: Calculated by the authors according to *Zaposlenost i plaće u ...*, Statistička izvješća, Državni zavod za statistiku, Zagreb, 2002.-2019., URL 3

je broj zaposlenih ondje porastao za 17,8 % više nego da se rast odvijao po nacionalnoj stopi. Lokalni čimbenik pritom je iznosio 1,201, odnosno u Velikoj Gorici rast zaposlenosti veći je za 20,1 % negoli se očekivalo na temelju strukture njezina gospodarstva. Dubrovnik je jedini grad koji je u ovom razdoblju imao nepovoljnu lokalnu komponentu, a da je pritom, zahvaljujući povoljnom utjecaju egzogenog čimbenika, uspio zabilježiti rast iznad nacionalnog prosjeka. Svi ostali veći gradovi imaju u postrecesijskom razdoblju sporiji rast zaposlenosti od ukupnog prostora. Najviše je gradova u skupini b3 gdje je ispodprosječni razvoj posljedica uzajamnog

of the interaction of structural and local factors (group a1). In Velika Gorica, Bjelovar, Varaždin and Vukovar, above-average growth was achieved owing to a favourable local factor, despite their unfavourable structural and economic characteristics. Velika Gorica has the highest regional factor value of 1.178, which means that the number of employed persons there increased by 17.8% more than if growth had followed the national rate. The local factor was 1.201, meaning that in Velika Gorica there was 20.1% higher employment growth than expected based on its economic structure. Dubrovnik is the only city that had an unfavourable local component in this period,



SLIKA 6. Lokalni čimbenik u većim hrvatskim gradovima po razdobljima

FIGURE 6 Local factor in major Croatian cities by periods

Izvor: Izračunato od strane autora prema *Zaposlenost i plaće u ...* [tiskav + e-dokument], Statistička izvješća, Državni zavod za statistiku, Zagreb, Hrvatska, 2002.-2019.; URL 3. / Source: Calculated by the authors according to *Zaposlenost i plaće u ...*, Statistička izvješća, Državni zavod za statistiku, Zagreb, 2002.-2019., URL 3

djelovanja nepovoljnih strukturnih i lokalnih obilježja.

U ovom razdoblju samo sedam gradova ima povoljna strukturno-ekonomska obilježja sa značajnom zastupljenošću brže rastućih djelatnosti u Hrvatskoj. To su u ovom razdoblju djelatnosti pružanja usluga smještaja i prehrane, poslovanje nekretninama, ostale uslužne djelatnosti, informacije i komunikacije, stručne i znanstvene djelatnosti, administrativne djelatnosti (u njima je zaposlenost porasla za više od 25 %) (*Zaposlenost i plaće*, 2002.-2019.). Među ovim je gradovima samo jedan manji regionalni centar (Šibenik), dok su ostali redom veći centri rada (npr. Du-

and owing to the favourable influence of exogenous factors, it managed to record growth above the national average. All other major cities had slower employment growth in the post-recession period than the overall territory. Most cities are in the *b3* group, where below-average growth is the result of the mutual action of unfavourable structural and local characteristics.

In this period, only seven cities have favourable structural and economic characteristics with a significant distribution of faster-growing activities in Croatia. These are the activities of accommodation and food provision services, real estate, other service activities, information and commu-

brovnik, Zadar, Zagreb, Rijeka). Iako se blago povećao broj gradova u kojima je doprinos lokalne komponente gospodarskom rastu veći od strukturne ($LF > SF$), u ovom je razdoblju preostalo samo osam gradova s povoljnim lokalnim preduvjetima ($LF > 1$). Unatoč izlasku iz recesije, nastavljen je trend pada lokalne konkurentnosti gradova. To znači da se broj gradova s pozitivnim strukturno-ekonomskim i onih s pozitivnim lokalnim obilježjima gotovo izjednačio, dok je prije recesije disproporcija bila izraženija. Konkurentnost se smanjuje zbog odljeva mozgova, loše ekonomske politike, onečišćenja okoliša i dr. (FAHRHAUER, KRÖLL, 2013.). Promjene lokalnih konkurentskih sposobnosti gradova zorno su prikazane na Sl. 6.

RASPRAVA

U ovom radu provedena *shift-share* analiza zaposlenosti u većim hrvatskim gradovima ukazala je na uzroke njihovih razvojnih razlika i polazište je u istraživanju urbane konkurentnosti. Kao dio ove analize, na promjene konkurentnosti uputio je lokalni čimbenik. Upozorivši na pad konkurentskih sposobnosti hrvatskih gradova u recesijskom razdoblju kao i na činjenicu da urbana konkurentnost nije porasla tijekom prvih postrecesijskih godina, ovaj je rad ispunio svoju temeljnu zadaću.

Iako je *shift-share* metoda čest alat za objašnjavanje različitog razvoja gradova i njihove konkurentnosti, i ona ima svoja ograničenja (ROSENFELD, 1959.; ESTEBAN-MARQUILLAS, 1972.; ARTIGE, NEUS, 2014.). Kako bi se dobila sveobuhvatna slika konkurentskih sposobnosti hrvatskih gradova, u budućim bi istraživanjima trebalo primijeniti i druge metode mjerenja urbane konkurentnosti – ekonometrijske i neekonometrijske – kao što su koeficijent varijacije, Herfindahlov indeks, Ginijevi indeksi, Theilov indeks, neki istraživači razvili su kompozitne indekse itd. (BRUNECKIENE I DR., 2012.).

Osим što je urbana konkurentnost mjerljiva na različite načine, analize mogu uključivati jedan ili više indikatora konkurentnosti (BRUNECKIENE I DR., 2010.). Ovdje provedena ana-

nications, professional and scientific activities, administrative activities (in which employment increased by more than 25%) (*Zaposlenost i plaće*, 2002-2019). Among these cities, there is only one smaller regional centre (Šibenik), while the other are larger work centres (e.g. Dubrovnik, Zadar, Zagreb, Rijeka). Although the number of cities with the contribution of the local component to the economic growth higher than the structural one ($LF > SF$) slightly increased, only eight cities with favourable local preconditions ($LF > 1$) remained in this period. Despite emerging from the recession, the trend of declining local competitiveness of cities continued. This means that the number of cities with positive structural and economic characteristics, and those with positive local characteristics almost equalled, while before the recession the disproportions were more pronounced. Competitiveness decreased through brain drain, poor economic policy, environmental pollution, etc. (FAHRHAUER, KRÖLL, 2013). Changes in local competitive capacities of cities are clearly shown in Figure 6.

DISCUSSION

The shift-share analysis of the employment in larger Croatian cities conducted in this paper pointed out the causes of their developmental differences and represents the starting point in the research of urban competitiveness. As part of this analysis, the local factor indicated changes in competitiveness. This paper has fulfilled its primary purpose by warning about the fall in the competitive capabilities of Croatian cities in the recession period, as well as about the fact that urban competitiveness did not rise during the first post-recession years.

Although shift-share method is a common tool for the explanation of different growth of the cities and their competitiveness, it has its limitations (ROSENFELD, 1959; ESTEBAN-MARQUILLAS, 1972; ARTIGE, NEUS, 2014). In order to obtain the comprehensive picture of competitive capabilities of Croatian cities, future research should include other methods of measuring urban competitiveness – econometric and non-econometric

liza temelji se isključivo na podacima o broju zaposlenih. Iako se radi o općem pokazatelju konkurentnosti i jednoj od glavnih ekonomskih varijabli, valja upozoriti na moguće manjkavosti ovoga pokazatelja. Primjerice, zaposlenost se može smanjivati u gradu u kojem tradicionalne radno-intenzivne djelatnosti više nisu konkurentne, ali u kojem u isto vrijeme rastu visokotehnološke djelatnosti koje zapošljavaju manje radne snage (KRESL I SINGH, 2012.). Kada bi ih bilo moguće osigurati, u nekim bi se budućim istraživanjima u obzir mogli uzeti i drugi značajniji pokazatelji gospodarskog rasta grada poput bruto domaćeg proizvoda, odnosno bruto dodane vrijednosti. Iako mnoga istraživanja u fokus stavljaju upravo ekonomsku konkurentnost, s obzirom na to da grad nije samo ekonomska jedinica, predstojeća bi istraživanja urbane konkurentnosti mogla obuhvatiti i neekonomske pokazatelje. Kako bi održali svoju konkurentnost, gradovi uz povoljne ekonomske rezultate trebaju ostvariti i zadovoljavajući socijalni i ekološki razvoj. Stoga pojedini autori (npr. BRUNECKIENE I DR., 2010.; JIANG, SHEN, 2010.) pri evaluaciji urbane konkurentnosti uzimaju više skupina indikatora – ekonomske, socijalne i ekološke. Tako se kao pokazatelji urbane konkurentnosti mogu upotrijebiti i stopa promjene broja stanovnika, udio visokoobrazovanih, broj polaznika cjeloživotnog obrazovanja na tisuću stanovnika, broj gospodarskih subjekata za znanstveno-tehnološku djelatnost na tisuću stanovnika, ulaganja u kulturu po glavi stanovnika itd. (KWON I DR., 2012.).

Budući da je urbana konkurentnost usko povezana s inovacijama i kreativnim ekonomijama, u njezinu se mjerenju ovi indikatori upotrebljavaju sve više (npr. KWON I DR., 2012.). Pojedina istraživanja, provedena i u nekim Republici Hrvatskoj susjednim zemljama, dovode konkurentnost gradova u vezu s inovacijama. Kozina i Bole (2018.) analizirali su prostornu distribuciju kreativne ekonomije, odnosno inovacija, u urbanoj hijerarhiji Slovenije. Iako su inovacije još uvijek snažno koncentrirane u glavnom gradu, autori su ustvrdili kako inovacijska aktivnost bilježi sve veći rast u manjim gradovima i ruralnim područjima, ukazujući

– such as variation coefficient, Herfindahl index, Gini's indexes, Theil index, composite indexes developed by some researchers, etc. (BRUNECKIENE ET AL., 2012).

Besides the fact that urban competitiveness can be measured in different ways, other analysis can include one or more indicators of competitiveness (BRUNECKIENE ET AL., 2010). The analysis conducted in this paper is based strictly on the data of the number of employed persons. Even though this is about the general indicator of competitiveness, as well as about one of the main economic variabilities, possible insufficiency of this indicator should be emphasised. For instance, employment rate can fall in the city where traditional work-intensive activities are no longer competitive, but where, at the same time, high-technological activities which employ less work power are rising (KRESL, SINGH, 2012). Were it possible to provide them, other important indicators of economic growth of the cities like gross domestic product or gross added tax could be considered in some future research. Although a lot of research put economic competitiveness in their focus, since a city is not just an economic unit, some future research of urban competitiveness could include non-economic indicators as well. In order to keep their competitiveness, along with economically advantageous results, cities should also achieve satisfactory social and ecological growth. Therefore, some authors (like BRUNECKIENE ET AL., 2010; JIANG, SHEN, 2010) use more groups of indicators – economic, social and environmental while evaluating urban competitiveness. The change rate of population, the portion of highly-educated people, the number of people attending lifetime courses per 1,000 inhabitants, the number of economic subjects for scientific-technological activities per 1,000 inhabitants, investments in culture per capita etc. (KWON ET AL., 2012) can be used as indicators of urban competitiveness.

Since urban competitiveness is closely connected to innovations and creative economies, these indicators are used more frequently in its measurements (i.e. KWON ET AL., 2012). Certain research, some conducted in the Republic of Croatia and neighbouring countries, relate the competitiveness

na policentričan razvoj Slovenije. Na vezu između rasta kreativne ekonomije i urbane hijerarhije upozorili su na primjeru Mađarske Egedy i Kovács (2018). Prema autorima, ondje se kreativna ekonomija sve više koncentrira na višim razinama urbane hijerarhije te nema naznaka njezina policentričnog razvoja. U analizi mreže centralnih naselja u Sloveniji Nared i dr. (2017.) u obzir su uzeli, među ostalim, i indikatore konkurentnosti. Primjena ovdje spomenutih indikatora inovacija, ali i ostalih indikatora, otvara brojne mogućnosti za daljnja istraživanja konkurentnosti hrvatskih gradova.

ZAKLJUČNA RAZMATRANJA

Globalna recesija (u nas od 2009. do 2014.) poremetila je pozitivne razvojne trendove u hrvatskom gospodarstvu. U godinama prije recesije veći su hrvatski gradovi imali znatno snažniji rast zaposlenosti od hrvatskog prosjeka. No, kada je nastupila recesija, veći gradovi zabilježili su pad zaposlenosti približno jednakog intenziteta kao na državnoj razini. U postrecesijskom razdoblju opaža se, pak, nešto sporiji oporavak većih gradova od hrvatskog prosjeka, a to je promjena trenda u odnosu na razdoblje prije recesije. Iz razdoblja u razdoblje sve je manje gradova koji su po kretanju zaposlenosti iznad nacionalnog prosjeka što je umnogome posljedica kontinuiranog pada njihove lokalne konkurentnosti. Veći su gradovi sve manje sposobni obavljati ulogu nositelja regionalnog razvoja.

Lokalna je komponenta u predrecesijskom razdoblju imala izrazito važnu ulogu u formiranju rasta zaposlenosti, u većini gradova značajniju od strukturne komponente. U doba recesije nakratko se dogodio obrat kada je u većem broju gradova „porastu“ zaposlenosti (preciznije rečeno, njezinu manjem smanjenju) više pridonosila strukturna negoli lokalna komponenta. Nešto veći lokalni doprinos gospodarskom rastu, iako ni približno kao nekada, ponovno se ostvaruje u postrecesijskim godinama.

Usporede li se rezultati *shift-share* analize provedene na razini gradova za tri relevantna raz-

of cities to innovations. Kozina, Bole (2018) analysed spatial distribution of creative economy, in other words, innovations, in the urban hierarchy in Slovenia. Even though the innovations are still strongly concentrated in the capital city, the authors claim that innovation activity notes larger growth in smaller cities and rural areas, indicating more polycentric development in Slovenia. They warned about the connection between the growth of creative economy and urban hierarchy on the Hungarian example Egedy, Kovács (2018). According to the authors, creative economy in Hungary is being concentrated on higher levels of urban hierarchy and there are no signs of its polycentric development. In the analysis of central settlements in Slovenia Nared et al. (2017) took into consideration indicators of competitiveness, amongst others. The use of the above mentioned innovation indicators, as well as the other indicators, opens numerous possibilities for further research of the competitiveness of Croatian cities.

CLOSING REMARKS

Global recession (here, from 2009 to 2014) disrupted positive growth trends in the Croatian economy. In the years before the recession, larger Croatian cities had much stronger employment growth than the Croatian average. But when the recession hit, larger cities saw a drop in employment of about the same intensity as at the state level. In the post-recession period, on the other hand, there was a somewhat slower recovery of larger cities than the Croatian average, which is a change in the trend compared to the period before the recession. Simply put, from period to period, there are fewer and fewer cities that are above the national average in terms of employment trends, which is largely due to the continuous decline in their local competitiveness. Larger cities are less and less able to play the role of regional growth leaders.

The local component in the pre-recession period played an extremely important role in shaping employment growth, which was in most cities more significant than the structural component. During the recession, there was a brief reversal,

doblja, predrecesijsko, recesijsko i postrecesijsko, nameću se sljedeći zaključci:

- Zbog povoljnog sinergijskog učinka endogenog i egzogenog čimbenika globalna se recesija, među hrvatskim gradovima, najmanje manifestirala u Dubrovniku.
- Od četiriju najvećih hrvatskih gradova, u Zagrebu i Splitu se u razdobljima rasta (prije i poslije recesije) bilježi veći rast zaposlenosti, a u razdoblju pada (tijekom recesije) manji pad zaposlenosti negoli u Rijeci i Osijeku.
- Iznadprosječan razvoj u odnosu na nacionalna kretanja ($RF > 1$) ostvarili su tijekom svih triju razdoblja Split, Zadar, Dubrovnik i Varaždin. Suprotno njima, ispodprosječan razvoj ($RF < 1$) kontinuirano opterećuje Koprivnicu, zbog vječito nepovoljnog utjecaja egzogenog čimbenika, neovisno o tomu što je u razdobljima prije i poslije recesije grad posjedovao lokalne prednosti.
- Split i Zadar su jedini gradovi koji permanentno, tijekom triju razdoblja, imaju pozitivne vrijednosti svih komponenti – regionalne, strukturne i lokalne ($RF > 1$, $SF > 1$, $LF > 1$). Njihov je natprosječan razvoj u svim razdobljima rezultat sinergije endogenog i egzogenog čimbenika.
- Povoljnu gospodarsku strukturu obilježenu brzorastućim djelatnostima na nacionalnoj razini ($SF > 1$) konstantno imaju, uz Split i Zadar, i Dubrovnik, Pula, Rijeka i Zagreb. To, dakako, ne znači da su svi ovdje navedeni gradovi iskoristili povoljna strukturno-ekonomska obilježja i ostvarili natprosječan razvoj.
- Kontinuitetom posjedovanja lokalnih konkurentskih prednosti ($LF > 1$) odlikuju se Split, Zadar, Slavonski Brod i Varaždin, dok su, s druge strane, lokalni nedostaci ($LF < 1$) neprestance prisutni u Rijeci i Sisku.

Indikativno je da među gradovima koji permanentno, iz razdoblja u razdoblje, ostvaruju natprosječne vrijednosti pokazatelja, bilo da je posrijedi regionalna, strukturna ili lokalna komponenta, nema manjih regionalnih središta. Proistječe da je razvojna dinamika manjih gradova više podložna oscilacijama i nestabilno-

and many cities had an "increase" (more precisely, a smaller decrease) in employment more due to the structural than the local component. A slightly higher local contribution to economic growth, although not nearly as it used to be, was being achieved again in the post-recessional years.

If we compare the results of the shift-share analysis conducted at the city level for the three relevant periods, pre-recession, recession and post-recession, the following conclusions can be drawn:

- Due to the favourable synergistic effect of the endogenous and exogenous factor, the global recession, among Croatian cities, was least manifested in Dubrovnik.
- Considering four largest Croatian cities, Zagreb and Split recorded higher employment growth in the periods of growth (before and after the recession), and a smaller decline in employment in the period of decline (during the recession) than Rijeka and Osijek.
- Above-average growth in relation to national trends ($RF > 1$) was achieved during all three periods in Split, Zadar, Dubrovnik and Varaždin. In contrast, below-average growth ($RF < 1$) was continuously burdensome for Koprivnica, due to the perpetually unfavourable influence of the exogenous factor, although in the periods before and after the recession the city had local advantages.
- Split and Zadar are the only cities that permanently, during all three periods, had positive values of all components – regional, structural, and local ($RF > 1$, $SF > 1$, $LF > 1$). Their above-average growth in all periods was the result of the synergy of the endogenous and exogenous factor.
- In addition to Split and Zadar, Dubrovnik, Pula, Rijeka, and Zagreb also had a favourable economic structure marked by fast-growing activities at the national level ($SF > 1$). This does not mean, of course, that all the cities listed here took advantage of the favourable structural and economic characteristics and achieved above-average growth.
- Split, Zadar, Slavonski Brod and Varaždin are characterized by the continuity of local competitive advantages ($LF > 1$), while, on the

stima, dok veća regionalna i makroregionalna središta češće zadržavaju konstantu i stabilnost razvojnih pokazatelja.

Na kraju dodajmo da uvid u endogene i egzogene čimbenike rasta nije samo vrednovanje razvojne dinamike gradova već može poslužiti za dugoročnije planiranje razvojnih smjerova gospodarske politike.

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other hand, local disadvantages ($LF < 1$) are constantly present in Rijeka and Sisak.

It is indicative that among cities that permanently, over various periods, achieve above-average values of indicators, be it a regional, structural, or local component, there are no smaller regional centres. It is evident that the growth dynamics of smaller cities is more susceptible to fluctuations and instability, while larger regional and macro-regional centres are more likely to maintain the constant and stability of growth indicators.

Finally, let us add that insight into endogenous and exogenous growth factors is not only an evaluation of the growth dynamics of cities, but can serve to plan growth directions of economic policy in the longer term.

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PRILOG I. Zaposleni u pravnim osobama, prema djelatnostima, u većim hrvatskim gradovima 2001. godine
APPENDIX I Employees in legal entities, by activities, in major Croatian cities in 2001

Grad / city	Djelatnost / activity*																Ukupno / total
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O		
Virovitica	105	-	-	2 970	185	239	760	53	488	136	132	345	459	741	161	6 774	
Vukovar	847	-	-	574	205	345	491	63	375	87	80	447	563	678	220	4 975	
Požega	270	-	-	3 450	426	309	1 050	50	378	195	112	779	575	817	95	8 506	
Sisak	200	-	-	5 536	706	746	890	106	1 484	373	580	839	976	1 109	316	13 861	
Koprivnica	389	-	188	7 890	383	461	841	66	976	305	216	562	506	934	151	13 868	
Bjelovar	483	-	24	2 646	301	838	1 191	79	737	335	382	690	737	1 091	209	9 743	
Šibenik	48	4	-	3 024	553	551	1 588	667	1 414	381	554	826	1 030	1 166	410	12 216	
Vinkovci	540	-	11	2 153	559	1 163	1 371	182	1 541	214	260	641	800	1 115	204	10 754	
Velika Gorica	71	-	129	2 086	359	785	2 196	236	1 329	159	438	418	1 019	291	92	9 608	
Čakovec	216	-	-	5 852	275	1 528	1 919	241	660	439	655	499	897	823	219	14 223	
Dubrovnik	82	-	64	510	446	634	2 536	1 969	1 410	566	455	952	1 024	1 142	611	12 401	
Karlovac	241	-	-	5 734	506	880	1 672	183	1 065	433	524	806	1 085	1 277	454	14 860	
Slavonski Brod	330	-	-	4 250	557	1 257	1 793	105	1 312	402	578	719	1 266	1 726	479	14 774	
Pula	113	9	39	5 876	540	1 184	2 945	834	1 291	961	1 445	993	1 423	1 993	917	20 563	
Zadar	231	151	-	3 335	613	1 260	3 440	852	1 821	673	1 036	1 003	1 881	1 526	660	18 482	
Varaždin	615	-	-	8 936	849	1 569	2 464	388	2 160	715	588	946	1 356	1 725	395	22 706	
Osijek	952	-	3	6 591	1 454	3 374	6 906	755	3 293	1 022	1 983	1 900	3 085	3 475	1 314	36 107	
Rijeka	174	43	127	8 799	1 107	2 127	7 311	1 038	8 312	1 819	3 538	2 419	3 782	4 313	1 432	46 341	
Split	409	1	94	7 391	1 446	2 446	7 363	1 228	5 098	1 839	3 831	2 752	4 720	4 749	1 772	45 139	
Zagreb	3 050	2	3 173	54 348	5 224	19 607	46 955	6 032	24 030	11 793	21 159	15 856	22 212	21 764	13 545	268 750	
Hrvatska / Croatia	29 995	1 222	7 506	252 317	27 587	64 987	157 265	35 650	82 039	28 964	52 179	122 541	83 886	71 835	31 123	1 049 096	

* značenje oznaka: poljoprivreda, lov i šumarstvo (A); ribarstvo (B); rudarstvo i vađenje (C); prerađivačka industrija (D); opskrba električnom energijom, plinom i vodom (E); građevinarstvo (F); trgovina na veliko i malo (G); hoteli i restorani (H); prijevoz i skladištenje (I); financijsko posredovanje (J); poslovanje nekretninama... (K); javna uprava i obrana, socijalno osiguranje (L); obrazovanje (M); zdravstvena zaštita... (N); ostale društvene i uslužne djelatnosti (O).

* meaning of codes: Agriculture, hunting and forestry (A); Fishing (B); Mining and quarrying (C); Manufacturing (D); Electricity, gas and water supply (E); Construction (F); Wholesale and retail trade (G); Hotels and restaurants (H); Transport and storage (I); Financial intermediation (J); Real estate activities... (K); Public administration and defence, social security (L); Education (M); Health activities (N); Other social service activities (O).
 Izvor: *Zaposlenost i plate u ...* [Isak + e-dokument], Statistička izvješća, Državni zavod za statistiku, Zagreb, Hrvatska, 2002.-2019.; URL. 3./ Source: Employment and wages in ... [print + e-document], Statistical Reports, Central Bureau of Statistics, Zagreb, Croatia, 2002.-2019.; URL.3

PRILOG 2. Zaposleni u pravnim osobama, prema djelatnostima, u većim hrvatskim gradovima 2008. godine (prema NKD 2002.)
APPENDIX 2 Employees in legal entities, by activities, in major Croatian cities in 2008 (according to the NKD 2007)

Grad / city	Djelatnost / activity*																Ukupno / total
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O		
Virovitica	154	-	-	2 717	187	278	1 124	58	313	177	229	876	536	848	223	7 720	
Vukovar	827	-	-	1 125	253	909	1 132	66	430	85	209	1 390	854	758	415	8 453	
Požega	265	-	-	3 205	277	586	1 249	51	579	193	183	1 397	708	856	224	9 773	
Sisak	155	-	5	4 216	595	586	1 453	100	998	321	571	1 576	1 139	1 434	477	13 626	
Koprivnica	323	-	145	6 794	407	727	1 485	69	613	555	425	1 087	653	1 178	250	14 711	
Bjelovar	379	3	20	3 693	248	1 289	1 968	64	957	493	601	1 695	893	1 241	312	13 856	
Šibenik	51	1	6	2 708	421	654	2 760	635	1 091	504	631	1 508	1 196	1 259	697	14 122	
Vinkovci	710	-	11	2 469	608	1 669	2 172	159	1 030	233	382	1 798	977	1 223	309	13 750	
Velika Gorica	130	1	114	1 929	194	1 220	3 345	254	1 644	155	508	1 261	1 219	412	364	12 750	
Čakovec	199	-	3	6 212	451	2 134	2 105	216	488	623	1 125	875	998	1 008	424	16 861	
Dubrovnik	115	1	40	423	397	1 289	2 541	2 564	1 511	544	969	1 798	1 235	1 263	862	15 552	
Karlovac	180	-	8	5 882	484	994	2 482	206	885	535	740	3 535	1 367	1 442	672	19 412	
Slavonski Brod	425	-	48	5 365	479	2 563	2 313	115	921	432	1 157	1 561	1 518	1 739	529	19 165	
Pula	157	29	48	5 786	526	1 651	4 047	777	1 337	1 067	2 057	2 186	1 754	2 027	1 162	24 611	
Zadar	200	90	21	2 245	573	1 719	5 204	833	1 471	881	1 471	2 202	2 300	1 736	1 259	22 205	
Varaždin	651	-	78	9 458	892	2 830	3 726	453	1 837	859	1 301	1 986	1 548	1 794	539	27 952	
Osijek	584	-	-	6 454	1 312	4 944	8 689	1 133	2 662	1 412	3 118	3 786	3 803	4 334	1 987	44 218	
Rijeka	92	62	218	8 854	1 008	2 842	8 865	1 273	6 957	1 896	5 427	3 653	4 377	4 730	2 031	52 285	
Split	399	14	241	8 989	1 019	6 057	12 141	1 316	4 815	1 994	5 391	6 001	5 861	4 975	2 580	61 793	
Zagreb	1 496	-	2 250	52 055	4 850	26 538	66 900	7 620	25 224	17 438	39 543	32 527	25 933	24 190	17 993	344 557	
Hrvatska / Croatia	25 168	1 375	8 682	250 012	26 647	95 610	1 977 779	38 033	76 799	35 705	79 900	106 104	100 068	79 673	44 335	1 165 890	

* značenje oznaka: isto kao u Prilogu I.

** meaning of codes: the same as in Appendix I

Izvor: *Zaposlenost i plaće u ...* [isak + e-dokument], Statistička izjavšća, Državni zavod za statistiku, Zagreb, Hrvatska, 2002.-2019.; URL 3. / Source: *Employment and wages in ...* [print + e-document], Statistical Reports, Central Bureau of Statistics, Zagreb, Croatia, 2002-2019; URL 3

PRILOG 3. Zaposleni u pravnim osobama, prema djelatnostima, u većim hrvatskim gradovima 2014. godine (prema NKD 2007.)
APPENDIX 3 Employees in legal entities, by activities, in major Croatian cities in 2014 (according to the NKD 2007)

Grad / city	Djelatnost / activity*																	Ukupno / total		
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q		R	S
Virovitica	151	-	1 511	131	180	245	869	233	57	51	140	-	184	61	987	658	934	69	34	6 495
Vukovar	561	-	1 129	132	368	277	799	364	113	58	95	2	104	59	636	1 036	816	60	69	6 678
Požega	190	-	2 403	138	196	238	1 042	400	48	37	148	1	83	74	1 183	797	832	86	37	7 933
Sisak	115	2	2 362	418	336	642	1 451	618	54	84	290	56	191	387	1 638	1 161	1 474	152	175	11 606
Koprivnica	178	20	4 754	342	25	495	1 022	431	51	94	519	5	138	220	1 140	799	1 173	141	102	11 649
Bjelovar	345	42	2 432	163	236	539	1 294	466	91	178	502	7	243	388	1 651	996	1 276	111	125	11 085
Šibenik	54	0	1 931	178	427	543	1 914	820	492	152	435	85	348	213	1 608	1 327	1 374	456	130	12 487
Vinkovci	793	49	1 472	302	287	1 108	1 456	836	133	111	194	34	156	134	3 135	1 105	1 346	148	45	12 844
Velika Gorica	141	39	1 587	81	296	559	2 071	1 794	208	100	273	25	194	237	1 806	1 420	348	98	50	11 327
Čakovec	90	4	5 305	229	313	1 125	1 629	387	166	263	468	46	576	450	1 034	1 212	1 054	141	78	14 570
Dubrovnik	43	24	326	194	493	876	1 878	684	2 738	335	432	90	508	636	2 517	1 448	1 325	475	172	15 194
Karlovac	176	-	5 405	238	359	731	1 922	843	174	182	410	17	379	312	3 160	1 446	1 480	217	108	17 559
Slavonski Brod	394	38	4 797	261	356	1 427	1 511	573	79	267	333	2	496	602	1 857	1 628	1 688	215	120	16 644
Pula	136	-	3 921	216	414	996	2 338	705	626	851	869	69	850	914	2 470	2 007	2 119	420	156	20 077
Zadar	184	16	1 647	241	762	896	4 025	1 144	855	287	930	78	693	959	2 438	2 667	1 904	586	126	20 438
Varaždin	116	29	8 087	425	518	1 788	3 091	1 344	387	450	812	32	741	564	2 148	1 994	1 709	284	170	24 689
Osijek	496	9	4 858	864	657	3 199	5 205	1 795	645	1 147	1 213	124	1 342	1 416	3 925	4 151	4 446	714	459	36 665
Rijeka	160	1	4 961	637	881	1 519	6 608	5 339	1 099	1 265	1 719	193	2 424	1 983	4 060	4 668	4 917	958	482	43 874
Split	177	119	5 024	733	706	4 156	9 313	3 315	1 107	1 341	2 065	264	2 813	1 973	6 972	6 398	5 284	1 552	657	53 969
Zagreb	828	1 401	33 698	3 213	3 322	17 756	54 919	15 781	6 508	18 773	18 761	3 061	19 951	14 960	33 218	27 304	24 751	6 857	4 116	309 178
Hrvatska / Croatia	21 177	5 205	187 839	14 333	20 100	60 460	151 779	53 682	32 149	28 397	35 122	5 277	40 096	31 807	102 650	109 712	82 081	17 968	10 007	1 009 841

* značenje oznaka: poljoprivreda, šumarstvo i ribarstvo (A); rudarstvo i vađenje (B); prerađivačka industrija (C); opskrba električnom energijom, plinom... (D); opskrba vodom; uklanjanje otpadnih voda, gospodarenje otpadom (E); građevinarstvo (F); trgovina na veliko i na malo (G); prijevoz i skladištenje (H); pružanje snještaja te pripreme i usluživanja hrane (I); informacije i komunikacije (J); financijske djelatnosti i osiguranje (K); poslovanje nekretninama (L); stručne, znanstvene i tehničke djelatnosti (M); administrativne i pomoćne uslužne djelatnosti (N); javna uprava i obrana, socijalno osiguranje (O); obrazovanje (P); zdravstvena zaštita i socijalna skrb (Q); umjetnost, zabava i rekreacija (R); ostale uslužne djelatnosti (S).

* meaning of codes: Agriculture, forestry and fishing (A); Mining and quarrying (B); Manufacturing (C); Electricity, gas... supply (D); Water supply; sewage, waste management (E); Construction (F); Wholesale and retail trade (G); Transportation and storage (H); Accommodation and food service (I); Information and communication (J); Financial and insurance activities (K); Real estate activities (L); Professional, scientific and technical activities (M); Administrative and support service activities (N); Public administration and defence; social security (O); Education (P); Human health and social work activities (Q); Arts, entertainment, and recreation (R); Other service activities (S).
 Izvor: *Zaposlenosti i plaće u ...* [Išak + e-dokument], Statistička izvješća, Državni zavod za statistiku, Zagreb, Hrvatska, 2002.-2019.; URL 3. / *Source: Employment and wages in ...* [print + e-document], Statistical Reports, Central Bureau of Statistics, Zagreb, Croatia, 2002-2019; URL 3.

PRILOG 4. Zaposleni u pravnim osobama, prema djelatnostima, u većim hrvatskim gradovima 2019. godine (prema NKD 2007.)
APPENDIX 4 Employees in legal entities, by activities, in major Croatian cities in 2019 (according to the NKD 2007)

Grad / city	Djelatnost / activity*																Ukupno / total			
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P		Q	R	S
Virovitica	109	-	1 648	121	364	388	861	289	98	55	144	-	243	74	959	675	1 008	101	36	7 173
Vukovar	510	-	1 100	143	383	536	1 039	396	181	123	114	22	163	138	698	932	975	165	57	7 675
Požega	292	-	2 094	146	271	129	1 109	599	145	51	162	-	188	39	1 501	882	948	94	47	8 697
Sisak	111	-	2 091	358	339	459	1 978	610	156	96	252	43	285	438	1 440	1 236	1 691	208	134	11 925
Koprivnica	177	14	5 313	342	104	535	1 471	487	158	110	393	6	294	103	1 046	997	1 269	180	161	13 160
Bjelovar	298	1	3 310	158	274	692	1 824	562	241	214	621	10	311	353	1 821	1 055	1 433	156	126	13 460
Šibenik	21	-	1 640	172	500	739	2 099	810	1 067	160	263	93	422	389	1 624	1 502	1 571	765	171	14 008
Vinkovci	662	-	2 177	259	322	1 174	2 013	803	303	138	177	28	218	310	2 419	1 287	1 646	178	45	14 159
Velika Gorica	99	41	1 917	74	326	931	2 864	2405	423	129	234	46	316	136	3 081	1 584	467	114	83	15 270
Čakovec	130	5	5 122	226	312	1 179	1 839	450	266	285	311	50	545	292	1 065	1 388	1 544	175	232	15 416
Dubrovnik	44	52	521	166	543	936	2 155	807	4 267	359	390	81	618	815	1 861	1 511	1 515	586	278	17 505
Karlovac	173	-	5 384	228	359	941	2 084	771	448	263	423	19	415	288	2 065	1 544	1 674	288	144	17 511
Slavonski Brod	390	50	5 002	305	436	1 339	2 072	696	228	493	369	8	674	842	1 729	1 810	2 026	228	64	18 761
Pula	105	-	3 063	193	507	1 428	2 847	796	1 125	567	639	87	898	1 472	2 293	2 074	2 365	628	178	21 265
Zadar	740	19	1 375	208	812	1 405	5 003	1 144	1 409	353	995	72	1 059	1 128	2 434	2 842	2 462	639	233	24 332
Varaždin	132	8	8 375	381	694	2 050	3 854	1 301	658	805	879	45	1 147	530	2 159	2 217	2 621	342	194	28 392
Osijek	516	1	5 108	862	686	2 883	6 394	1 965	1 255	1 943	1 060	212	2 369	1 695	3 604	4 687	4 530	872	472	41 114
Rijeka	162	-	4 908	608	960	1 625	7 684	5 555	1 674	1 599	1 668	270	3 027	2 454	4 171	4 760	5 588	1 197	559	48 469
Split	206	62	5 255	644	763	4 556	11 336	3 323	3 419	1 880	2 253	421	3 457	2 466	6 340	6 894	6 502	2 115	949	62 841
Zagreb	823	937	36 235	3 618	4 076	18 949	61 834	15 608	11 098	23 773	18 698	3 653	24 167	19 812	34 810	30 026	29 593	7 669	5 102	350 481
Hrvatska / Croatia	21 826	4 112	204 301	13 890	24 719	73 592	178 902	59 608	53 411	36 693	33 585	7 092	50 960	39 813	103 617	118 098	96 353	21 883	12 947	1 155 402

* značenje oznaka: isto kao u Prilogu III.

* meaning of codes: the same as in Appendix III

Izvor: *Zaposlenost i plaće u ...* [tisk + e-dokument], Statistička izvješća, Državni zavod za statistiku, Zagreb, Hrvatska, 2002.-2019.; URL 3./ Source: *Employment and wages in ...* [print + e-document], Statistical Reports, Central Bureau of Statistics, Zagreb, Croatia, 2002-2019; URL 3.

OD NOVE ZAVIČAJNOSTI DO DEANGAŽIRANE PRIVRŽENOSTI. PRIVRŽENOST MJESTU I TERITORIJALNE PRIPADNOSTI U REPUBLICI HRVATSKOJ

FROM NEW SENSE OF HOMEPLACE TO DISENGAGED ATTACHMENT. PLACE ATTACHMENT AND TERRITORIAL BELONGING IN THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA

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Posljednjih desetljeća koncept privrženosti mjestu privlači znatnu pozornost znanstvenika koji se bave transformacijama prostora, bilo da se fokus tematski usmjerava prema modernizacijskim, globalizacijskom ili tranzicijskom kontekstu. U ovom radu cilj je stoga razmotriti načine kojima je ovaj koncept istraživao u Republici Hrvatskoj te zaključke koji se iz toga mogu izvući. Na temelju pregleda relevantne literature u radu se osobito obrađuju tri teme. Prvo, tumače se nalazi istraživanja koja su se bavila procjenjivanjem važnosti koju građani Hrvatske pridaju različitim razinama teritorijalnih pripadnosti. Tako se dobiva uvid o privrženosti stanovnika Hrvatske lokalnoj razini u odnosu na nacionalnu i nadnacionalnu razinu. Iznose se rezultati istraživanja koji upućuju na različite implikacije pripadnosti lokalnoj sredini u različitim hrvatskim regijama kao i istraživanja koje upućuje na značajan udio ispitanika koji iskazuju deangažiranu privrženost kao oblik teritorijalnog identiteta. Drugo, razmatraju se različiti faktori za koje se pokazalo da utječu na iskazivanje privrženosti mjestu. Pritom se uočavaju određene razlike između emocionalne i funkcionalne privrženosti mjestu te se osobito tematizira koncept zavičajnoga grada. Treće, raspravlja se o odnosu između migracija i privrženosti mjestu te o konceptu višestrukih pripadnosti. Navedene teme istraživane su s jedne strane na populaciji mladih te s druge strane na primjerima sekundarnog stanovanja. Na temelju iznesenih nalaza donose se četiri zaključka prema kojima je u Hrvatskoj prisutna prilična izraženost emocionalne privrženosti mjestu, ali i da je emocionalna pripadnost redovito praćena određenim nezadovoljstvom stanjem u lokalnoj sredini ili bojazni što nosi budućnost. Također, postoje nalazi koji upućuju na manifestiranje višestrukih pripadnosti dok formirane tipologije privrženosti mjestu i teritorijalnih identiteta upućuju na različite dosege i značenja koja se pridaju konceptu na lokalnim razinama. Prikazani rezultati trebali bi značajno pridonijeti razumijevanju društvenog i identitetskog značaja mjesta, ali i omogućiti bolje

sagledavanje društvenih transformacija kroz koje je prošla Republika Hrvatska u postkomunističkom razdoblju.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: privrženost mjestu, teritorijalna pripadnost, lokalna pripadnost, nova zavičajnost, pasivna pripadnost

In recent decades, the concept of place attachment has attracted considerable attention from scientists who deal with spatial transformations, with the thematic focus on modernization, globalization, or transition. This paper, therefore, aims to examine how this concept has been researched in the Republic of Croatia and what conclusions can be drawn from it. Based on the review of relevant literature, the paper deals with three topics in particular. Firstly, the findings of research that assessed the importance that Croatian citizens attach to different levels of territorial belonging are interpreted. This way, an insight is gained into the Croatian citizens' commitment to the local level compared to the national and supranational level. The results of a study that indicate different implications of belonging to the local environment in different Croatian regions are presented, as well as of research that shows there is a significant share of respondents who express disengaged attachment as a form of territorial identity. Secondly, various factors that have been proven to influence the expression of place attachment are considered. At the same time, certain differences between emotional and functional place attachment are found, and the concept of the hometown is discussed in detail. Finally, the relationship between migration, place attachment and the concept of multiple belongings is discussed. These topics were researched on the one hand, on youth populations, and on the other hand, on the examples of second homes. Based on the presented findings, four conclusions are made, according to which emotional place attachment is considerably expressed in Croatia, but also that emotional belonging is usually accompanied by a certain degree of dissatisfaction with the local environment or fear of the future. Furthermore, some findings indicate the manifestation of multiple belongings, while the formed typologies of place attachment and territorial identities indicate different scopes and meanings that are attached to the concept at the local level. It is believed that the presented results significantly contribute to the understanding of the social and identity significance of a place and also enable a better understanding of the social transformations that the Republic of Croatia went through in the post-communist period.

KEY WORDS: place attachment, territorial belonging, local belonging, new sense of homeplace, passive belonging

UVOD

Globalizacijski pritisak na lokalne sociokulturne obrasce u kombinaciji sa širenjem informacijsko-komunikacijske tehnologije i pomicanjem dobroga dijela društvenosti u virtualnu sferu doveo je do toga da se posljednjih desetljeća u teorijskim raspravama sve više pažnje posvećuje rasvjetljavanju uloge prostora u transformacijama društva, pri čemu se raspravlja i o pojmovima teritorija i mjesta (ŠAKAJA, 2011.). Među temama koje se otvaraju problematiziranjem mjesta izdvajaju se one koje u prvi plan stavljaju stavove i emocije putem kojih ljudi iskazuju svoj odnos spram mjesta. Kako se taj odnos uspostavlja kroz neprestanu ljudsku aktivnost, razvijanje pripadnosti mjestu podrazumijeva ne samo prilagodbu nego i određenu razinu refleksije o fizičkom okolišu u kojem se djeluje. Važnost ljudske involviranosti u fizički okoliš ili krajobraz za razvoj nekog oblika privrženosti mjestu našla je potvrdu u često navođenom istraživanju Browna i Raymonda (2007.). Na temelju prikupljenih empirijskih uvida navedeni autori grade tezu da tek aktivna participacija u krajobrazu, što uključuje promišljanje, osjećanje i djelovanje u i o njemu, omogućuje pridavanje značenja i vrednovanje toga istog krajobraza, a onda i njegovu preobrazbu u mjesto. Da percepcija okoliša i akumulirani sklop znanja o njegovim pogodnostima ima udjela u razvoju odnosa prema mjestu slažu se i Butz i Eyles (1997.). No njihovi uvidi govore da je ekološka dimenzija povezanosti s mjestom strukturalno uvjetovana te da nije svugdje jednako važna. Navedene studije jasno sugeriraju da je odnos na relaciji pojedinac – mjesto svojevrsna okosnica izgrađivanja teritorijalne dimenzije socijalnog identiteta, koja osim sklonosti određenom krajobrazu uključuje niz drugih aspekata društvenog života. Tako razvoj emocionalnog odnosa prema određenom mjestu poticaj dobiva ne samo iz dojma o njegovoj ambijentalnoj ugodnosti nego i iz doživljaja specifičnosti lokalnog načina života, zatim svijesti o nataložnim slojevima kulturne baštine, kao i iz svih onih pozitivnih i negativnih iskustva koje sa sobom nosi život u nekoj sredini. Da su za uspostavu veze s određenom sredinom uz estetiku krajolika važni i elementi poput sjećanja i ponosa sugerira i Tuan (1974.) uvodeći pojam topofilija u svoje razumi-

INTRODUCTION

The pressure of globalization on local sociocultural patterns, combined with the spreading of Information and Communications Technology and the fact that a great part of social life now happens in the virtual sphere, has provoked many theoretical discussions in recent decades focusing on the role of space in societal transformations while paying attention to the concepts of territory and place as well (ŠAKAJA, 2011). The most significant topics introduced by the theorizing of place are those that emphasize attitudes and emotions people use to show their relationship with a place. Since that relationship is formed through constant human activity, the development of belonging comprises not only the adaptation to the place but also a certain level of reflection on the physical environment. The importance of human involvement in the physical environment or landscape for the development of some form of place attachment was corroborated by the often-quoted research by Brown and Raymond (2007). Based on the collected empirical proofs, the aforementioned authors set a thesis that active involvement in landscape forming, including thinking about it, feeling it, as well as acting in it and in connection with it, makes it possible to give that landscape meaning and value, and finally transform it into a place. Butz and Eyles (1997) also agree that the perception of the environment and the accumulated knowledge about its benefits influence the relationship with a place. However, their insights show that the ecological dimension of place attachment is structurally conditioned and that it is not equally important everywhere. Those situations suggest that the relationship between an individual and a place is a sort of a foundation for building the territorial dimension of social identity, which, besides the preference towards a certain landscape, includes numerous other aspects of social life. So, the development of an emotional relationship with a place is not dependent only on the impression of its amenities, but also on the perception of the specificities of the local way of life, the awareness of cultural heritage layers, and all positive and negative experiences of life in a certain environment. Tuan (1974) also suggests that elements like memories and pride, together with the

jevanje odnosa pojedinac – mjesto. Sličan naglasak prisutan je i kod Proshanskyja i suradnika (1983.) koji mjesni identitet definiraju kao „*potpuri* sjećanja, koncepata, ideja i povezanih osjećaja prema određenom fizičkom okruženju“ (PROSHANSKY I DR., 1983., 60).

No, iako među autorima prevladava konsenzus da je za emocije, a onda i za odnos koji pojedinac razvija spram određenog mjesta važan doživljaj ne samo njegove fizičke nego i socijalne komponente, dosta je nesuglasja oko koncepata korištenih za razumijevanje tog procesa. Naime, pojmovi poput privrženosti mjestu te mjesni identitet, dva često spominjana termina u opisivanju odnosa koji se uspostavlja na relaciji pojedinac – mjesto, koriste se ovisno o situaciji kao sinonimi, gdje god kao dvije dimenzije unutar širega koncepta, ili pak kao jedan drugom subordinirani pojam. Tako, primjerice, Williams i Vaske (2003.) mjesni identitet vide kao jednu od dviju komponenta privrženosti mjestu. U njihovu pristupu mjesni identitet obuhvaća emocionalnu povezanost i simboličku važnost koju određeni prostor ima za smisao nečijeg života dok druga komponenta, uvjetovanost mjestom, odražava funkcionalnu povezanost, odnosno usklađenost životnih uvjeta nekog prostora sa životnim željama i potrebama pojedinca.

S druge strane, Hernandez i suradnici (2007.) propitujući odnos privrženosti mjestu i mjesnog identiteta na primjeru stanovnika jedne otočne zajednice u Španjolskoj, privrženost mjestu definiraju kao afektivnu vezu sa sredinom u kojoj se pojedinac osjeća ugodno i sigurno dok mjesni identitet obuhvaća osjećaj pripadnosti određenoj sredini. Rezultati njihove studije otkrivaju da ta dva konstrukta, ovisno o okolnostima, mogu biti ili čvrsto međusobno prožeta ili pak predstavljati različite načine na koje pojedinac definira sebe u odnosu na određeno mjesto. Netko tako može imati snažnu privrženost mjestu i želju za ostankom, ali se istovremeno ne identificira s tim istim mjestom. Jasno, vrijedi i obrnuto. Netko može osjećati pripadnost određenom mjestu, ali ne i želju tamo živjeti. Rezultati njihova istraživanja jasno upućuju na to da je naznačena diferencijacija prisutna u načinu na koji osjećaje prema svojoj životnoj sredini razvijaju s jedne strane doseljenici te s druge strane stanovništvo koje tamo živi od rođenja.

aesthetic impression, influence the development of a relationship with a place, and he does so by introducing the term *topophilia* in his understanding of the relationship between an individual and a place. Proshansky et al. (1983) perceive the concept of place similarly and define place identity as a ‘*potpourri* of memories, conceptions, interpretations, ideas, and related feelings about specific physical settings’ (PROSHANSKY ET AL., 1983, 60).

However, even though different authors agree that both physical and social components influence emotions and the relationship of an individual with a place, their opinions about the concepts used to understand the process differ. Namely, the terms ‘*place attachment*’ and ‘*place identity*’, which are commonly used to describe the relationship between an individual and a place, sometimes are synonymous, sometimes represent two dimensions of a wider concept, and sometimes one is subordinate to the other. For example, Williams and Vaske (2003) see place identity as one out of two components of place attachment. In their approach, place identity comprises emotional attachment and symbolic importance that a certain space has in a person’s life, while the other component, place dependence, reflects functional attachment, i.e. the conformity of conditions in a certain setting with specific goals or needs of an individual.

On the other hand, Hernandez et al. (2007) question the relation of place attachment and place identity in an island community in Spain and see place attachment as an affective bond that an individual has with a place where they feel comfortable and secure, while place identity refers to the feeling of belonging to a specific community. The results of their study revealed that those two constructs, depending on the circumstances, can be tightly intertwined or represent different ways in which individuals define themselves in terms of belonging to a certain place. So, someone can have a strong sense of place attachment and a desire to stay in that place, without the feeling of place identity. And vice versa, of course. Someone can have a feeling of belonging to a certain place without any desire to continue living there. The results of their research clearly show that there is a considerable difference in the way newcomers develop their feelings towards their environment in comparison

U nešto drugačiji odnos privrženost i pripadnost mjestu stavlja Shamai (1991.) pokušavajući šire zahvatiti složenost dinamike odnosa pojedinac – mjesto, odnosno načina na koji je osoba povezana s mjestom i istovremeno oblikovana njime. U tu se svrhu oslanja na koncept osjećaja mjesta kojim su obuhvaćeni osjećaji, stavovi i ponašanja kroz koje se prati razvoj odnosa prema mjestu. To je proces od triju glavnih faza u kojima pripadnost mjestu, u vidu razvijenog osjećaja zajedništva te svijesti o zajedničkoj sudbini, prethodi privrženosti mjestu, koje onda predstavlja viši oblik poistovjećenja s mjestom pri čemu ono i dobiva veće značenje u svakodnevnom životu pojedinaca, ali i zajednice u cjelini.

Naznačena konceptualna fluidnost prisutna je i u domaćoj prilično bogatoj istraživačkoj tradiciji. Naime, pokazalo se da su društvene i prostorne transformacije iz postkomunističkog razdoblja utjecale na to da su teme privrženosti mjestu te teritorijalnih pripadnosti privlačili i značajnu pažnju znanstvenika u Republici Hrvatskoj. Proces uspostave samostalne države bio je praćen ratom koji se vodio za teritorij, a od njezina nastanka u Hrvatskoj su se paralelno vodile rasprave kako o pripadnosti Europskoj uniji kao nadnacionalnoj tvorevini tako i o regionalnim posebnostima pojedinih krajeva (BANOVAC, 2004a). Kroz ove teme otvorila su se i poticajna pitanja o tome kako se konceptima tradicije, modernizacije, modernosti i postmodernisti mogu protumačiti transformacije u kojima se prožimaju društveni procesi i prostorne transformacije.

U ovom radu razmatra se stoga kako se pristupalo istraživanju privrženosti mjestu u Republici Hrvatskoj pri čemu je osobita pažnja posvećena trima pitanjima. Prvo, razmatra se odnos privrženosti mjestu i drugih oblika teritorijalnih pripadnosti. Naime, u ovom radu zastupa se stav da je koncept privrženosti mjestu najbolje precizno koristiti za određenje lokalnih pripadnosti i to pripadnosti susjedstvu i pripadnosti naselju. Ove pripadnosti, dakako, valja dovesti u vezu s time kakav je stav ljudi prema drugim oblicima teritorijalnih pripadnosti kao što su pripadnost regiji, naciji i nadnacionalnim tvorevinama kao što je Europska unija. Naime, intenziviranje globalizacijskih procesa potaknuli su rasprave o tome u kojoj mjeri su ljudima

with the natives, living there since birth.

Shamai (1991) defines the relationship between place attachment and belonging differently, trying to cover the complex dynamic of the relationship between people and places, the way a person is connected to a place and shaped by it, in a more detailed way. He uses the concept of the sense of place, covering feelings, attitudes, and behaviours showing the development of a relationship with the place. It is a process with three main phases, where belonging to a place, with a feeling of togetherness and common destiny, precedes attachment to a place, which involves a higher level of emotional attachment, giving meaning to a place, making it the centre of everyday life of an individual and the community.

The conceptual fluidity also exists in the rich local research tradition. Specifically, it has been shown that social and spatial transformations of the post-communist era provoked the increasing interest in the topics of place attachment and territorial belonging in the Republic of Croatia. To become an independent country, Croatia went through a war for its territory, and ever since Croatia has become independent, two discussions were led in parallel: a discussion about joining the European Union as a supranational union and about regional specificities of certain areas (BANOVAC, 2004a). Those topics opened up motivating questions about how transformations of social processes and spatial transformations can be interpreted using the concepts of tradition, modernization, modernity, and post-modernity.

This paper considers the ways place attachment research was approached in the Republic of Croatia, paying special attention to three questions. Firstly, it will deal with the relationship of place attachment and other forms of territorial belonging. In this paper, we take a stand that the concept of place attachment should best be used to define local belonging with precision, specifically, belonging to a neighbourhood and a settlement. Those types of belonging should, of course, be linked to the attitude of people towards other types of territorial belonging, such as belonging to a region, a nation, and supranational unions, such as the European Union. Namely, intensifying globalization processes inspired discussions about the degree to

važne različite teritorijalne pripadnosti, odnosno kako globalizacija utječe na lokalne identitete. Paralelno s idejom deterritorijalizacije raspravlja se i o procesima koji sugeriraju reafirmaciju teritorijalne identifikacije (BANOVAČ, 1997.), odnosno različitim oblicima reteritorijalizacije pri čemu se pokušava detektirati razlikuju li se suvremeni oblici vezanosti za lokalnu sredinu od onih tradicionalnih (STRASSOLDO, 2005.).

Drugo, izneseni su rezultati niza radova koji su se bavili pitanjima u kojoj mjeri je privrženost mjestu prisutna kod građana Republike Hrvatske ili pojedinih hrvatskih regija i županija. Razmatra se o tome što utječe na privrženost mjestu te o konceptima zavičajnoga grada i nove zavičajnosti.

Treće, analizira se pojava višestrukih pripadnosti te odnosa između pripadnosti mjestu i sklonosti migracijama. U tom kontekstu razmatra se pitanje sekundarnog stanovanja kao vrlo plodnog područja istraživanja u Republici Hrvatskoj.

TERITORIJALNA PRIPADNOST OD EUROPSKE UNIJE PREKO NACIJE I REGIJA DO LOKALNE RAZINE

Ulazak Republike Hrvatske u Europsku uniju 2013. godine bio je značajan politički događaj koji je istovremeno uzrokovao niz promjena u društvenom životu. Ova nadnacionalna tvorevina osim što je izraz političke volje sadrži u sebi i niz drugih elemenata koji se izvode iz ideje Europe kao geografske, kulturne ili povijesne tvorevine. Stoga ona predstavlja i važnu temu istraživanja samoidentifikacije pojedinaca s Europom, kroz koju se iskazuje svijest o pripadnosti europskom identitetu (KOVAČ, 2015.). Jedan od načina istraživanja te problematike je i istraživanjem teritorijalne pripadnosti pri čemu se od ispitanika traži da odredi razinu vlastite pripadnosti Europskoj uniji, ali i nacionalnoj državi te mjestu stanovanja, dakle gradu ili selu. Niz tako provedenih istraživanja pokazao je da je svijest o pripadnosti Europskoj uniji razvijena kod određenog broja građana Europe, ali da je znatno većem broju ispitanika važnija pripadnost nacionalnoj državi, ali i lokalnoj sredini (LACZKO, 2005.; GUSTAFSON, 2009.). Primjerice, rezultati istraživanja Eurobarometar 82 pokazali su

which people consider different types of territorial belonging, i.e. how globalization influences place identity. Discussions were led about the idea of deterritorialization, and at the same time, about processes suggesting the reaffirmation of territorial identification (BANOVAČ, 1997), i.e. about different forms of reterritorialization, where the objective was to find out if contemporary forms of place attachment are different from the traditional ones (STRASSOLDO, 2005).

Secondly, we will present the results of a series of studies dealing with the issue of degree of place attachment of the citizens of Croatia or certain Croatian regions and counties. In addition, we will consider some responses about what influences place attachment and pay special attention to the concepts of hometowns and new sense of homeplace.

Finally, the third part of the paper will analyse the existence of multiple belongings and the relationship between place belonging and migration tendencies. In that context, we will consider the issue of second homes as a fruitful research domain in the Republic of Croatia.

TERRITORIAL BELONGING: FROM THE EUROPEAN UNION, NATION, REGION TO THE LOCAL LEVEL

Croatia joining the European Union in 2013 was a significant political event, which caused numerous changes in social life. Additionally, joining a supranational union, apart from showing political will, implied several other elements based on the idea of Europe as a geographical, cultural, or historical construct. It is thus an important topic in the research of self-identification of individuals with Europe, demonstrating a sense of belonging to the European identity (KOVAČ, 2015). One of the ways to research those issues is by investigating territorial belonging, where individuals have to define the level of their own belonging to the European Union, but also to their country and place of living, a city/town or a village. Numerous studies conducted in that way showed that the sense of belonging to the European Union was developed in a certain number of citizens, but a much larg-

da se 2014. godine 45 % ispitanika smatralo dosta ili jako privrženo Europskoj uniji, 91 % građana osjećalo se dosta ili jako privržen svojoj državi, a njih 89 % svojem selu ili gradu (KOVAČ, 2015.).

Rezultati različitih istraživanja pokazuju da je sličan obrazac, prema kojem u znatno većoj mjeri prisutna lokalna i nacionalna identifikacija u odnosu na nadnacionalnu, prisutan i u Republici Hrvatskoj. U tom kontekstu relevantno je istraživanje koje su proveli Cifrić i Nikodem (2006.) u kojem je pritom i pozicioniranje privrženosti mjestu u okviru teritorijalnog identiteta postavljeno na vrlo poticajan način. Autori su, naime, u istraživanju identiteta građana Hrvatske razlikovali četiri konceptualne dimenzije i to socijalnu, teritorijalnu, kulturnu i obiteljsko rodnu. Kao sastavnice teritorijalne dimenzije istraživali su važnost koju građani pridaju susjedstvu, kvartu, naselju (selu ili gradu), kraju ili regiji u kojoj ispitanik živi, Hrvatskoj i Europi. Osim toga, istraživanje koje su proveli ovi autori uključilo je građane iz cijele Hrvatske pa stoga predstavlja nezaobilazno mjesto za tumačenje ove problematike u hrvatskom nacionalnom okviru. Pokazalo se da je osjećaj pripadnosti mjestu bio važan ili izrazito važan za 72,6 % ispitanika, uz iznos aritmetičke sredine 3,8. Stoga je privrženost mjestu bila među građanima Hrvatske nešto izraženija u odnosu na privrženost kvartu (važna ili izrazito važna za 49,3 % ispitanika), privrženost susjedstvu (57,8 %) te važnosti toga da su Europljani (50,9 %). Istovremeno je nešto veći broj ispitanika iskazao da im je važna ili izrazito važna pripadnost Hrvatskoj (82,5 %) te privrženost kraju (regiji) u kojoj žive (84,1 %). Važno je spomenuti i to da su na privrženost mjestu utjecala i neka sociodemografska obilježja ispitanika pa je ona bila važnija ženama, osobama rođenim prije 1938. godine, ispitanicima sa završenom osnovnom školom, ispitanicima iz Istre te onima te iz naselja manjih od 10 000 stanovnika.

Povezanošću građana Hrvatske s različitim razinama teritorijalne pripadnosti bavili su se i Sekulić i Šporer (2008.), pri čemu je ove autore zanimala ponajprije povezanost ovih pripadnosti s ideološkim pozicioniranjem građana. U istraživanju provedenom 2004. godine nastojali su utvrditi u kojoj mjeri građani Hrvatske iskazuju privrženost spram šest teritorijalno-političkih razina, pri čemu

er number of respondents find belonging to their country and local community much more important (LACZKO, 2005; GUSTAFSON, 2009). For example, the results of Eurobarometer 82 research showed that 45% of respondents in 2014 felt fairly or very attached to the European Union, 91% felt fairly or very attached to their country, and 89% to their village or city/town (KOVAČ, 2015).

The results of different studies show a similar pattern, according to which local and national identification in the Republic of Croatia is much stronger than supranational identification. In that context, it is important to mention a study by Cifrić and Nikodem (2006), which explains place attachment as a part of territorial identity in a stimulating way. Namely, the authors differed four conceptual dimensions when investigating the identity of Croatian citizens: social, territorial, cultural, and family-native. They investigated the importance of neighbourhood, city block, settlement (village or city/town), area, or region where a respondent lives, Croatia, and Europe, as components of the territorial dimension. Additionally, their research was conducted among the citizens from all Croatian regions, so it is indispensable for the interpretation of this issue in Croatia. It was shown that the sense of belonging to a place was important or very important to 72.6% of respondents, with an arithmetic mean of 3.8. The citizens of Croatia expressed higher place attachment than city block attachment (important or exceptionally important for 49.3% of respondents), neighbourhood attachment (57.8%), and the importance of being European (50.9%). At the same time, a large number of respondents answered that the sense of belonging to Croatia (82.5%) and the sense of belonging to their region (84.1%) were important or very important. It is important to mention that place attachment was influenced by some socio-demographic characteristics of respondents: it was more important to women, people born before 1938, respondents who had only elementary education, respondents from Istria, and those from settlements with less than 10,000 citizens.

The attachment of the citizens of Croatia to different levels of territorial belonging was a topic of Sekulić and Šporer's research (2008), in which they were most interested in the sense of belonging in

su osim nacionalne razine u razmatranje uzete još tri subnacionalne dimenzije (privrženost naselju, privrženost županiji i privrženost regiji) te dvije nadnacionalne dimenzije (privrženost Europi i privrženost Jugoistočnoj Europi). I ovo istraživanje potvrdilo je hipotezu prema kojoj je nacionalna identifikacija izraženija od nadnacionalnih. Naime, najveći broj ispitanika izrazio je na skali od 1 do 4 da osjeća bliskost ili veliku bliskost prema Hrvatskoj (92 %) te prema selu ili gradu 90,9 %, dok je najmanji broj ispitanika odgovorio da osjeća bliskost ili veliku bliskost prema Europi (52,4 %) te Jugoistočnoj Europi (36,5 %). Autori su istraživali i postoje li određene kontradikcije između privrženosti Hrvatskoj i privrženosti Europskoj uniji što bi značilo da one ne mogu biti smatrane samo fazama u širenju identifikacijskih razina. Autori su pritom pretpostavili da je identifikacija s Hrvatskom povezana s konzervativnom i nacionalističkom orijentacijom dok je identifikacija s Europom izraz kozmopolitsko-građanske orijentacije. Rezultati međusobnih korelacija između šest identifikacijskih razina naizgled su u skladu s obzirom na to da postoji pozitivna i tek s jednom iznimkom statistički značajna povezanost među njima. Međutim, provedbom faktorske analize pokazuje se da se jasno izdvajaju dva faktora pri čemu prvi faktor obuhvaća bliskost prema nacionalnom i subnacionalnim razinama dok drugi faktor formiraju privrženost Europi i privrženosti Jugoistočnoj Europi. Prema autorima, to znači da „šest indikatora različitih privrženosti reflektiraju dvije temeljne privrženosti koje im stoje u podlozi“ (SEKULIĆ, ŠPORER, 2008., 13). Pokazalo se također da ispitanici skloniji izražavanju veće razine privrženosti nacionalnom i subnacionalnim razinama imaju više rezultate na skali nacionalizma i ponosa što su Hrvati. Također, dob se pokazala značajnim prediktorom nacionalne i subnacionalne privrženosti s obzirom na to da su stariji ispitanici iskazivali veću sklonost od mlađih ispitanika. Jedini prediktor koji je značajno utjecao na privrženost Europi je religioznost pri čemu su manje religiozne osobe bile sklonije iskazati privrženost Europi. Važnost ovoga istraživanja je dakle u tome što upućuje na određene povezanosti između ideoloških pozicioniranja ispitanika i iskazivanja privrženosti različitim teritorijalnim razinama.

relationship with ideological attitudes of citizens. In a study conducted in 2004, they tried to discover to which degree the citizens of Croatia showed attachment to six territorial-political levels, where, besides the national level, three subnational dimensions (settlement, county, and region attachment) and two supranational dimensions (Europe and Southeast Europe attachment) were taken into account. That research also confirmed the hypothesis according to which national identification was more pronounced than supranational identification. Specifically, on a 4-point scale, most of the respondents marked they felt close or very close to Croatia (92%) and village, town or city (90.9%), and least of the respondents marked they felt close or very close to Europe (52.4%) and Southeast Europe (36.5%). But the authors also investigated if there were certain contradictions between the attachment to Croatia and attachment to the European Union, meaning that they cannot be considered only phases in the spreading of identification levels. The authors assumed that identification with Croatia was linked to conservative and nationalistic orientation, while identification with Europe was an expression of cosmopolitan-civic orientation. The results of correlations between six identification levels look consistent because there is a positive and statistically significant correlation among them, with only one exception. However, factor analysis showed that two factors can be singled out. The first factor relates to the closeness to the national and subnational levels, while the second one comprises the attachment to Europe and Southeast Europe. The authors believe that “six indicators of different attachments reflect two underlying ‘basic’ attachments” (SEKULIĆ, ŠPORER, 2008, 13). It was also shown that respondents who express a higher level of attachment to national and subnational levels have higher results on the scale of nationalism and the pride of being a Croat. Moreover, age proved to be an important predictor for national and subnational attachment as older respondents showed a higher level of attachment than younger respondents. The only predictor significantly influencing the attachment to Europe was religiousness, where less religious people were more prone to show attachment to Europe. This research is important because it pointed to certain

Ono što se, međutim, nameće kao pitanje je pri daju li svi isto značenje privrženosti mjestu, odnosno mogu li se detektirati različiti tipovi privrženosti lokalnoj sredini. Pogledajmo stoga još neke nalaze istraživanja iz Hrvatske koja su postavljala pitanja o razlikama u vrednovanju i značenju različitih razina teritorijalnih pripadnosti. B. Banovac (2004a, 2004b) je na temelju istraživanja provedenih u Istri, ali i drugim područjima koja je definirao kao „periferije“ nastojao utvrditi određene razlike u teritorijalnom identificiranju te istovremeno razlikovati tipove lokalizama. U tome se autor teorijski naslanjao na poticajna razlikovanja između starog lokalizma i novog lokalizma o kojem se dosta raspravljalo 90-ih godina dvadesetog stoljeća (MLINAR, 1995.; STRASSOLDO, 2005.). Pritom je cilj bio utvrditi u kojoj mjeri je u Istri oblikovan novi lokalizam te postoje li razlike između lokalizama iskazanih u Istri, Lici i Gorskom kotaru (BANOVAC, 2004b). Istraživanje provedeno krajem 2003. i početkom 2004. godine pokazalo je da je lokalna razina identificiranja sa selom/kvartom, gradom/općinom te regijom prilično izražena u sve tri regije. Ipak, utvrđene su razlike u nekim drugim važnim značajkama političkog i društvenog života iz čega se izveo zaključak i o različitim konzekvencama teritorijalnih privrženosti. Osobito su istaknute razlike zabilježene između građana Istre i stanovnika Like i to kako u pogledu ocjene međuetničkih odnosa, tako i u pogledu zahtjeva za decentralizacijom. Autor na temelju toga zaključuje da: „U Istri kao gospodarski najrazvijenijoj periferiji prostorna identifikacija na razini nižoj od razine zemlje transponirana je u politički oblik mobilizacije u obliku regionalizma. U slučaju Like to se nije dogodilo, već je pripadnost prostoru razine niže od razine zemlje, ostala na razini zavlačajnosti, bez većih težnji k decentralizaciji moći“ (BANOVAC, 2004b, 111).

Budući da se pokazalo kako je fenomen privrženosti mjestu vrlo kompleksan te se ne manifestira svugdje na isti način, pojavila su se i nastojanja da se unutar istoga istraživaniog područja razlikuju različiti tipovi privrženosti mjestu i teritorijalnih identiteta uopće. Tako se pod utjecajem radova M. Lewicke u radu „Privrženost mjestu i migracijske aspiracije stanovnika Vukovarsko-srijemske županije“ nastojalo utvrditi postojanje i sadržaj

correlations between the ideological orientation of the respondents and their attachment to certain territorial levels.

However, it opened up a question of whether everyone gives the same meaning to place attachment, i.e. whether different types of local community attachment can be detected. For that reason, we will discuss findings of other research in Croatia that investigated the differences in valuing and giving meaning to different levels of territorial belonging. B. Banovac (2004a, 2004b) tried to establish differences in territorial identification based on research conducted in Istria and other areas, defined as ‘peripheral,’ and at the same time, distinguish the types of localism. The author used theories about the differences between old and new localism, exhaustively discussed in the 1990s (MLINAR, 1995; STRASSOLDO, 2005). His objective was to determine the degree to which new localism was formed in Istria and whether there are differences between localism expressed in Istria, Lika, and Gorski Kotar (BANOVAC, 2004b). The research was conducted at the end of 2003 and the beginning of 2004, and it showed that the local level of identification with a village/neighbourhood, city/town, and region was pronounced in all three regions. However, differences were found in some other important characteristics of political and social life, which led to the conclusion about different consequences of territorial attachment. Significant differences were noticed between the population of Istria and the population of Lika, in the evaluation of inter-ethnic relations as well as in the desire for decentralization. Based on that, the author concludes that: ‘In Istria, as a periphery with the strongest economy, the spatial identification on the level lower than the level of identification with the country is transposed in a form of political mobility on a regional basis. In the case of Lika, that has not happened, instead, the spatial belonging on the level lower than the level of the country remained on the level of the sense of homeplace, without tendencies towards decentralization of power’ (BANOVAC, 2004b, 111).

Since it was shown that the phenomenon of place attachment was very complex and was not manifested in the same way everywhere, there were some efforts to differ types of place attachment and ter-

različitih teritorijalnih identiteta (LEWICKA, 2011.; ŽANIĆ I DR., 2022a). Teritorijalni identitet pritom je zamišljen kao pozicioniranje spram migracijskih aspiracija te različitih teritorijalnih pripadnosti koje su uključivale identitetsko-značenjsku i angažiranu privrženost mjestu kao i privrženost Republici Hrvatskoj i Europskoj uniji. Rezultati su pokazali da se razlikuju četiri klastera od kojih je najveći broj ispitanika, njih 37,2 %, obuhvaćao klaster nazvan deangažirana zavičajnosti. Ispitanike obuhvaćene ovim klasterom karakteriziralo je pridavanje važnosti pripadnosti Republici Hrvatskoj te značenjsko-identitetskoj privrženosti mjestu, ali i nisko vrednovanje angažirane pripadnosti mjestu te pripadnosti Europskoj uniji. Ovaj nalaz upućuje na oprez pri zaključivanju da privrženost mjestu ujedno pretpostavlja i sklonost stanovnika da ulažu vlastita sredstva i vrijeme u dobrobit mjesta. Povezanost s lokalnom sredinom može dakle postojati paralelno s izostankom želje za društvenim angažmanom.

Klaster nazvan otvorena zavičajnost obuhvaćao je otprilike četvrtinu ispitanika koji su visoko vrednovali sve istraživane pripadnosti, dakle i lokalnu i nacionalnu, ali i pripadnost Europskoj uniji, uz istovremeno neiskazivanje sklonosti migriranju.

Za razliku od toga klaster lokalna zavičajnost odnosio se na ispitanike koji su visoko vrednovali i značenjsko-identitetsku i angažiranu privrženost mjestu, ali nisu pokazivali posebnu vezanost ni za Republiku Hrvatsku ni za Europsku uniju. Ni ovi ispitanici nisu pritom pokazivali sklonost migriranju. Nasuprot tome, ispitanici koji su pokazivali migracijske aspiracije koncentrirani su u klasteru deterritorijalnost koji je obuhvaćao 14,7 % ispitanika. Osim sklonosti migriranju ovi ispitanici nisu iskazivali privrženost nijednoj od istraživanih teritorijalnih pripadnosti. Zanimljivo je pritom da se u ovom slučaju radilo o osobama koji su svoj materijalni položaj ocjenjivali lošijim od prosjeka te da paralelno s migracijskim aspiracijama nisu iskazivali osobitu privrženost Europskoj uniji pa se ovaj klaster dodatno nazvao i deprivirana deterritorijalnost.

Rasprave o vrstama lokalnosti te vrstama teritorijalnih identiteta pokazale su važnost uzimanja u obzir odnos privrženosti mjestu i lokalnoj sredini s drugim pokazateljima društvenog života na nekom

territorial identity in general within the same investigated area. For example, under the influence of M. Lewicka, the paper 'Place Attachment and Migration Aspirations of the Population of Vukovar-Srijem County' tried to determine if different territorial identities exist and what they entail (LEWICKA, 2011; ŽANIĆ ET AL., 2022a). Territorial identity was construed as a positioning towards migration aspirations and different territorial belongings, including meaning-identity and engaged place attachment, as well as the attachment to the Republic of Croatia and the European Union. The results showed that there are four clusters, the largest of which is the cluster of disengaged sense of homeplace, with 37.2% of respondents. The respondents in this cluster were characterized by valuing belonging to the Republic of Croatia and meaning-identity place attachment, but also a low level of value attached to engaged place attachment and attachment to the European Union. This finding shows a need for caution in concluding that place attachment also means that the citizens want to invest their means and time to improve conditions in a place. Closeness with the local community can exist even if a person shows no interest in social engagement.

The cluster labelled 'open sense of homeplace' comprised approximately a quarter of respondents, who highly valued all investigated types of belonging, local and national, but also belonging to the European Union, and did not have a tendency to migrate.

On the other hand, the cluster 'local sense of homeplace' comprised respondents who highly valued meaning-identity and engaged place attachment, but did not show a special connection to the Republic of Croatia or the European Union. They did not have a tendency to migrate either. Unlike them, the respondents showing migration tendencies belonged to the cluster of deterritorialization, with 14.7% of the respondents. Those respondents expressed only migration tendencies, without any of the investigated types of territorial attachment. It is interesting that in this case, people rated their financial position lower than average, and, although they had migration tendencies, they did not show noticeable attachment to the European Union, so this cluster was also called 'deprived deterritorialization'.

području te različitim razinama teritorijalnih pripadnosti. Pokazalo se, međutim, da su istraživanja u Republici Hrvatskoj i na neke druge načine nastojala obuhvatiti fenomen privrženosti mjestu te ponuditi objašnjenja za njegovu prisutnost. U tom kontekstu naročito je zanimljivo pogledati nalaze istraživanja provedenih u hrvatskim gradovima.

PRIVRŽENOST MJESTU – PROTURJEČJA I TUMAČENJA ISTRAŽIVANOG FENOMENA

Privrženost mjestu shvaćenom kao lokalnom području, dakle kao susjedstvu, selu ili gradu predstavljalo je značajnu temu u hrvatskoj znanstvenoj zajednici. Navedeno istraživanje Cifrića i Nikodema (2006.) pokazalo je da je na razini Republike Hrvatske bio izražen fenomen privrženosti lokalnoj sredini, a takve rezultate bilježio je i niz istraživanja koja su se provodila na gradskim ili regionalnim razinama. Istovremeno je niz istraživanja pokazivao određeni obrazac prema kojem postoji emocionalna privrženost mjestu usprkos nezadovoljstvu s nekim nedostacima koji umanjuju kvalitetu života na istraživanom teritoriju.

Tako je primjerice istraživanje provedeno 2000. godine pokazalo da je „privrženost Zagrepčana svom gradu“ obilježje koje je prema najvećem broju ispitanih ono koje je karakteristično za način života u Zagrebu (ROGIĆ I DR., 2004.). S tom se tvrdnjom tada složilo čak 90 % ispitanih. To je, prema Rogiću i suradnicama, bio dokaz da se afirmirala „vrijednost zavičajnog pripadanja građana (‘svom’) gradu“ (ROGIĆ I DR., 2004., 14). Istovremeno 86,6 % ispitanih odgovorilo je da sebe u Zagrebu doživljava domaćim dok je samo 6,8 % ispitanih ocijenilo sebe došljakom, a preostalih 6,5 % nije moglo procijeniti. To je bio zanimljiv nalaz s obzirom na činjenicu da je od ukupnog broja ispitanih njih 49,6 % bilo rođeno u Zagrebu, a negdje drugdje njih 50,4 %. To znači da je i velik broj onih koji su se doselili u grad počeo sebe smatrati domaćim čime se pokazala određena kvaliteta grada da identitetski veže za sebe i one koji u njemu nisu rođeni. Zanimljivo se stoga osvrnuti i na neke druge nalaze iz istog istraživanja jer kontekstualiziraju ovu široko prihvaćenu privrženost mjestu

The discussions about different types of locality and types of territorial identities showed how important it was to consider the relationship between place and local community attachment with other indicators of social life in an area and different levels of territorial belonging. However, it was also shown that the research in the Republic of Croatia tried to include the phenomenon of place attachment in other ways, too, and to explain why it exists. In that context, it is especially interesting to study the findings of research in Croatian cities.

PLACE ATTACHMENT – CONTRADICTIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS OF THE PHENOMENON

Place attachment, understood as attachment to a local area, namely, neighbourhood, village, or town, has been a significant topic in the Croatian scientific community. The aforementioned research by Cifrić and Nikodem (2006) showed that there is a pronounced phenomenon of local attachment in the Republic of Croatia, and such results were recorded in numerous studies conducted at the city or regional level. At the same time, several studies showed that there is a certain pattern of emotional place attachment, despite dissatisfaction with some of the disadvantages that reduce the quality of life in the study area.

Thus, for example, a survey conducted in 2000 showed that the ‘attachment of Zagreb residents to their city’ is a feature that, according to the majority of respondents, is characteristic of the way of life in Zagreb (ROGIĆ ET AL., 2004). As much as 90% of the respondents agreed with that statement. According to Rogić et al., this was proof that the ‘value of native belonging of citizens to *(their)* city’ is affirmed (ROGIĆ ET AL., 2004, 14). At the same time, 86.6% of the respondents answered that they perceive themselves as locals in Zagreb, while only 6.8% of the respondents perceived themselves as newcomers, and the remaining 6.5% did not perceive themselves as either of those. This was an interesting finding considering the fact that 49.6% of the total number of respondents were born in Zagreb and 50.4% of them elsewhere. This meant that

i njezin funkcionalni okvir. Gotovo dvije trećine ispitanih, njih 64,5 %, smatralo je tada da Zagreb pruža bolje mogućnosti za život u odnosu na druge hrvatske gradove. Međutim, to ne znači da su građani posve zadovoljni onim što pruža njihov grad. Naime, gotovo polovina ispitanih smatrala je da razvoj grada nije imao pozitivan utjecaj na njihov život, dok je samo 21,3 % ispitanih držalo da je razvoj grada pozitivno utjecao na uvjete njihova života i života njihove obitelji. Mišetić i Miletić su stoga konstatali da se „povezanost s gradom ne oblikuje nužno na funkcionalnoj razini, sukladno mogućnostima u kojima se grad pojavljuje kao servisno mjesto na kojem se ‘zadovoljavaju potrebe’”. Naprotiv, grad se preuzima (ili se ne preuzima) kao dio priče o vlastitom životu, pa je u tom slučaju, unatoč nezadovoljstvu nekim obilježjima života, od njega neodvojiv“ (MIŠETIĆ, MILETIĆ, 2004., 131).

Do sličnih zaključaka dolazi se i usporedbom rezultata istraživanja dobivenih u Zagrebu s rezultatima istraživanja provedenih u Rijeci i Sisku. Sva tri istraživanja provedena su u razdoblju od 1996. do 2000. godine i pokazala su da stanovnici ovih gradova proces modernizacije koji se u njima provodio ocijenili nepovoljnim (ROGIĆ I DR., 2002). Naime, ocjenjujući šest bitnih aspekata preko kojih se može analizirati uspješnost razvojnog procesa u gradu, u svim navedenim gradovima je bio veći broj aspekata s kojima ispitanici nisu zadovoljni nego onih s kojima su zadovoljni. Osobito je mali broj stanovnika bio zadovoljan s mogućnošću gradskog gospodarstva da ponudi velik broj radnih mjesta te omogući stanovnicima dobru mogućnost zarade. Usprkos tome, velika većina stanovnika u sva tri grada odgovorila je da namjerava trajno živjeti u svojem gradu. U Rijeci je tako namjeravalo trajno živjeti 81,1 %, u Sisku 82 %, a u Zagrebu 89 %. Autori su držali da se u ovoj analizi mora ozbiljno računati s činjenicom života u gradu, koji unatoč brojnim rizicima, ipak omogućuje i višestruke mogućnosti u svakodnevici. U tom kontekstu naznačuje se iznova koncept nove zavičajnosti koji upućuje na to da su „hrvatski gradovi, unatoč socijalnoj invaziji pod pritiskom industrijskog sektora u socijalističkom razdoblju, uspjeli postupno nataložiti stanovitu socijalnu baštinu u međuljudskim i komunikacijskim mrežama koja izravno povećava

a large number of those who immigrated to the city began to consider themselves local, which showed that the city tends to bind the identities of those who were not born in it to itself. It is therefore interesting to look at some other findings from the same research as they contextualize this widely accepted place attachment in its functional framework. Almost two thirds of the respondents, 64.5% of them, thought at the time that Zagreb provided better life opportunities compared to other Croatian cities. However, this did not mean that citizens were completely satisfied with what their city offered. Specifically, almost half of the respondents thought that the development of the city did not have a positive impact on their lives, while only 21.3% of respondents thought that the development of the city had a positive impact on their living conditions and the lives of their families. Mišetić and Miletić, therefore, stated that “the connection with the city is not necessarily formed on a functional level, in accordance with the possibilities in which the city appears as a service place where ‘one satisfies their needs’. On the contrary, the city is understood (or not understood) as part of the story of one’s own life, so in that case, despite dissatisfaction with some features of life, it is inseparable from it” (MIŠETIĆ, MILETIĆ, 2004, 131).

Similar conclusions are reached by comparing the results of the research conducted in Zagreb with the results of research conducted in Rijeka and Sisak. All three studies were conducted in the period from 1996 to 2000 and showed that the residents of these cities assessed the process of modernization in them as unfavourable (ROGIĆ ET AL., 2002). By rating six important aspects through which the successful development process in the city can be analysed in all these cities, the data showed that there were more aspects with which the respondents are not satisfied than those with which they are. An extremely small number of residents were satisfied with the possibility of the city’s economy to offer a large number of jobs and provide residents with a good opportunity to earn money. Despite this, the vast majority of residents in all three cities responded that they intended to live permanently in their city: 81.1% of respondents intended to live permanently in Rijeka, 82% in Sisak, and 89% in Zagreb. The authors stated that in this analysis one must seriously take

kakvoću socijalnog kapitala u njima“ (ROGIĆ I DR., 2002., 852). Dakle, upravo iz ovih međuljudskih i komunikacijskih mreža stvara se urbana i zavičajna vrijednost koja stanovnicima gradova podiže kvalitetu života. Ono što je, ipak, važno je da se stanovnici na zavičajni grad oslanjaju izrazitije ako je grad postao važnije središte u modernizacijskim procesima. Na temelju toga objašnjava se razlika prema kojoj znatno veći broj stanovnika Zagreba i Rijeke u odnosu na stanovnike Siska, misli da će i njihova djeca ostati živjeti u tom gradu.

Istraživanja provedena u Vukovarsko-srijemskoj županiji i Splitu također su sugerirala zaključak da privrženost mjestu postoji paralelno s nekim oblikom neizvjesnosti pa i zabrinutosti zbog onoga što nosi budućnost. Primjerice, u istraživanju provedenom na prigodnom uzorku u Splitu iskazana je opet nešto veća emocionalna ($M = 3,58$) u odnosu na funkcionalnu privrženost mjestu ($M = 3,36$) (STANIĆ, NINČEVIĆ, 2018.). Pokazalo se, ipak, da veću emocionalnu privrženost na pojedinim česticama pokazuju oni ispitanici čije su obitelji veći broj generacija živjele u gradu. Funkcionalna privrženost mjerena je stavovima okupljenima oko tri dimenzije: sigurnost, obrazovanje i slobodno vrijeme te osobne perspektive. Uočljivo je u rezultatima da su ispitanici primjerice pokazali određeno zadovoljstvo sa sigurnošću života u gradu (ukupno $M = 3,72$), no kada je u pitanju procjena osobne perspektive tu je uočljivo nezadovoljstvo ispitanika. Ono je bilo osobito vidljivo na čestici „U Splitu mogu lako dobiti posao koji priželjkujem“ ($M = 2,05$). Ispitanici nisu dijelili optimizam u pogledu toga da Split nudi perspektivu što na određeni način sugerira osjećaj određene bojazni prema onome što nosi budućnost.

Dakle, može se zaključiti da redovito, usprkos određenom nedostatku osobnih prilika u Hrvatskoj, većina stanovnika iskazuje privrženost lokalnom području osobito kada je riječ o emocionalnoj pripadnosti. Postavlja se stoga pitanje na osnovi čega se oblikuje privrženost mjestu? Na rasvjetljavanje tog pitanja nastojalo se odgovoriti i konceptima zavičajnoga grada i nove zavičajnosti.

Zanimljivo je, međutim, da Rogić i Dakić (2000.) pišući o Zagrebu kao zavičajnom gradu drže tu sintagmu pomalo paradoksalnom. Podsjećaju da je u europskoj tradiciji „gradski poredak

into account the very fact of life in the city, which, despite numerous risks, enables multiple possibilities in everyday life. In that context, the concept of new sense of homeplace is underlined, indicating that ‘Croatian cities, despite social invasion under the pressure of the industrial sector in the socialist period, managed to gradually accumulate a certain social heritage in interpersonal and communication networks that directly increases the quality of social capital in them’ (ROGIĆ ET AL., 2002, 852). Therefore, it is from these interpersonal and communication networks that urban and native value is created, which increases the quality of life of city residents. The important fact is, however, that the residents rely more strongly on the hometown if the town has become a more important centre in the modernization process. That can be used to explain why a significantly larger number of residents of Zagreb and Rijeka think that their children will stay in their cities when compared to the residents of Sisak.

Research conducted in Vukovar-Srijem County and Split also suggested that place attachment co-exists with some form of uncertainty and even concern about what the future holds. For example, in a study conducted on a convenience sample in Split, a slightly higher emotional place attachment ($M = 3.58$) was expressed in comparison with functional place attachment ($M = 3.36$) (STANIĆ, NINČEVIĆ, 2018). It turned out, however, that higher emotional place attachment on certain questions is shown by those respondents whose families have lived in the city for many generations. Functional place attachment was measured by attitudes grouped around three dimensions: security, education and leisure, and personal opportunities. It can be noticed in the results that respondents, for example, showed a certain level of satisfaction with the security of life in the city (total $M = 3.72$), but when it comes to assessing personal opportunities, dissatisfaction of the respondents is noticeable. It was especially visible in the item ‘In Split, I can easily get the job I want’ ($M = 2.05$). Respondents were not optimistic when it came to the question of opportunities offered in Split, which suggests a sense of fear of what the future holds.

Therefore, it can be concluded that regularly, despite a certain lack of personal opportunities in Croatia, most residents show local attachment,

života projektiran u obzoru autonomističke imaginacije. Sukladno tome, nije pogreška misliti o gradu kao o poretku života koji je bezavičajnost oblikovao kao svoju dugoročnu i strukturnu prednost“ (ROGIĆ, DAKIĆ, 2000., 84). No autori upućuju na to da se gradska zbiljnost ne može pojmiti uzimajući u obzir samo taj aspekt grada već treba uzeti i obzir i zavičajnu svakodnevicu koja u gradu počiva na nizu fenomena kao što su ponavljanje, ustrajnost, imitacija ili ritual. Ovi fenomeni dijele „jedno zajedničko obilježje: u iskustvu pojedinca ili skupine imaju mjesto prirodnog/društvenog fenomena“ (ROGIĆ, DAKIĆ, 2000., 84). Premda je grad poprište brzih društvenih promjena, on omogućuje da se u njegovoj posebnosti pojedinci ukorijene, da ga drže domom i da se u njemu osjećaju domaćima.

Kroz koncepte o zavičajnom gradu i novoj zavičajnosti raspravljalo se o dva bitno uvida: o tome da i oni stanovnici koji nisu rođeni u nekom naselju mogu početi doživljavati taj teritorij kao svoj zavičaj te o tome da su društvene mreže ono što ima bitan utjecaj na učvršćivanje veza koje pojedinci počinju osjećati spram grada.

Osim radova koji su se bavili privrženošću gradu važni nalazi su dobiveni i u istraživanjima koja su se provodila na razini kvarta ili susjedstva. U istraživanju provedenom 2016. godine na području zagrebačke četvrti Vrbik korišten je koncept osjećaja mjesta koji je operacionaliziran putem nekoliko instrumenata (ŠAKAJA, 2018.). Tako se analiziralo koliko su ispitanicima važna pojedina obilježja susjedstva, kakve osjećaje iskazuju spram susjedstva te koliko su zadovoljni kvalitetom života. Pokazalo se da tek manji broj ispitanika iskazuje ravnodušnost prema susjedstvu dok najveći broj iskazuje pripadnost susjedstvu. Zanimljivo je da je osobito mladim ispitanicima posjedovanje prijatelja predstavljalo osobito važan aspekt života u susjedstvu. Osim toga, ovakvo višedimenzionalno zahvaćanje osjećaja mjesta može prema autorici istraživanja donijeti uvide koji će pomoći u uvažavanju potreba građana pri donošenju odluka i upravljanju pojedinim gradskim područjima.

Kako je već naznačeno, dob redovito utječe na privrženost mjestu stoga je važno navesti i nalaze nekih istraživanja koja su se bavila ovom tematikom na populaciji mladih. Provodeći etnografsko

especially when it comes to emotional belonging. So, the question arises as to what constitutes place attachment. The concepts of the hometown and new sense of homeplace were also used to shed light on this issue.

It is interesting, however, that Rogić and Dakić (2000), when writing about Zagreb as a hometown, consider this phrase as somewhat paradoxical. They remind us that in the European tradition ‘the urban order of life is projected in the horizon of the autonomous imagination. Accordingly, it is not wrong to think of the city as an order of life that has used the absence of the sense of homeplace as its long-term and structural advantage’ (ROGIĆ, DAKIĆ, 2000, 84). However, the authors point out that the reality of the city cannot be understood by taking into account only that aspect of the city, but also the everyday life of the city, which is based on a number of phenomena such as repetition, persistence, imitation, or ritual. These phenomena share ‘one common feature: in the experience of an individual or a group, they have a place of a natural/social phenomenon’ (ROGIĆ, DAKIĆ, 2000, 84). Although the city is a place of rapid social change, it allows individuals to take root in its uniqueness, to consider it their home, and to feel at home in it.

Through the concepts of hometown and new sense of homeplace, two important insights were discussed: firstly, that those residents who were not born in a certain place begin to consider the place their homeplace, and, secondly, that social networks have a significant impact on strengthening the ties that individuals begin to feel towards the city.

In addition to research dealing with city/town attachment, important findings were also obtained in research conducted at the city block or neighbourhood level. The research conducted in 2016 in the area of Vrbik neighbourhood in Zagreb used the concept of a sense of place, which was operationalized through several instruments (ŠAKAJA, 2018). The research included the analysis of the importance of certain characteristics of the neighbourhood to the respondents, the feelings they express towards the neighbourhood and their satisfaction with the quality of life. It turned out that only a small number of respondents expressed indifference towards their neighbourhood, while the largest number expressed belonging. Interestingly, for

istraživanje s populacijom osnovnoškolaca iz novo-zagrebačkog naselja Travno antropologinja Gulin Zrnić (2004.) ispitala je kako iskustvo, sjećanje i svakodnevne prakse prostor transformiraju u mjesto. Rezultati istraživanja pokazali su da osnovnoškolska djeca iskazuju visoko vrednovanje svojeg naselja prikazujući i neke njegove slabosti kao zanimljive i vrijedne. Zanimljivo je pritom da oni sam kvart često nazivaju domom. Za pretvaranje prostora u mjesto važno je poznavanje okoliša, ali se kao i u prethodnim istraživanjima posebno naglašava društvena dimenzija jer je poznavanje drugih u naselju osnova „osjećaja povezanosti koja se stvara tijekom vremena, osjećaja sigurnosti, doživljaja karaktera naselja, definiranja doma“ (GULIN ZRNIĆ, 2004., 48). Važno je zapažanje da je život osnovnoškolaca u velikoj mjeri ograničen na samo naselje te da završetkom osnovne škole dolazi do njihove veće mobilnosti čime se modificira i odnos spram drugih dijelova grada.

Šteta je, dakako, što nedostaju longitudinalna istraživanja koja bi pobliže objasnila odnos odrastanja, mobilnosti te definiranja doma i privrženosti mjestu. No, vrijedi spomenuti rezultate još jednog istraživanja provedenog u Zagrebu kojim se ispitalo što utječe na privrženost susjedstvu populacije studenata. Autorice Jelić i Low Stanić (2014.) postavile su istraživačko pitanje utječe li na privrženost susjedstvu percepcija njegove socio-ekonomske strukture. Pokazalo se da i u slučaju emocionalne i u slučaju funkcionalne privrženosti susjedstvu postoji razlika između triju skupina ispitanika, onih koji žive u homogenom susjedstvu s velikim brojem siromašnih, onih koji žive u homogenom susjedstvu s malim brojem siromašnih te heterogenom susjedstvu. Pritom su ispitanici koji su procjenjivali da žive u susjedstvu s velikim brojem siromašnih u znatno manjoj mjeri iskazivali privrženost nego ostale dvije skupine ispitanika. Provedena regresijska analiza pokazala je također da je percipirani udio siromašnih važan prediktor privrženosti „jer djeluje izravno na smanjenje funkcionalne privrženosti susjedstvu, a preko osjećaja sigurnosti djeluje i na smanjenje emocionalne privrženosti susjedstvu“ (JELIĆ, LOW STANIĆ, 2014., 167). Autorice su tako došle do zaključka da nije heterogenost stanovništva to što utječe na privrženost susjedstvu već percepcija udjela siromašnih.

young respondents, in particular, having friends was a very important aspect of life in a neighbourhood. In addition, this multidimensional understanding of the sense of place can, according to the author of the research, bring insights that will help respect the needs of citizens in the decision-making and management of individual urban areas.

As previously stated, age affects the degree of place attachment, so it is important to mention the findings of some studies that have dealt with this topic in the young population. While conducting ethnographic research with the population of primary school students from Travno neighbourhood in Novi Zagreb, anthropologist Gulin Zrnić (2004) dealt with how experience, memory, and everyday practices transform space into a place. The results of the research showed that primary school children value their neighbourhood highly, and even show some of its weaknesses as interesting and valuable. Interestingly, that they often call the neighbourhood their home. Familiarity with the environment is important for turning space into a place, but again, as in previous research, the social dimension is emphasized since knowing others in the neighbourhood is the basis of ‘feelings of connection created over time, sense of security, the experience of the character of the neighbourhood, defining a home.’ (GULIN ZRNIĆ, 2004, 48). However, it is important to note that the life of primary school students is largely limited to the neighbourhood itself and that the completion of primary school leads to their greater mobility, which modifies the relationship with other parts of the city.

Unfortunately, there is a lack of longitudinal research that would explain in more detail the relationship between growing up, mobility, defining home, and place attachment. However, it is worthwhile to mention the results of another research conducted in Zagreb, which investigated the factors that affect neighbourhood attachment among the student population. The authors Jelić and Low Stanić (2014) posed a research question as to whether perceptions of the socio-economic structure of a neighbourhood affect neighbourhood attachment. It turned out that in the case of emotional and also functional neighbourhood attachment, there is a difference between three groups of respondents, those living in a homogeneous neighbourhood

Istraživanje provedeno na učenicima srednjih škola u Vukovarsko-srijemskoj županiji je pak pokazalo važnost uzimanja u obzir utjecaja vrijednosnih orijentacija na privrženost mjestu (ŽANIĆ I DR., 2022b). Naime, od tri vrijednosna sklopa i to usmjerenost na uspjeh, tradicionalizam i individualna autonomija pokazalo se da su ispitanici skloni tradicionalističkim vrijednostima u većoj mjeri skloni iskazivati privrženost mjestu. Osim toga i ovo istraživanje je uputilo na važnost društvenih veza za doživljavanje i ocjenjivanje važnosti mjesta s obzirom na to da se i percepcija lokalne socijalne kohezije pokazala značajnim prediktorom privrženosti mjestu.

Više je puta u prikazanim radovima iznesena pretpostavka koja naznačuje povezanost privrženosti mjestu i mobilnosti stanovnika te njihove migracijske sklonosti. Važno se stoga osvrnuti i na istraživanja koja su se bavila upravo tom tematikom, osobito ona koja su se bavila tematikom sekundarnog stanovanja.

MOBILNOST, PRIVRŽENOST MJESTU, SEKUNDARNO STANOVANJE – NIJANSIRANJE VIŠESTRUKIH PRIPADNOSTI

Posljednjih desetljeća sve izazovnije postaje odgovoriti na pitanje što se događa s privrženosti mjestu u svijetu koji je sve više globalno povezan i u kojem se sve više promiče mobilnost. Ta tema osobito je važna za zemlje koje se kao Hrvatska suočavaju s velikim iseljavanjem stanovništva. Naime, procjena migracijske bilance temeljena na prvim rezultatima Popisa stanovništva iz 2021. godine (URL 1) te podatku o ukupnom prirodnom kretanju stanovništva u razdoblju 2011. – 2020. (URL 2) otkriva da je Hrvatska u posljednjem međupisnom razdoblju zabilježila negativan migracijski saldo od gotovo 250 000 stanovnika. Istraživanja koja se bave tematikom odnosa migracija i stavova prema teritorijalnim identifikacijama provode se i u Hrvatskoj susjednim zemljama, pa je primjerice istraživanje provedeno u osam gradova u Srbiji pokazalo da su migracijske namjere izraženije kod ispitanika koji iskazuju nisku povezanost s mjestom (PETROVIĆ I DR., 2017.).

with a large number of the poor, those living in a homogeneous neighbourhood with a small number of the poor and those living in a heterogeneous neighbourhood. Moreover, respondents who estimated that they live in a neighbourhood with a large number of the poor showed a much lower level of attachment than the respondents from the other two groups. The conducted regression analysis also showed that the perceived share of the poor is an important predictor of attachment 'because it directly reduces functional attachment to a neighbourhood, and through a sense of security, reduces emotional attachment to a neighbourhood' (JELIĆ, LOW STANIĆ, 2014, 167). The authors concluded that it is not the heterogeneity of the population that affects the neighbourhood attachment, but the perception of the share of the poor.

Research conducted on secondary school students in Vukovar-Srijem County showed the importance of taking into account the impact of value orientations on place attachment (ŽANIĆ ET AL., 2022b). Considering the three sets of values, namely the focus on success, traditionalism, and individual autonomy, it turned out that the respondents that are prone to traditionalist values are more inclined to show place attachment. Additionally, this research also showed the importance of social connections for experience and assessment of the importance of place, since the perception of local social cohesion also proved to be a significant predictor of place attachment.

On several occasions, the presented works set out an assumption indicating the connection between place attachment, mobility of residents, and their migration preferences. It is therefore important to look at research that has dealt with this very topic, especially those that have dealt with the topic of second homes.

MOBILITY, PLACE ATTACHMENT, SECOND HOME – NUANCING MULTIPLE BELONGING

In recent decades, it has become ever more challenging to determine what happens to place attachment in a world that is globally connected and where mobility is promoted. This topic is of

U Hrvatskoj se pak nekoliko istraživanja provedenih na populaciji mladih bavilo ovim temama, što je osobito zanimljivo uzme li se u obzir da mladi obično iskazuju i navise sklonosti migracijama. Li i suradnici (2012.) su tako u istraživanje provedeno 2009. godine ušli s idejom da u razdoblju ekonomskih kriza želja za migriranjem osobito jača kod osoba s izraženom motivacijom za postignućem i motivacijom za moći, dok u razdobljima kada dolazi do poboljšanja ekonomske situacija osobni faktori kao što su privrženost mjestu i neofilija utječu na migracijske aspiracije. U istraživanju provedenom na studentima prve godine ekonomije u Osijeku testirana je hipoteza prema kojoj niska razina privrženosti mjestu uz visoku zaokupljenost karijerom te neofilija utječu na pojačane migracijske aspiracije. Rezultati istraživanja potvrdili su postavljenu hipotezu pri čemu se pokazalo da navedeni prediktori i kod muškaraca i kod žena na jednak način predviđaju želju za migriranjem. Nešto recentnija istraživanja također su ukazala na povezanost privrženosti zajednici, privrženosti mjestu i migracijskih aspiracija. Istraživanje provedeno 2017. godine na mladima iz perifernih područja Splitsko-dalmatinske županije pokazalo je da veću sklonost migriranju pokazuju učenice u odnosu na učenike (STANIĆ, SCHAFFT, 2021.). Pokazalo se, osim toga, da je uz pozitivnije ocjenjivanje lokalnih ekonomskih prilika i ruralnog identiteta, privrženost zajednici značajno povezana sa željom mladih za ostankom u mjestu stanovanja. Istraživanje provedeno 2019. godine na mladima u Vukovarsko-srijemskoj županiji također je uputilo na značajan utjecaj spola na odgovore ispitanika s obzirom na to da su učenici u većoj mjeri iskazivali privrženost mjestu te u manjoj mjeri migracijske aspiracije u odnosu na učenice (ŽANIĆ I DR., 2021.). Osim toga, treba spomenuti još dva nalaza ovoga istraživanja. Pokazalo se, kao prvo, da postoji statistički značajna razlika u privrženosti mjestu između učenika koji planiraju ostatu te onih koji planiraju migrirati, ali i da postoji razlika u privrženosti mjestu između učenika koji planiraju migrirati u druge Hrvatske krajeve te onih koji planiraju migrirati u inozemstvo. Kao drugo, pokazalo se da osobito učenici koji iskazuju sklonost migriranju u druge krajeve Hrvatske pokazuju prilično visoku izraženu privrženost mjestu

particularly important for the countries like Croatia that face great emigration trends. In particular, the assessment of migration balance based on the first results of the 2021 population census (URL 1) and the data of the total natural change in population between 2011 and 2020 (URL 2) shows that in the period between the last two population censuses Croatia had a negative migration balance of almost 250,000 citizens. Research dealing with the relation of migrations and attitudes toward territorial identification was conducted both in Croatia and its neighbouring countries. For example, a study conducted in eight cities in Serbia showed that migration intentions were more pronounced in respondents with lower place attachment (PETROVIĆ ET AL., 2017).

Several studies conducted in Croatia on the youth population dealt with these topics, which is especially interesting because young people are more prone to migrate. Li et al. (2012) started working on a study in 2009 hypothesizing that in the period of economic crisis, the desire to migrate is significantly stronger in individuals with achievement and power motivation, while in the periods of economic growth, personal factors, such as place attachment and neophilia, influence migration aspirations. In a study conducted on first-year students of the Faculty of Economy in Osijek, a hypothesis was tested, according to which low place attachment and high career aspirations together with neophilia increase migration aspirations. Results of the study confirmed the hypothesis and showed that the above predictors influence the desire to migrate in men and women equally. Some recent studies also proved the link of community attachment and place attachment with migration aspirations. A study conducted in 2017 on young people from peripheral areas of Split-Dalmatia County showed that female students have a higher level of migration tendencies than male students (STANIĆ, SCHAFFT, 2021). It was also shown that, in addition to a more positive opinion about the local economic situation and rural identity, community attachment had a strong link to the desire of young people to stay in the place they live in. A study conducted in 2019 on young people from Vukovar-Srijem County also showed that gender strongly influences the answers, with male

stanovanja. Dakle, ni osjetno izražena privrženost mjestu u prostoru koji ne nudi dovoljno prostora za školovanjem ni zaposlenje ne djeluju presudno na želju mladih da provedu glavninu života u sadašnjem mjestu stanovanja.

Time se ponovno pokazuje sva kompleksnost tematike privrženosti mjestu kao i važnost istraživanja ove teme na populaciji mladih. Obećavajuće pritom djeluje uvođenje u raspravu o odnosima mobilnosti i privrženosti mjestu koncepta višestrukih privrženosti. Drži se da je zbog ubrzanog kretanja ljudi, stvari i ideja došlo do potrebe za „re-teoretizacijom privrženosti mjestu koja bi bila utemeljena manje na fiksnom shvaćanju privrženosti mjestu, a više na tome kako upravljati višestrukim, fluidnim pripadnostima“ (WILLIAMS, MILLER, 2021., 21). U hrvatskim istraživanjima ovakvi se pristupi naziru kada je riječ o istraživanjima sekundarnog stanovanja. Baveći se temom privrženosti mjestu vlasnika kuća za odmor na jadranskoj obali, A. Mišetić iznosi ideju kako je za postmoderni svijet karakteristično vezivanje za više različitih mjesta te navodi: „Postmoderna društva karakteriziraju brojne prakse horizontalnih, mrežnih modela stanovanja. Pojava takvih heterotopičnih praksi povezuje se i s povremenim premještanjima ili privremenim migracijama tijekom kojih neka mjesta postaju lokaliteti važnih socijalnih interakcija i značenja. Pri tome je moguće da dva doma ili više domova budu podjednako prihvaćeni i posvojeni – internalizirani, premda su prostorno ili vremenski razdvojeni“ (MIŠETIĆ, 2006., 30). Operacionalizirajući privrženost mjestu kroz četiri dimenzije autorica na temelju dobivenih rezultata dolazi do zaključka da je prisutan fenomen ukorjenjivanja u drugo mjesto. Naime, premda je samo 6 % ispitanih podrijetlom iz mjesta u kojem imaju kuću za odmor, njih 42,2 % izjavilo je da se osjećaju domaćima u tim mjestima, a 47,4 % ispitanih se složilo s tvrdnjom „Ovo naselje kao da je dio mene“. Prema autorici, sve to vodi zaključku da se i u Hrvatskoj može detektirati fenomen *višezavičajnosti* kao način iskazivanja teritorijalnog identiteta.

S obzirom na poticajnost problematike, ne čudi da su i novija istraživanja koja su se bavila sekundarnim stanovanjem kao važnu temu uključila i privrženost mjestu. Tako se u istraživanjima tri na-

students expressing higher place attachment and a lower level of migration aspirations than female students (ŽANIĆ ET AL., 2021). Two other results of that study should be mentioned. Firstly, it was shown that there is a statistically significant difference in place attachment of students planning to stay and students planning to migrate, but also that there is a difference in the level of place attachment between students planning to migrate to different Croatian regions of their country and those who want to migrate abroad.

Secondly, it was shown that students who express aspiration to migrate to other regions of Croatia also feel strong place attachment. In conclusion, strong attachment to a place that does not offer enough education and job opportunities is not a prevailing factor in the desire of the youth to remain in their current places of residence for the majority of their lives.

That shows again how complex the topic of place attachment is, as well as how important it is to study it concerning young population. Introducing the concept of multiple attachments into the discussions about the relation of mobility and place attachment is a promising sign. There is a prevailing opinion that due to the accelerated movement of people, things and ideas, there is a need for ‘a re-theorization of place attachment based less on fixed place attachment and more on how people navigate multiple, fluid attachments’ (WILLIAMS, MILLER, 2021, 21). That kind of approach can be noticed in Croatian studies when it comes to investigating the phenomenon of second homes. Investigating the subject of place attachment of owners of houses on the Adriatic coast, A. Mišetić introduced the idea that the contemporary world is characterized by attachment to more places and wrote: ‘Contemporary societies are characterized by numerous practices of horizontal, network models of dwelling. The emergence of such heterotopic practices is also associated with periodical moving or periodical migrations during which some places become localities of important social interactions and meanings. Those two or more homes may be equally accepted and adopted – internalized, although they are separated in space and time’ (MIŠETIĆ, 2006, 30). By operationalizing place attachment through four dimensions and

selja za koje je karakteristična veća gustoća sekundarnog stanovanja istraživalo i pitanje postoje li razlike prema privrženosti mjestu povremenih stanovnika i onih koji u mjestu stalno borave. Studije slučaja provedene na tri lokacije, i to Okrug Gornji (Splitsko-dalmatinska županija), Červar-Porat (Istarska županija) i Aljmaš (Osječko-baranjska županija), pokazale su da postoji visoka privrženost mjestu od stalnih stanovnika, ali i iznenađujuće „visok udio odgovora o izrazitoj ili priličnoj privrženosti i kod povremenih stanovnika“ (MILETIĆ I DR., 2020., 159).

Doduše, u analiziranim primjerima povremeni stanovnici ipak zaostaju za stalnim stanovnicima po iskazanoj privrženosti mjestu. Pritom je to zaostajanje nešto manje izraženo u Červar-Portu, a nešto više u Aljmašu i Okrugu Gornjem. Razloge uočenog izdvajanja Červar-Porta svakako treba tražiti u specifičnosti njegova razvitka te započete transformacije iz isključivo sezonskog u naselje u kojem se živi tijekom cijele godine. Osim što je na sve tri lokacije uočeno iskazivanje nešto niže privrženosti mjestu u kojem koriste stan za odmor u odnosu na njegove stalne stanovnike, nalazi pokazuju da anketirani povremeni stanovnici češće iskazuju i nešto veću razinu privrženosti mjestu u kojem imaju stalnu adresu stanovanja nego mjestu u kojem koriste stan za odmor. Valja ipak naglasiti da se sve spomenute razlike odnose tek na intenzitet privrženosti. Drugim riječima, dobiveni rezultati nedvojbeno pokazuju da većina povremenih stanovnika iskazuju „...multilokalnu privrženost prema oba prostora stanovanja, a taj indikator također ide u prilog tezama o horizontalnom obrascu organiziranja stanovanja...“ (MILETIĆ I DR., 2020., 165).

Jasno, samo raspolaganje stanom za odmor ne povlači za sobom i realizaciju multilokalne privrženosti. Za očekivati je da neki dodatni čimbenici poput obilježja prostora, postojanja zavičajne povezanosti ili pak načina korištenja stana za odmor utječu na važnost svake od tih adresa za formiranje teritorijalnih identiteta. U tom kontekstu posebno su zanimljivi rezultati detaljnije analize u kojoj su Poljanec Borić i suradnici (2018.) propitivali razlike odnosa prema mjestu između stalnih i povremenih stanovnika na primjeru Okruga Gornjeg. U toj analizi oslonili su se na koncept osjećaja mjesta

based on the results, the author concludes that the phenomenon of place rootedness in the second place can be noticed. Even though only 6% of respondents came from the place in which they have a vacation home, 42.2% of them said they felt like locals in those places, and 47.4% of respondents agreed with the statement ‘This place is like a part of me.’ In the author’s opinion, all of that leads to the conclusion that the phenomenon of *multiple homes*, as a way of expressing territorial identity, can be noticed in Croatia.

Having in mind the inspiring nature of the subject, it is not surprising that latest studies dealing with second homes included place attachment as an important subject. So, in investigating three places characterized by a higher density of second homes, the question of differences in the degrees to place attachment of temporary and permanent residents was researched. Case studies conducted in three locations, Okrug Gornji (Split-Dalmatia County), Červar-Porat (Istria County), and Aljmaš (Osijek-Baranja County), showed that permanent residents had a high level of place attachment, but also that there was a surprisingly ‘high share of answers claiming significant or high attachment in temporary residents’ (MILETIĆ ET AL., 2020, 159).

However, in the examples analysed, temporary residents show a somewhat lower degree of place attachment than permanent residents. That difference is less noticeable in Červar-Porat, and more noticeable in Aljmaš and Okrug Gornji. The reasons can be found in the specificity of Červar-Porat development and its transformation from a place where people lived only during the summer season to a place where people lived all year round. Besides expressing lower attachment to a place where they have a vacation home, the findings show that surveyed temporary residents more often express higher attachment to a place where they live permanently than to the place where they have a vacation home. Nonetheless, it is important that all those differences merely reflect the intensity of attachment. In other words, the findings undoubtedly show that the majority of temporary residents express ‘(...) multilocal attachment to both places of residency, which also supports the theses about the horizontal pattern of residential organization (...)’ (MILETIĆ ET AL., 2020, 165).

i njegove tri poddimenzije: privrženosti mjestu, ukorijenjenosti u mjesto i uvjetovanosti mjestom. Nalazi otkrivaju kako, osim već spomenute okolnosti da su u Okrugu Gornjem stalni stanovnici iskazivali nešto veću privrženost mjestu od povremenih stanovnika, među ovim skupinama postoji različito vrednovanje nekih aspekata koji utječu na osjećaj mjesta, pri čemu su stalni stanovnici u većoj mjeri vrednovali trgovu, javna mjesta te mjesta za provođenje slobodnog vremena, dok su povremeni stanovnici u većoj mjeri vrednovali plaže i more. Izdvajaju se stoga „morski socio-kulturni habitat“ i „mediteranski način života“ kao odrednice koje utječu na različita oblikovanja osjećaja mjesta (POLJANEC BORIĆ I DR., 2018.). Također je važno da je potvrđena hipoteza prema kojoj obiteljske veze povremenih stanovnika utječu na to hoće li se oni doživljavati domaćim ili došljakom u mjestu. Naime, među skupinom onih koji su se doživljavali domaćima primijećen je veći broj onih koji su rođeni na otoku ili su im roditelji podrijetlom s otoka. Na taj je način detektirana veza između ukorijenjenosti u mjesto i privrženosti mjestu.

Pitanja koja se nameću su postoje li još neke važne razlike između načina na koji se povremeni i stalni stanovnici povezuju s mjestom, ali i postoje li razlike između tipa privrženosti mjestu samih vlasnika stanova za odmor te ovisi li one o karakteristikama naselja u koje je rasprostranjeno sekundarno stanovanje. Naime, dok su brojna istraživanja pokazivala da je privrženost mjestu povezana s društvenim vezama koje se pojavljuju među stanovnicima pojedinih naselja, istraživanja provedena u mjestima koja obilježava velik udio sekundarnih stanova sugeriraju da su glavni poticaji za razvoj privrženosti mjestu prirodni uvjeti kao što su more te pogled na more, čisti zrak, mirisi i zvuci (URSIĆ, KRNIĆ, 2020.). Ostaje stoga otvoreno pitanje u kojoj mjeri se u tim okolnostima razvija individualizirana privrženost mjestu. Dakle, razvija li se kod dijela mještana privrženost mjestu dominantno zbog ugone koju izaziva prirodni okoliš te jesu li i takvi stanovnici spremni na angažman u lokalnoj zajednici. Detektiranje individualizacije privrženosti mjestu bio bi važan doprinos daljnjem produbljivanju razumijevanja postmodernih fenomena koji dolaze do izražaja u odnosu spram mjestu.

Of course, the mere availability of a vacation home does not entail the formation of multilo-cal attachment. It can be expected that some additional factors, such as the characteristics of the space itself, attachment to the place, or the way a vacation home is used, influence the importance of those spaces in forming territorial identities. In that context, the results of a detailed analysis are especially interesting: Poljanec Borić et al. (2018) analysed the differences in the relationship with a place between permanent and temporary residents in Okrug Gornji. In that analysis, they focused on the concept of sense of place and its three sub-concepts: place attachment, place rootedness, and place dependence. The findings reveal that, besides the already mentioned fact that permanent residents of Okrug Gornji expressed somewhat higher place attachment than temporary residents, there is a difference in how these groups value some aspects that influence the sense of place, where permanent residents gave more importance to squares, public spaces, and places for leisure, while temporary residents found beaches and the sea more important. Two distinct factors influencing different ways of forming the sense of place could be labelled as 'maritime socio-cultural habitat' and 'Mediterranean way of life' (POLJANEC BORIĆ ET AL., 2018). Another important thing is that a hypothesis that family bonds of temporary residents influence whether they will rate themselves as natives or newcomers. Namely, among the respondents who rated themselves as natives, a large number were born on the island or their parents were from the island. In that way, a link was found between place rootedness and place attachment.

This opens up a new set of questions: whether there are some other important differences in the ways temporary and permanent residents connect to a place, but also if there are differences between the type of place attachment of vacation home owners and if they depend on the attributes of a settlement with a large number of second homes. While numerous studies showed that place attachment was connected to social bonds among the residents of some settlements, studies conducted in places characterized by a large number of second homes suggest that the main incentive for place

ZAKLJUČAK

Istraživanja koja se u potpunosti ili barem jednim dijelom bave temom privrženosti mjestu u Hrvatskoj dijele niz poteškoća koje se pojavljuju i u sličnim istraživanjima provedenim u drugim zemljama. Empirijskim istraživanjima vrlo često nedostaje ambicije za jasnijim povezivanjem sa širim teorijskim okvirima. Uzrok tome može se tražiti i u uvidu kako teorijska tematiziranja mjesta ne daju jasne smjernice za provođenje empirijskih istraživanja (AGNEW, 2011). Uz to, osnovni problem je što se koncept privrženosti mjestu često različito operacionalizira, pa se dobiveni rezultati mogu uspoređivati s određenim oprezom. Držimo međutim da izneseni podaci upućuju na neke bitne momente koji se tiču odnosa ljudi prema lokalnoj sredini u Republici Hrvatskoj.

Kao prvo, u Hrvatskoj rezultati istraživanja redovito upućuju na to da se i u suvremenim okolnostima može govoriti o privrženosti stanovnika mjestu, odnosno naselju ili gradu, u kojem žive. U gradovima kao što su Vukovar ili Vinkovci velik broj ljudi smatra se domaćim, smatra da tu pripada. Isto tako, privrženost mjestu iskazuju i stanovnici najvećih gradova Splitu i Zagrebu. Tako se ovi rezultati mogu dovesti u vezu s nizom istraživanja provedenih u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama i zemljama zapadne Europe prema kojima većina ljudi izražava privrženost mjestu stanovanja. M. Lewicka tako navodi da rezultati istraživanja privrženosti mjestu na skalama od 1 do 5 redovito budu između 3 i 4, dok na skalama do sedam rezultat bude između 4 i 5 (LEWICKA, 2021.).

Drugi važan nalaz je da je emocionalna privrženost mjestu redovito praćena i određenim nezadovoljstvom životom u lokalnoj sredini, odnosno onim što mjesto nudi te shodno tome zabrinutosti za to što nosi budućnost. U tom smislu buduća istraživanja trebala bi dati preciznije uvide u trendove karakteristične za Hrvatsku. Naime, postojeći podaci pokazuju određeno pomicanje težišta u interpretaciji podataka. Dok se na prijelazu u 21. stoljeće konceptom zavičajnoga grada tumačilo da u hrvatskim gradovima usprkos funkcionalnim nedostacima dolazi do ukorjenjivanja stanovnika, ulazak Hrvatske u Europsku uniju donio je daljnje propitivanje toga odnosa. Čini se da zbog olakša-

attachment development is the natural surrounding: view of the sea, clean air, scents, and sounds (URSIĆ, KRNIĆ, 2020). One question still needs to be answered: to which degree place attachment develops in those circumstances. In other words, whether some residents develop the feeling of place attachment mostly as they feel comfortable because of the nature surrounding them, and whether those residents are willing to participate in the community. Detecting the individual factor in place attachment would be an important contribution to deepening the understanding of contemporary phenomena noticeable in the relationship with a place.

CONCLUSION

The studies that, at least partially, deal with the subject of place attachment in Croatia encounter problems similar to those of studies in other countries. Empirical research often lacks the ambition for clearer linking to a wider theoretical framework. The reason could be found in the fact that forming theories about place does not give clear guidelines on how to conduct empirical research (AGNEW, 2011). Additionally, the main problem is that the concept of place attachment is often operationalized in different ways, so the findings should be compared with some caution. However, we believe that the data presented points to some important insights about the relationship of people to local communities in the Republic of Croatia.

Firstly, the findings in Croatia regularly imply that people's attachment to a place, town, city, or village they live in can be noticed in the contemporary era. In cities like Vukovar or Vinkovci, a large number of people see themselves as locals, they believe they belong there. Place attachment can also be seen in the residents of the largest cities, Zagreb and Split. In that way, we can link these findings to a series of studies conducted in the United States of America and countries of Western Europe, according to which the majority of people express attachment to the place where they live. M. Lewicka found that in all studies the average score of declared place attachment is between 3 and 4 on a 5-point scale, and between 4 and 5 on a 7-point

vanja migracijskih mogućnosti funkcionalni nedostaci postaju sve teže podnošljivim te se na migriranje sve češće odlučuju i oni koji iskazuju osjećaj privrženosti mjestu, a to je prema postojećim podacima uočljivo kod populacije mladih.

Kao treće, postoje nalazi koji sugeriraju fenomen višestruke privrženosti mjestu. Na taj fenomen indirektno je uputio već koncept nove zavičajnosti koji je skrenuo pozornost na to da ljudi osjećaju privrženost mjestima na kojima nisu rođeni. Također, pri razmatranju fenomena mobilnosti i migriranja otvaraju se i mogućnosti boljeg povezivanja problematike privrženosti mjestu s nekim važnim i dobro istraženim temama kao što su zadovoljstvo stanovanjem te odnosom prema prirodi i zaštiti prirode (GEIGER, ZEMAN, 2010.; SVIRČIĆ GOTOVAC, 2020.).

Napokon, kao četvrto, na tragu tih nalaza kao i istraživanja provedenih u drugim zemljama, pokazuje se da je teško govoriti o jednom konceptu privrženosti mjestu te iz njega donositi jednoznačne zaključke. Predstoji stoga potraga za smislenim tipologizacijama koncepta privrženosti mjestu, a takvi su pokušaji iskušani pri razmatranju privrženosti mjestu u kontekstu novog i starog lokalizma ili različitih teritorijalnih identiteta. Ove konceptualizacije omogućuju bolje razumijevanje odnosa između društvenih grupa i mjesta sugerirajući pritom mogućnost različitih ishoda s obzirom na neizvjesnost tranzicijskog konteksta te brzinu transformacije koje uzrokuju globalizacijski procesi.

scale (LEWICKA, 2021).

Another important finding is that emotional place attachment is usually accompanied by a certain level of dissatisfaction with life in a local community, or what the place offers, and with that, by a concern about the future. In that sense, future studies should give more precise insights into trends typical for Croatia. The existing data show a shift in data interpretation. While at the beginning of the 21st century, the concept of hometown was used to explain the rootedness of citizens in Croatian cities despite their functional deficits, that relationship was questioned again after Croatia joined the European Union. It seems that functional deficits became more difficult to handle when migration was made easier, and even those that express place attachment decide to migrate, especially when it comes to the young population.

Thirdly, some findings suggest the existence of multiple place attachments. That phenomenon was already indirectly announced by the concept of new sense of homeplace, which revealed the fact that people feel place attachment to places that were not their places of birth. Moreover, investigating the phenomena of mobility and migration opens up possibilities to better link the issues of place attachment with some important and well-researched topics, like the satisfaction with the dwelling conditions and the relationship with nature and its protection (GEIGER, ZEMAN, 2010; SVIRČIĆ GOTOVAC, 2020).

Finally, those findings and studies conducted in other countries show that it is difficult to talk about one concept of place attachment and draw clear conclusions. In the future, we should find a way to form a meaningful typology of the place attachment concept, which has already been attempted in the context of new and old localism or different territorial identities. Those conceptualizations enable a better understanding of relations between social groups and places, implying at the same time a possibility of different outcomes and the speed of transformation caused by global processes.

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GEOSTRATEŠKO I GEOPOLITIČKO ZNAČENJE GOLANSKE VISORAVNI ZA DRŽAVU IZRAEL

GEOSTRATEGIC AND GEOPOLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE GOLAN HEIGHTS FOR THE STATE OF ISRAEL

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S obzirom na razmjerno nepovoljan geostrateški položaj u odnosu na okolne i često neprijateljske zemlje, izraelska vanjska politika uglavnom je uvjetovana dinamičnim zbivanjima u regiji. Dinamika se ogleda u nekoliko vojnih invazija na Izrael, pobunama palestinskog stanovništva, mnogobrojnim terorističkim napadima i čestim uzvraćanjima izraelskih snaga radi dostizanja zadovoljavajućega sigurnosnog stanja. U tom kontekstu, službeni Tel Aviv često je prisiljen pronaći ravnotežu između praktičnih vojno-obrambenih i sigurnosnih potreba te reputacije Izraela u međunarodnoj zajednici, uz prilagodbu realnostima svojega neposrednoga geopolitičkog okruženja. Izrael je tijekom „Šestodnevnog rata“ u lipnju 1967. okupirao veći dio Golanske visoravni. Taj je događaj u idućim desetljećima generirao s jedne strane pojačanu sigurnost sjevernih granica države s obzirom na iznimnu geostratešku vrijednost regije, a s druge negodovanje dijela međunarodne zajednice, osobito nakon 1981. kad je donesen zakon o proširenju jurisdikcije Države Izrael na taj okupirani prostor. Kontrola nad ovom regijom znatno je utjecala na geostrateški položaj Izraela, ali i stvorila geopolitički kompleksnu situaciju, osobito u kontekstu odnosa sa susjednom Sirijom. U radu se, uz geografski prikaz Golanske visoravni i historijsko-geografske aspekte, analiziraju geostrateške odrednice izraelske okupacije visoravni, kao i geopolitičke perspektive toga područja.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: Golanska visoravan, Izrael, Sirija, okupacija, geostrategija, geopolitika

Given the relatively unfavourable geostrategic position in the surrounding of often hostile countries, Israeli foreign policy was largely conditioned by almost constant and dynamic developments in the region. These dynamics were manifested in the form of several military invasions of Israel, riots by the Palestinian population, numerous terrorist attacks and frequent retaliations by Israeli forces with the aim of achieving a satisfactory security situation. In this context, the official Tel Aviv has often been forced to find a good balance between practical defensive and security needs and Israel's reputation in the international community, while constantly adapting to the realities of its immediate geopolitical environment. The Israeli occupation of most of the Golan Heights during the Six Day War in June 1967 was an event that, in this context, generated an increased security of the country's northern borders in the following decades, given the region's exceptional geostrategic value, but also the opposition the international community to the occupation, especially after 1981 when a law was passed to extend the jurisdiction of the State of Israel to the said occupied territory. Control over this

region has significantly affected the favourableness of Israel's geostrategic position, but it has also created a geopolitically complex situation, especially in the context of relations with Syria, a neighbouring country. In addition to the geographical presentation of the Golan Heights and historical-geographical aspects, the paper analyses the geostrategic determinants of the Israeli occupation of the plateau, as well as the geopolitical perspectives of the area.

KEY WORDS: Golan Heights, Israel, Syria, occupation, geostrategy, geopolitics

UVOD

Od svojega proglašenja 1948. godine do danas, Izrael je prešao put od mlade države koja se bori za opstanak u kulturološki i politički neprijateljskom okruženju arapskih i muslimanskih zemalja do regionalno snažnoga geopolitičkog čimbenika na čitavom Bliskom istoku. U desetljećima borbe za opstanak, sigurnost i međunarodnu afirmaciju, izraelska je država uz diplomatski i geopolitički jaku poziciju ostvarila niz pobjeda u oružanim sukobima koje su joj omogućile i geostrateške prednosti, osobito u kontekstu povremenog zauzimanja graničnih teritorija s kojih je bila ugrožavana. U tom se smislu mogu razlučiti dva nerijetko suprotstavljena politička pristupa u povijesti izraelske države s obzirom na to da njezine granice i sigurnost – pristup koji je težio za ekspanzijom teritorija ne samo iz sigurnosnih nego i iz ideoloških razloga (narrativ o „Velikom Izraelu“¹ svojstven desnici) te pristup utvrđivanja granica prema međunarodnom pravu i postizanja mira s palestinskim Arapima i okolnim zemljama. Iako su oba pristupa proizašla iz suprotstavljenih unutarnjopolitičkih ideoloških stavova u Izraelu, njihova je primjena u pojedinim razdobljima uglavnom bila posljedicom realnih vanjskopolitičkih čimbenika i političkog pragmatizma.

Primjerice, izraelski protuudar tijekom Rata za neovisnost (1947. – 1949.) proširio je granice predviđene planom UN-a i Rezolucijom 181, te se može reći da su one plod prvog pristupa u njegovoj inicijalnoj inačici, kroz teritorijalno ostvarenje židovske države koja bi bila održiva u sigurnosnom i obrambenom smislu. No, u tom se slučaju ne može govoriti o širenju teritorija nauštrb druge suverene države, već isključivo u okvirima postojećega izraelsko-palestinskoga te-

¹ „Veliki Izrael“ (heb. *Erets Yisrael Hashlema*) – iredentistička težnja prema širenju granica Izraela na teritorije koji se poklapaju s povijesnim granicama Davidova Kraljevstva Izraela od približno 1000. g. pr. Kr. Trenutačno značenje ovoga pojma podrazumijeva međunarodno priznatu Državu Izrael, plus teritorije pod izraelskom kontrolom (Zapadna obala, pojas Gaze i Golanska visoravan). Prije osnivanja Države Izrael, dio židovskih nacionalista pod ovim je pojmom podrazumijevao čitavo područje britanskog mandata nad Palestinom, što uključuje i dijelove današnjeg Jordana (URL 8).

INTRODUCTION

From the proclamation of its independence in 1948 to the present day, Israel has evolved from a young state struggling to survive in a culturally and politically hostile environment of the surrounding Arab countries to a regionally strong geopolitical factor in the Middle East. In decades of struggle for survival, security and international affirmation, the Israeli state, in addition to its diplomatic and geopolitically strong position, has achieved a number of victories in armed conflicts which gave geostrategic advantages to it, especially in the context of occasional occupation of border territories. In this sense, one can distinguish two often opposing political approaches in the history of the state of Israel with regard to its borders and security – the approach that sought to expand territories not only for security but also for ideological reasons (narrative of ‘Greater Israel’¹ inherent in the policy of the right-wing parties), and the approach of establishing borders under international law and achieving peace with the Palestinian Arabs as well as the surrounding countries. Although both approaches stemmed from opposing domestic political ideological views in Israel, their application in certain periods was mainly due to real foreign policy factors and political pragmatism.

For example, the Israeli counterattack during the War of Independence 1947-1949 extended the boundaries previously envisaged by the UN Plan and Resolution 181, and can be said to be the result of the first approach through the territorial realization of a Jewish state that would be sustainable in terms of security and defence. However, in this case there was no expansion of territories to the detriment of another sovereign state, but only within the existing Israeli-Palestinian territorial duality. The Arab rejection of the UN resolution and its

¹ ‘Greater Israel’ (Heb. *Erets Yisrael Hashlema*) - an irredentist tendency to expand the borders of Israel to territories that coincide with the historical borders of the Kingdom of David of Israel from approx. 1000 BC. The current definition of this term implies the internationally recognized state of Israel, plus territories under Israeli control (West Bank, Gaza Strip and Golan Heights). Prior to the founding of the State of Israel, part of Jewish nationalists considered the entire area of the British mandate in the Palestine, including parts of present-day Jordan, as Israel (URL 8).

ritorijalnog dualiteta, pri čemu su arapsko odbijanje UN-ove rezolucije i plana o osnutku židovske i palestinske države, kao i agresija arapskih zemalja na tada novoproglašenu Državu Izrael, omogućili Izraelu političko-teritorijalnu afirmaciju vojno zauzetih područja.

Drugi pristup prevladao je nakon niza oružanih sukoba i posljedičnoga izraelskog zauzimanja palestinskog teritorija ili teritorija susjednih neovisnih arapskih država. U mnogim takvim slučajevima Izrael je nastojao „pacificirati“ svoje okruženje i ostvariti određenu razinu sigurnosti vodeći se načelom „zemlja za mir“² i vraćajući vojno zauzeti teritorij u zamjenu za mirovni sporazum. Međutim, takav vanjskopolitički pristup najčešće nije bio dugoročno rješenje s obzirom na to da su vraćeni teritoriji s vremenom ponovno postajali ishodištem terorističkih aktivnosti te povremenih napada na Izrael (SHERMAN, 2019.). Idealizam navedenog načela stoga je u znatnoj mjeri napušten nakon 2000. godine i izbijanja druge intifade, kada je većina Izraelaca postala sigurna da im Palestinci za okupiranu zemlju neće odgovoriti mirom (HAVEL, 2013.)

Prostor Golanske visoravni jedno je od spornih područja koja su zauzele izraelske snage tijekom ratova s arapskim zemljama, a koje je još uvijek pod kontrolom Izraela. Riječ je o povišenom bazaltnom platou sjeveroistočno od izraelske granice, inače suverenom sirijskom teritoriju, koji su izraelske snage okupirale 1967., tijekom tzv. „Šestodnevog rata“, a koji do danas nije vraćen Siriji (Sl. 1.). Izraelske su snage u posjedu oko 1150 km² ove visoravni, a politika službenog Izraela spram ovoga područja specifična je zbog njegove iznimne geostrateške važnosti i obrambenih aspekata koji se tiču dugoročne sigurnosti sjevernih granica Izraela. Upravo zbog topografije Golanske visoravni Sirija ima povoljan vojno-geografski položaj u odnosu na Izrael ne samo u ratnim sukobima, već i u širem kontekstu prisutnosti utvrđenoga sirijskog topništva koje je s

plan to establish both Jewish and Palestinian state in the area, and the aggression of Arab countries to the then newly proclaimed state of Israel, enabled Israel to politically affirm the occupied territories.

The second approach, on the other hand, prevailed after a series of armed conflicts and the consequent Israeli occupation of the territories of neighbouring independent Arab states. In many such cases, Israel sought to ‘pacify’ its environment and achieve a certain level of security, guided by the ‘land for peace’² principle and returning the occupied territories in exchange for a peace agreement. However, such foreign policy approach usually did not bring long-term results, given that the returned territories would often become the source of terrorist activities and occasional military attacks on Israel (SHERMAN, 2019). The idealism of this principle was therefore largely abandoned after 2000 and the outbreak of the second Intifada, when most Israelis became convinced that the Palestinians would not reciprocate the peace for the return of the occupied territory (HAVEL, 2013).

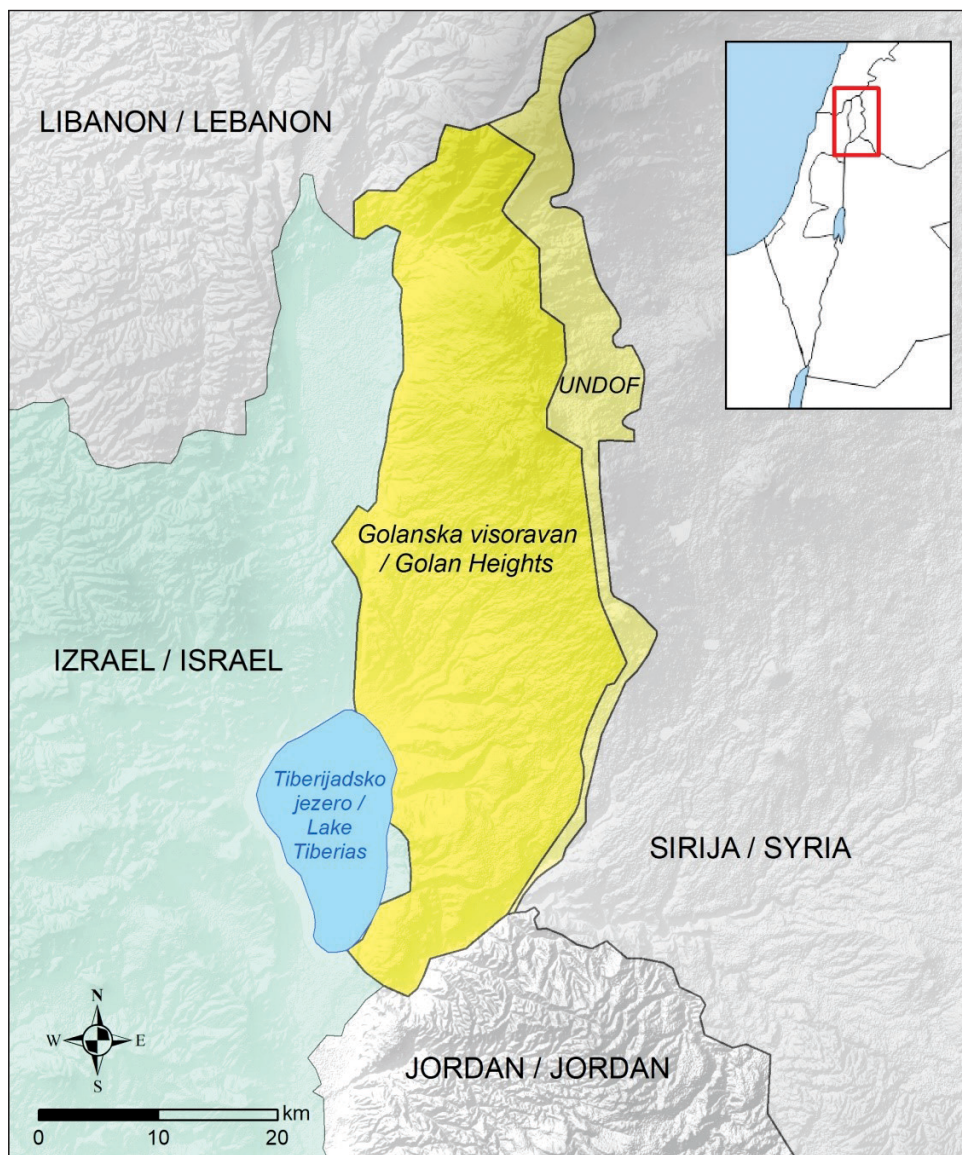
The Golan Heights area is one of the disputed areas occupied by the Israeli forces during the wars with Arab countries, which is still under Israeli control. It is an elevated basalt plateau northeast of the Israeli border, a sovereign Syrian territory occupied by Israel in 1967 during the so-called ‘Six Day War’, which has not been returned to Syria to this day (Fig. 1). Israeli forces hold about 1,150 km² of this plateau, and the official Israel’s policy towards this area is specific due to its exceptional geostrategic importance and the aspects of defence arising from it, concerning the long-term security of Israel’s northern borders. It was the topography of the Golan Heights that gave Syria a favourable military-geographical position in relation to Israel not only during wartime, but also in the broader context of the presence of fortified Syrian artillery which had a topographical advantage and often threatened the settlements in northern Israel. In this sense, for objective reasons the official Israel

² „Zemlja za mir“ – načelo postizanja sporazuma koje se temelji na povlačenju Izraela s okupiranih područja arapskih teritorija, uključujući i Palestinu, u zamjenu za mir i priznanje Izraelu prava na postojanje (URL 9). Ovo načelo potvrđeno je Rezolucijom 242 Vijeća Sigurnosti UN-a, te u kontekstu Golanske visoravni predstavlja službenu poziciju Sirije (MARK, 2002.).

² ‘Land for Peace’ - the principle of reaching an agreement based on the withdrawal of Israel from the occupied Arab territories, including Palestine, in exchange for peace and recognition of Israel’s right to exist (URL 9). This principle is confirmed by UN Security Council Resolution 242, and in the context of the Golan Heights it represents the official position of Syria (Mark, 2002.).

povišenih pozicija imalo topografsku prednost te ugrožavalo naselja na sjeveru Izraela. U tom smislu, politika Izraela iz objektivnih razloga nije bila sklona žuriti se s vraćanjem Golana Siriji, već se, štoviše, kretala prema većoj integraciji okupirane regije. Drugi važan geostrateški aspekt bila je vodoopskrba Države Izrael koja velikim dijelom ovisi o izvorima na Golanskoj visoravni, a koja je namjerama Arapske lige da skrenu vodene tokove bila izravno ugrožena u prvoj polovici 1960-ih. Navedeni čimbenik u to je vrijeme bio od presudne geostrateške važnosti za Izrael uzimajući u obzir aridni karakter bliskoistočnog prostora i ograničenja vodnih resursa. U takvim

was not inclined to rush the return of the Golan to Syria, but was constantly making moves in the opposite direction - towards a greater integration of the occupied region with Israel. Another important geostrategic aspect was the water supply of the state of Israel, which largely depended on springs in the Golan Heights, and which was directly jeopardized by the Arab League's intentions to divert water flows in the first half of the 1960s. In that time, this factor was of crucial geostrategic importance for Israel, given the arid character of the Middle East and the limitations of water resources. In such natural conditions, namely, water is a first-class geostrategic resource that significant-



SLIKA 1. Geografski položaj Golanske visoravni s okolnim državama i područjem razdvajanja pod nadzorom UN-a (UNDOF)

FIGURE 1 Geographical position of the Golan Heights with surrounding countries and the UN-controlled area of separation (UNDOF)

prirodno-geografskim uvjetima, naime, voda je prvorazredni geostrateški resurs koji u znatnoj mjeri uvjetuje političke poteze država.

Izraelske snage u posjedu su većine teritorija Golanske visoravni od tzv. „Šestodnevno rata“ 1967. Od sirijskih vojnih snaga razdvojene su zonom razdvajanja nepravilnog oblika na području istočnog dijela visoravni, uspostavljenom Sporazumom o prekidu vatre postignutim nakon Jomkipurskog rata 1974., a koju nadziru snage UN-a u sklopu misije UNDOF (*United Nations Disengagement Observer Force*) radi dugoročnog nadzora prekida vatre. Navedena zona uspostavljena je na sirijskoj strani crte primirja, a izraelske i sirijske snage s obje strane zone razdvajanja sporazumom su ograničene na maksimalno 75 tenkova i 6000 vojnika u prvih 10 kilometara od zone. Također, obje strane obvezale su se da neće postavljati raketne sustave zemlja-zrak u pojasu od 25 kilometara (MARK, 2002.).

Nedugo nakon zauzimanja visoravni, Izrael je pokrenuo „izraelifikaciju“ Golana, uklanjajući napuštena naselja izbjeglih sirijskih Arapa te stvarajući preduvjete za kolonizaciju visoravni židovskim stanovništvom. Godine 1981. posebnim zakonom o civilnoj jurisdikciji Izrael širi svoju vlast na prostor visoravni iako se taj čin formalno-pravno ne smatra aneksijom (SHELEFF, 1994.). Zemlje članice UN-a većinom su kritizirale taj zakon s obzirom na to da primjenom u praksi predstavlja *de facto* aneksiju te je Vijeće sigurnosti UN-a donijelo i posebnu Rezoluciju 497 kojom se čin širenja izraelske civilne vlasti smatra ilegalnim te se traži opoziv navedenog zakona (MARK, 2002.). No, službeni je Izrael procijenio da je negodovanje međunarodne zajednice cijena koju je voljan platiti za dugoročno očuvanje sigurnosti i opstojnosti te obranu države, osobito na području njezinih sjevernih granica. Dodatni utjecaj na takvu odluku vezan je i uz povijesnu povezanost židovskog naroda s područjem Golanske visoravni te činjenicom da su rane teritorijalne vizije uspostave Države Izrael u Palestini teritorijalno obuhvaćale i navedeni prostor. Unatoč tome, politika službenog Izraela u pojedinim razdobljima bila je otvorena za mirovni sporazum i povlačenje s Golanske visoravni uz uvjet dugoročnih sigurnosnih jamstava, te

ly conditions the political moves of countries.

Israeli forces have held most of the territory of the Golan Heights since 1967. They are separated from the Syrian military by an irregularly shaped separation zone in the eastern part of the plateau, established by the ceasefire agreement reached after the 1974 Yom Kippur War, and overseen by the UN forces as part of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) mission with the aim of long-term ceasefire control. The zone was established on the Syrian side of the ceasefire line, and Israeli and Syrian forces on both sides of the separation zone were limited by agreement to a maximum of 75 tanks and 6,000 troops within the first 10 kilometres of the zone. In addition, both sides are obliged not to install surface-to-air missile systems within 25-kilometer radius (MARK, 2002).

Shortly after the occupation of the plateau in 1967, Israel initiated an ‘Israelization’ of the Golan, removing the abandoned settlements of Syrian Arab refugees, and creating the preconditions for the colonization of the plateau by the Jewish population. In 1981, by a special law on civil jurisdiction, Israel extended its authority to the area of the plateau, although this act is not formally and legally considered an annexation (SHELEFF, 1994). The UN member states have largely criticized the law for *de facto* annexation in practice, and the UN Security Council passed a special resolution 497 declaring the act of expanding Israeli civilian rule to the Golan Heights illegal and calling for the law to be repealed (MARK, 2002). However, the official Israel estimated that the indignation of the international community is the price it is willing to pay for the long-term preservation of security and the sustainable defence of the state, especially in the area of its northern borders. An additional influence on such a decision is related to the historical connection of the Jewish people with the area of the Golan Heights, and the fact that the early Zionist territorial visions of the territory of the state of Israel in Palestine included this area. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the policy of the official Israel was in some periods open to a peace agreement and withdrawal from the Golan Heights, subject to long-term security guarantees, and negotiations have been held on several occasions since the 1990s. However, all of the negoti-

su se od 1990-ih do danas nekoliko puta vodili pregovori uz posredništvo trećih zemalja. Kako pregovori nisu uspjeli, trajni sporazum do sada nije postignut. Trenutačna je, pak, tendencija izraelske politike zadržavanje kontrole nad Golanom, snažnija politička i gospodarska integracija regije s ostatkom države i čekanje povoljnih geopolitičkih okolnosti za međunarodnu afirmaciju pripajanja regije Izraelu. U tom kontekstu valja spomenuti i da je u ožujku 2019. administracija američkog predsjednika Donalda Trumpa priznala Golansku visoravan kao suvereni dio izraelskog teritorija, a taj se čin najvećega američkog saveznika može smatrati „vjetrom u leđa“ dugoročnoj političkoj „izraelifikaciji“ Golana unatoč protivljenju ostatka međunarodne zajednice. Bivši premijer Izraela Benjamin Netanyahu početkom 2021. izjavio je da će Golanska visoravan „ostati dio Države Izrael“ u svakom slučaju (URL 1).

U radu se analiziraju historijsko-geografski i geostrateški aspekti izraelske okupacije Golanske visoravni. Prvi dio rada sadrži pregled općih geografskih značajki te historijsko-geografski pregled istraživanih područja. Drugi dio rada obrađuje problematiku geostrateškog značenja Golanske visoravni za suvremeni Izrael. Strateško-obrambena vrijednost visoravni, kao i vodni resursi te izvori koji napajaju rijeku Jordan bili su od ključne važnosti za sigurnosnu i gospodarsku politiku Izraela nakon okupacije visoravni, pa je ovim dvama aspektima posvećena posebna pozornost, uz osvrt na njihovu relevantnost danas. U konačnici, analiziraju se trenutačne geopolitičke perspektive te se nastoje donijeti zaključci o političkoj budućnosti Golanske visoravni.

Geografska obilježja Golanske visoravni

Golanska visoravan (heb. *Ramat Ha-Golan*, arap. *Al-Jawlān*) povišeni je bazaltni plato na području razgraničenja Sirije, Izraela, Libanona i Jordana ukupne površine 1860 km² (od čega dio pod okupacijom i upravom Izraela zauzima približno 1150 km²), izduljen u smjeru sjever-jug u duljini od oko 62 km te poprečne širine od 12 do 26 km u smjeru istok-zapad. Omeđen je planinom Hermon i gorjem Antilibanon na

ations have failed, and a lasting agreement has not been reached to this day. The current tendency of Israeli policy is to maintain control over the Golan, as well as to achieve a stronger political and economic integration of the region with the rest of the country, and to wait for favourable geopolitical circumstances for the international affirmation of the region's annexation to Israel. In this context, it is worth mentioning that in March 2019 the administration of the US President Donald Trump recognized the Golan Heights as a sovereign part of Israeli territory, and this act of the greatest Israelially can be considered a 'wind at the back' of long-term political 'Israelization' of the area, regardless to the criticisms of the rest of the international community. The former Prime Minister of Israel, Benjamin Netanyahu, stated in early 2021 that the Golan Heights would 'remain part of the state of Israel' in any case (URL 1).

The paper analyses the historical-geographical and geostrategic aspects of the Israeli occupation of the Golan Heights. The first part of the paper contains an overview of general geographic features, and a historical-geographical overview of the research area. The second part of the paper deals with the geostrategic significance of the Golan Heights for modern Israel. The strategic and defence value of the plateau, as well as the water resources and sources that supply the Jordan River, were of key importance for Israel's security and economic policy after the occupation of the plateau, so special attention is paid to these two aspects, with a view on their contemporary relevance. Ultimately, current geopolitical perspectives are analysed and conclusions are drawn about the political future of the Golan Heights.

Geographical features of the Golan Heights

The Golan Heights (Hebrew: *Ramat Ha-Golan*, Arabic: *Al-Jawlān*) is an elevated basalt plateau situated in the bordering area of Syria, Israel, Lebanon and Jordan, with a total area of 1860 km². It extends 62 km in a north-south direction, and has a transverse width of 12 to 26 km in an east-west direction. It is bordered by Mount Hermon and the Anti-Lebanon Mountains in the north, the Hula Valley, the Jordan River and the Sea of Gali-

sjeveru, dolinom Hula, rijekom Jordan i Galilejskim morem (Tiberijadskim jezerom) na zapadu, rijekom Yarmouk na jugu te suhim riječnim koritom (vadijem) Ruqqad na istoku (Sl. 1.). Geološki, riječ je o području koje se sastoji od dvije različite zone – planinskog područja jurskih vapnenaca sedimentnog podrijetla i bazaltne zaravni vulkanskog podrijetla. Prosječna visina Golanske visoravni je oko 1000 m/nv, s najvećim nadmorskim visinama na sjeveru i sjeveroistoku gdje je najviša točka planina Hermon (2814 m), a najnižim duž rijeke Yarmouk na jugu (oko 400 m/nv), te na jugozapadu gdje se područje spušta prema Galilejskom jezeru (-200 m/nv). Na zapadu je visoravan jasno omeđena eskarpanima visine do 500 m koji se spuštaju prema dolini rijeke Jordan. Raščlanjenost reljefa najizrazitija je na sjeveru, te se smanjuje prema jugu i jugozapadu gdje je prostor uglavnom reljefno blaži i zaravnjen.

Prema Köppenovoj klasifikaciji, prostor Golana većinom pripada klimatskom podtipu Csa, tipičnom za Sredozemlje, s vrućim ili vrlo vrućim te suhim ljetima i blagim, vlažnim zimama. Manji dio teritorija na sjeveru regije pripada podtipu Csb (s toplim ljetima), te u najvišim planinskim zonama Hermona prelazi u podtipove Dsb i Dsc (hladne klime s toplim i suhim ljetima). Golanska visoravan u cjelini prima više oborina od okolnih, razmjerno suših područja, a godišnja količina oborina raste prema sjeveroistoku. Najviše zone zimi su prekrivene snijegom, a viškovi vode prihranjuju rijeke na rubnom području visoravni, osobito rijeku Jordan, pružajući Državi Izrael značajne količine godišnjih vodnih resursa. Viša područja planine Hermon primaju najviše oborina (više od 1300 mm/g) između listopada i travnja (HARTMANN, 2008.).

U hidrogeografskom smislu, najvažnije sastavnice Golanske visoravni su izvori rijeka Banias i Dan, a vodom s Golana posredno se napajaju i tokovi Hasbani i Yarmouk koji protječu rubnim područjem uz samu visoravan. Banias, Hasbani, Dan i Yarmuk su glavni pritoci gornjeg toka rijeke Jordan koja utječe u Galilejsko more. Prema procjenama, otprilike trećina vode u navedenom jezeru potječe s Golanske visoravni (MARK, 2002.).

lee (Lake Tiberias) in the west, the Yarmouk River in the south, and the dry riverbed (wadi) Ruqqad in the east (Fig. 1). Geologically, it is an area consisting of two different zones - a mountainous area of Jurassic limestone of sedimentary origin, and a basalt plateau of volcanic origin. The average altitude of the Golan Heights is about 1,000 m, with the highest altitudes in the north and northeast where the highest point is Mount Hermon (2,814 m), and the lowest along the Yarmouk River in the south (about 400 m), and in the southwest where the area descends towards the Sea of Galilee (200 m above sea level). To the west, the plateau is bordered by escarpments up to 500 m high that descend towards the Jordan River valley. The dynamics of the relief is most pronounced in the north, and decreases towards the south and southwest, where the area is flatter.

According to Köppen's classification, the Golan area mostly belongs to the Csa climate subtype, typical in the Mediterranean, with hot or very hot and dry summers and mild, humid winters. A small part of the territory in the north of the region belongs to the subtype Csb (with warm summers), and in the highest mountain zones of Hermon the climate changes into the subtypes Dsb and Dsc (cold climates with warm and dry summers). The Golan Heights as a whole receive more precipitation than the surrounding, relatively arid areas, and the annual amount of precipitation increases to the northeast. The highest zones are covered with snow in winter, and the excess of water from precipitation replenishes the rivers on the edge of the plateau, especially the Jordan River, providing the state of Israel with significant amounts of annual water resources. The higher areas of Mount Hermon receive most of its annual precipitation (over 1,300 mm) between October and April (HARTMANN, 2008).

The most important hydrologic components of the Golan Heights are the springs of the rivers Banias and Dan, and water from the Golan also flows into the Hasbani and Yarmouk streams that flow through the peripheral area along the plateau itself. The Banias, Hasbani, Dan, and Yarmuk are the main tributaries of the upper stream of the Jordan River which flows into the Sea of Galilee. It is estimated that around one third of the wa-

Na području izraelskog nadzora Golanske visoravni danas živi samo približno 47 000 stanovnika, od čega oko 20 500 židovskih doseljenika te oko 26 500 ostalih od kojih su većina arapski Druzi (URL 4). U odnosu na površinu visoravni, gustoća stanovništva je približno 40 st./km², što je čini jednom od najrjeđe naseljenih regija pod izraelskom kontrolom. Najveće naselje i upravno središte izraelskog dijela Golanske visoravni židovski je grad Katzrin, sagrađen 1970. godine s približno 6400 stanovnika, koji je okružen poljoprivrednim zajednicama. Od zauzimanja visoravni 1967. do 2010. godine, broj židovskih naselja porastao je na 32. Prema podacima sirijske vlade (URL 5), nakon izraelske okupacije u lipnju 1967. Golansku je visoravan napustilo oko 100 000 sirijskih državljana. Izrael je potom planski srušio više od stotine sirijskih sela i farmi na visoravni, te je zemlja dodijeljena židovskim doseljenicima. Neposredno nakon Šestodnevnog rata, na okupiranom dijelu visoravni ostalo je približno 12 000 sirijskih državljana u ukupno šest sela, većinom arapskih Druza (MARK, 2002.). Istočno od crte razdvajanja, u sirijskom dijelu Golana koji obuhvaća približno 600 km², smješteno je 40-ak sirijskih gradova i sela od kojih je najveći Kuneitra (HARRIS, 1977.).

Historijsko-geografski pregled

Da bi se bolje razumjeli čimbenici izraelske okupacije Golanske visoravni, nužno je sagledati navedeni prostor iz historijsko-geografske perspektive. Posebno je važno razmotriti povijesnu povezanost Židova s Golanskom visoravni, kao i niz događaja iz novije povijesti koji su ovoj regiji dali pogranični karakter u okvirima službenih granica bliskoistočnih država.

Prema dostupnim povijesnim zapisima i arheološkim ostacima, organizirane zajednice i naselja židovskog naroda na području Golanske visoravni postojali su već početkom 1. tisućljeća prije Krista. U to vrijeme visoravan je nazivana *Başan*, što je toponim koji se spominje i u starozavjetnim knjigama Biblije (npr. Knjiga Brojeva 21:33, Ponovljeni zakon 3:4, Jošua 9:10 itd.; URL 2), a visoravan je kontinuirano naseljena Židovima pod vlastitim ili tuđinskim vladarima.

ter in this lake originates from the Golan Heights (MARK, 2002).

Currently, around 47,000 people live in the area of Israeli control of the Golan Heights. About 20,500 are Jewish settlers, and about 26,500 belong to other groups, with the highest share of the Arab Druze people (URL 4). The population density is about 40 inhabitants per square km, which makes the Golan Heights one of the least populated regions under Israeli control. The largest settlement and administrative centre of the Israeli part of the Golan Heights is the Jewish city of Katzrin, built in 1970 with a total population of about 6,400, surrounded by agricultural communities. From the occupation of the plateau in 1967 to 2010, the number of Jewish settlements increased to a total of 32. According to the Syrian government (URL 5), after the Israeli occupation in June 1967, about 100,000 Syrian citizens left the Golan Heights. Israel then systematically demolished over a hundred Syrian villages and farms on the plateau, and the land was allotted to Jewish settlers. Immediately after the Six Day War, about 12,000 Syrian citizens remained in the occupied part of the plateau in a total of six villages, mostly Arab Druze (MARK, 2002). East of the dividing line, in the Syrian part of the Golan, which covers about 600 km², there are about 40 Syrian towns and villages, the largest of which is Kuneitra (HARRIS, 1977).

Historical-geographic overview

In order to achieve a better understanding of all the factors of the Israeli occupation of the Golan Heights, it is necessary to look at this area from a historical-geographic perspective. It is especially important to consider the historical connection of the Jewish people with the Golan Heights, as well as a series of events from recent history that have given this region a borderland character within the official political division of the Middle East.

According to available historical records and archaeological remains, organized communities and settlements of the Jewish people in the Golan Heights existed as early as the beginning of the first millennium BC. At that time the plateau was called *Bashan*, a toponym also mentioned in the

O tome svjedoči i činjenica da je arheološkim istraživanjima na Golanu do sada utvrđeno 25 lokacija s ostacima sinagoga iz različitih povijesnih razdoblja, zaključno sa sredinom 7. stoljeća poslije Krista (HAUSER, ZARFATI, 2018.). U antičkom razdoblju područjem vladaju Rimljani koji su za taj prostor preuzeli grčki naziv *Gaulantius*. Grčki toponim etimološki je vezan uz drevno naselje Golan koje se spominje u Bibliji (Ponovljeni zakon 4:43) kao grad u regiji Bašan. Početkom srednjeg vijeka prostor Golana je pod upravom Bizanta, da bi 636. godine područje osvojili Arapi nakon pobjede Kalifa Omara nad Bizantincima. Taj događaj bio je ujedno i kraj kontinuiteta organiziranih židovskih naselja na Golanskoj visoravni koja se u nadolazećem razdoblju islamizira te se ondje kroz nadolazeća stoljeća u većoj ili manjoj mjeri doseljavaju različite etničke skupine poput Druza, Turaka, Sudanaca, Turkmena, Alavita i samarijskih Arapa (URL 3).

Od 16. do 20. stoljeća Golanska je visoravan u sastavu Osmanskog Carstva. U to se vrijeme ponovno uspostavlja židovska prisutnost na visoravni. Skupine Židova 1880-ih kupuju dijelove zemljišta i ondje s većim ili manjim uspjehom pokušavaju uspostaviti svoje zajednice (URL 3). Riječ je o razdoblju prve *alije*, tj. prvog vala useljavanja Židova u Svetu zemlju, potaknutog pogromima nad Židovima u Ruskom Carstvu. Godine 1880. istaknuti britanski aktivist i ideolog Sir Laurence Oliphant³ objavio je djelo „Zemlja Gileadska“ (heb. *Erez ha-Gilad*, engl. *The Land of Gilead*) u kojemu je opisao dugoročni plan za masovno židovsko naseljavanje Golanske visoravni (GVATI, 1985.). Plan se počeo ostvarivati nakon 1885., kad su članovi židovskih zajednica „Stari Jišuv“ (heb. *haYishuv haYashan*) iz grada Safeda na sjeveru današnjeg Izraela osnovali društvo Beit Yehuda te nekoliko puta kupovali zemlju na Golanu i osnovali zajednice, ali s relativno skromnim uspjehom trajne naseljenosti. Značajniji potezi u tom smjeru bili su oni imućnoga židovskog bankara, baruna Edmonda Jamesa de Rotschilda, koji je između 1891. i 1894.

³ Laurence Oliphant (1829. – 1888.) – britanski političar, pisac, putopisac i kršćanski cionist. Težio je uspostavi židovske države u Palestini s ciljem „ispunjenja proroštva i dolaska kraja svijeta“ (URL 11).

Old Testament books of the Bible (e.g., Numbers 21:33, Deuteronomy 3:4, Joshua 9:10, etc; URL 2), and the plateau was continuously inhabited by the Jews under their own or under foreign rulers. This is evidenced by the fact that archaeological excavations in the Golan have so far identified 25 sites with the remains of synagogues from different historical periods, ending in the middle of the 7th century AD (HAUSER, ZARFATI, 2018). In the ancient period, it was ruled by the Romans, who took over the Greek name *Gaulantius* for the area. The Greek toponym is etymologically related to the ancient settlement of Golan mentioned in the Bible (Deuteronomy 4:43) as a city in the region of Bashan. At the beginning of the Middle Ages, the area of the Golan was under Byzantine rule, and in 636 it was conquered by the Arabs after the victory of Caliph Omar over the Byzantines. This event was also the end of the continuity of organized Jewish settlements on the Golan Heights, which in the following period was Islamized, and there in the following centuries to a greater or lesser extent settled various ethnic groups such as Druze, Turks, Sudanese, Turkmen, Alawites and Samaritan Arabs (URL 3).

From the 16th to the 20th century, the Golan Heights was ruled by the Ottoman Empire. At that time, the Jewish presence was re-established on the plateau in the 1880s, when groups of Jews bought pieces of land and tried to establish their communities there with greater or lesser success (URL 3). This is the period of the first *alijah*, i.e. the first wave of immigration of Jews to the Holy Land, prompted by pogroms against them in the Russian Empire. It should be noted that in 1880, the prominent British activist and ideologue Sir Laurence Oliphant³ published *The Land of Gilead*, in which he described a long-term plan for the mass Jewish settlement of the Golan Heights (in Hebrew: *Erez ha-Gilad*) (GVATI, 1985). The plan began to materialize after 1885, when members of the Jewish communities of *Old Yishuv* (Heb. *HaYishuv haYashan*) from the northern Israeli city of Safed founded the Beit Yehuda Society and at-

³ Laurence Oliphant (1829-1888) - British politician, writer, travel writer and Christian Zionist. He sought to establish a Jewish state in Palestine with the goal of 'fulfilling the prophecy and the coming of the end of the world' (URL 11).

kupio 150 km² zemljišta radi naseljavanja Židova na Golanu (HAUSER, ZARFATI, 2018.).

Godine 1916., nakon poraza Otomanskog Carstva u Prvom svjetskom ratu, Ujedinjeno Kraljevstvo i Francuska potpisali su tzv. Sporazum Sykes-Picot⁴ kojim je dogovorena podjela bivših osmanlijskih teritorija u područja pod britanskom i francuskom upravom. Godinu dana kasnije, britanska je vlada usvojila tzv. Balfourovu deklaraciju,⁵ kojom je izjavila da podržava ideju da se na području povijesne Palestine zasnjuje država židovskog naroda (KRAMER, 2017.). Na međunarodnoj konferenciji u San Remu 1920. odlučeno je da Ujedinjeno Kraljevstvo i Francuska neće anektirati navedene teritorije, već će im biti povjereni na upravljanje. Na konferenciji je potvrđena i Balfourova deklaracija, što se može smatrati temeljem prava Židova na vlastitu državu u Palestini u kontekstu međunarodne zajednice. Načelno je odlučeno i da će granica između britanskoga i francuskoga mandatnog područja prolaziti sredinom Galilejskog mora te da će na sjeveru britansko mandatno područje obuhvaćati većinu Golanske visoravni. No, 1924. godine Britanci taj prostor međusobnim dogovorom ipak prepuštaju na upravljanje Francuskoj. Pritom valja istaknuti da je Cionistički⁶ pokret još 1919. proglasio pravo buduće židovske države na prostoru Golana, te je navedeni dogovor Francuske i Ujedinjenog Kraljevstva u cionističkim kru-

tempted to buy land in the Golan on several occasions in order to establish communities there, but with relatively modest success of permanent settlement. Significant moves in this direction were those of the wealthy Jewish banker, Baron Edmond James de Rothschild, who bought 150 km² of land between 1891 and 1894 with the aim of settling Jewish people in the Golan Heights (HAUSER, ZARFATI, 2018).

In 1916, after the defeat of the Ottoman Empire during the First World War, the United Kingdom and France signed the so-called Sykes-Picot Agreement⁴ which agreed on the division of former Ottoman territories into areas under British and French rule. A year later, the British government adopted the so-called Balfour Declaration⁵, confirming its support of the idea of establishing a state of the Jewish people in the territory of historic Palestine (KRAMER, 2017). At an international conference in San Remo in 1920, it was decided that the UK and France would not annex the territories, but would be entrusted with their management, and at the same conference the Balfour Declaration was confirmed. This is considered to be the basis for the right of the Jewish people to their own state in Palestine. It was also generally decided that the border between the British and French mandates would run through the middle of the Sea of Galilee, and that in the north the British mandate would cover most of the Golan Heights. However, in 1924, the British ceded the area to France by mutual agreement. It should be noted that the Zionist⁶ movement in 1919 pro-

⁴ Sporazum Sykes-Picot – tajni sporazum između Ujedinjenog Kraljevstva i Francuske sklopljen 1916. radi definiranja njihovih sfera utjecaja u slučaju podjele Osmanskog Carstva. Ugovor su inicirali britanski diplomat Mark Sykes i njegov francuski kolega François Georges-Picot. Prema sporazumu, u sferu utjecaja Ujedinjenog Kraljevstva ulaze prostori koji obuhvaćaju današnji južni dio Izraela i Palestine, te Jordan i južni Irak, kao i dodatno područje koje uključuje luke Haifu i Akru. Za Francusku je predviđena kontrola nad područjem današnje jugoistočne Turske, sjevernog Iraka, te Sirije i Libanona (URL 12).

⁵ Balfourova deklaracija – pismo koje je tadašnji britanski ministar vanjskih poslova Arthur Balfour uputio vodi židovske zajednice u Engleskoj, Lordu Rothschildu, 2. studenog 1917., u kojemu izjavljuje da britanska vlada podupire prijedlog stvaranja židovske države u Palestini (HAVEL, 2013.).

⁶ Cionizam – židovski nacionalni pokret kojemu je zadaća bila stvaranje židovske države u Palestini, pradomovini Židova (hebr. *Eret Jisrael*). Nazvan po brdu Cion (Sion) u Jeruzalemu (danas Har Cion), nekadašnjoj lokaciji jebusejskoga grada koji je započeo kralj David; u metonimijskom smislu, Cion označava cijelo kraljevstvo Izraelovo. Korijeni su cionizma u višestoljetnoj povezanosti Židova i judaizma u dijaspori s povijesnom Palestinom i Jeruzalemom (URL 10).

⁴ Sykes-Picot Agreement - a secret agreement between the United Kingdom and France concluded in 1916, with the aim of defining their spheres of influence in the event of the division of the Ottoman Empire. The agreement was initiated by British diplomat Mark Sykes and his French counterpart François Georges-Picot. Under the agreement, the UK sphere of influence includes areas that include present-day southern Israel and Palestine, as well as Jordan and southern Iraq, as well as an additional area that includes the ports of Haifa and Accra. For France, on the other hand, control over the area of today's southeastern Turkey, northern Iraq, and Syria and Lebanon was planned (URL 12)

⁵ Balfour Declaration - A letter sent by the then British Foreign Secretary Arthur Balfour to the leader of the Jewish community in England, Lord Rothschild, on 2 November, 1917, stating that the British government supports the proposal to create a Jewish state in Palestine (HAVEL, 2013).

⁶ Zionism - a Jewish national movement whose task was to create a Jewish state in Palestine, the ancestral home of the Jewish

govima dočekan s negodovanjem (RAM, 2019.). Slično nezadovoljstvo izazvao je i administrativni potez britanske uprave kojim je izdvojeno oko 75 % Palestine istočno od Jordana, te je ondje osnovan Transjordan (buduća Hašemitska Kraljevina Jordan). Dugoročno, u skladu s navedenim dogovorom, završetkom francuskog mandata 1946. visoravan je u cijelosti ušla u sastav novonastale države Sirije, pri čemu su međunarodno priznate granice mandatnih područja iz 1923., a ne one iz 1920. (HAUSER, ZARFATI, 2018.).

Nakon masovnog stradavanja židovskog naroda u holokaustu tijekom Drugoga svjetskog rata, većina židovskih zajednica ujedinila se u stavu o potrebi stvaranja države kao jamca opstanka. Država Izrael proglašena je 14. svibnja 1948., dan nakon završetka britanskog mandata u Palestini, na temelju objavljene UN-ove Rezolucije 181 kojom je predviđena podjela dotadašnje Mandatne Palestine na židovsku i arapsku državu, uz Jeruzalem pod međunarodnom upravom. U Deklaraciji o neovisnosti Izrael je definiran kao židovska država, jedna od rijetkih „nacionalnih demokracija“ u svijetu (HAVEL, 2016.).

S obzirom na to da ni palestinski Arapi ni ostatak muslimanskog svijeta nisu prihvaćali stvaranje židovske države na teritoriju Palestine te su jednoglasno odbacili rezoluciju, dan nakon proglašenja Izraela zemlje članice Arapske lige⁷ objavile su mu rat i izvršile invaziju na novoproglašenu državu (HAYHURST, 2004.). Izrael su zajedničkim snagama istodobno napali Egipat, Transjordanija (Jordan), Sirija, Libanon i vojne postrojbe iz Iraka. Sirijske snage napale su s Golanske visoravni izraelska naselja južno od Galilejskog mora, a nakon toga i prostor između jezera i doline Hula, te su zauzele novoproglašeni izraelski teritorij duž rijeke Jordan (MARK, 2002.). Nakon početnih vojnih uspjeha arapskih zemalja i primirja koje je Izraelcima poslužilo za pregrupiranje snaga, Izrael je u protuudaru zauzeo područja veća od onih

⁷ Arapska liga – formalnog naziva „Liga arapskih država“ (arap. *Jāmi'a ad-duwal al-'Arabiyya*) regionalna je organizacija koja okuplja 22 zemlje arapskog svijeta u sjevernoj Africi i zapadnoj Aziji radi ostvarivanja bliskije suradnje između zemalja članica te promicanja interesa arapskog svijeta u međunarodnoj zajednici. Osnovana je u Kairu (Egipat) 22. ožujka 1945., kada je okupila prvih šest zemalja članica – Egipat, Irak, Libanon, Saudijsku Arabiju, Siriju i Transjordaniju (URL 13).

claimed the right of the future Jewish state to the Golan Heights, and the agreement between France and the UK was greeted with disapproval in Zionist circles (RAM, 2019). Similar dissatisfaction was caused by the administrative move of the British administration, which separated about 75% of Palestine east of the Jordan and founded Transjordan (the future Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan). In the long run, the outcome of this agreement was such that by the end of the French mandate in 1946, the plateau became part of the newly formed state of Syria, with internationally acclaimed borders of the 1923 mandate areas, and not those from 1920 (HAUSER, ZARFATI, 2018).

After the suffering of the Jewish people in the Holocaust during World War II, most Jewish communities united in the view of the need to create a state as a guarantee of survival. The state of Israel was proclaimed on 14 May, 1948, the day after the end of the British mandate in Palestine, on the basis of previously published UN Resolution 181, which provided for the division of Mandate Palestine into a Jewish and Arab state, with Jerusalem under international administration. In the Declaration of Independence, Israel is defined as a Jewish state, one of the few 'national democracies' in the world (HAVEL, 2016).

Since neither the Palestinian Arabs nor the rest of the Muslim world accepted the creation of a Jewish state on Palestinian territory and unanimously rejected the resolution, the day after Israel was declared, the Arab League⁷ member states declared war on it and invaded the newly proclaimed country (HAYHURST, 2004). Israel was jointly attacked by Egypt, Transjordan (Jordan), Syria, as well as by military units from Iraq. Dur-

people (Hebrew Erec Jisrael). Named after Mount Zion in Jerusalem (now Har Zion), the former location of the Jebusite city occupied by King David; in metonymic terms, Zion denotes the whole kingdom of Israel. The roots of Zionism are in the centuries-old connection of Jews and Judaism in the diaspora with historical Palestine and Jerusalem (URL 10)

⁷ The Arab League - formally known as the League of Arab States (Arabic: *Jāmi'a ad-duwal al-'Arabiyya*) is a regional organization that brings together 22 countries of the Arab world in North Africa and West Asia with the aim of achieving closer cooperation between member countries and promoting interests of the Arab world in the international community. It was founded in Cairo (Egypt) on 22 March, 1945, when it brought together the first 6 member countries - Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Transjordan (URL 13).

predviđenih rezolucijom UN-a i planom o dvije države (osim teritorija predviđenog za židovsku državu, zauzeo je i približno 60 % teritorija koji je trebao sačinjavati arapsku državu u Palestini). Do srpnja 1949. dogovorene su crte prekida vatre s okolnim arapskim zemljama, koje su postale granicama tadašnjega Izraela (MAĐOR-BOŽINOVIĆ, 2015.). Iako je izraelska vojska u prethodnom protuudaru uspjela potisnuti libanonske i palestinske snage iz sjevernog Izraela, sirijske snage uspjele su se tom prigodom oduprijeti te su se povukle s okupiranog područja na Golansku visoravan tek nakon postignutog sporazuma o prekidu vatre i uspostave demilitariziranih zona (MARK, 2002.).

U godinama nakon rata za neovisnost Izraela, na granici Izraela i Sirije nastavljeni su konflikti oko crte razgraničenja između dviju zemalja. Golanska je visoravan postala u tom razdoblju ključnom utvrđenom vojnom zonom sirijske vojske. Povišen položaj Golana davao je sirijskim snagama stratešku prednost i dobar pregled područja doline Jordana i Tiberijadskog jezera na području sjevernog Izraela, a povremeni sukobi i incidenti često su rezultirali i topničkom vatrom prema civilnim ciljevima u židovskim naseljima na sjeveru države. Visoravan sa sirijskim vojnim položajima predstavljala je ne samo strateški slabu točku u scenariju svake buduće invazije na Izrael, već i konstantnu prijetnju za židovske naseobine na sjeveru države, osobito za kibuce, čiji su predstavnici zahtijevali da se čitav prostor pacificira (RAM, 2019.).

U šestodnevnom ratu u lipnju 1967., nakon preventivnog udara izraelske vojske na snage okolnih arapskih zemalja uslijed bojazni od novoga arapskog pokušaja invazije i uništenja židovske države, Izrael je ostvario enorman vojni uspjeh osvojivši u samo nekoliko dana površinu od preko 67 000 km². Uz Sinajski poluotok, Zapadnu obalu, stari Jeruzalem i pojas Gaze, izraelska je vojska tada zauzela i oko dvije trećine Golanske visoravni, a većina borbene moći Egipt, Sirije i Jordana bila je značajno neutralizirana, osobito u zračnom borbenom segmentu (OREN, 2002.; MOHAMMAD, 2017.). Valja istaknuti da se tijekom prvih četiriju dana rata Sirija nije željela miješati u sukob, ali je Damask odluku

ing the invasion, Syrian forces attacked Israeli settlements south of Lake Tiberias from the Golan Heights, and then the area between the lake and the Hula Valley, and occupied the newly declared Israeli territory along the Jordan River (MARK, 2002). After the initial military success of the Arab countries and a signed truce that the Israelis used to regroup their forces, Israel counterattacked and conquered the area quite larger than the one suggested by the UN resolution and the two-state division plan (in addition to the territory provided for the Jewish state, it occupied about 60% of the territory which was supposed to constitute the Arab state in Palestine). By July 1949, ceasefire lines were agreed with the surrounding Arab countries, which became the acclaimed borders of Israel (MAĐOR-BOŽINOVIĆ, 2015). Although the Israeli army managed to push the Lebanese and Palestinians out of northern Israel in a previous counterattack, Syrian forces managed to resist and withdrew from the occupied territory to the Golan Heights only after an agreement was reached on a ceasefire and the establishing of demilitarized zones (MARK, 2002).

In the early years following the Israeli War of Independence, conflicts continued on the border between Israel and Syria over the demarcation line between the two countries. The Golan Heights became a key fortified military zone of the Syrian army in that period. The elevated position of the Golan provided Syrian forces with a strategic advantage and a good view of the Jordan Valley and the Sea of Galilee in northern Israel, and occasional clashes and incidents often resulted in artillery fire on civilian targets in Israeli settlements in the north of the country. The plateau with Syrian military positions posed not only a strategically weak point in the scenario of any future invasion of Israel, but also a constant threat to the settlements in the north, especially kibbutzim, whose representatives demanded that the entire area be pacified (RAM, 2019).

In the 'Six Day War' in June 1967, after a preemptive strike by the Israeli army on forces of the surrounding Arab countries that had begun to concentrate near Israeli borders during previous months with the likely goal of a new attempt to invade and destroy the Jewish state,

promijenio zbog lažnih informacija o skorom slomu Izraela te glasina da su egipatske snage već u predgrađima Tel Aviva. Nakon toga, sirijsko je topništvo s Golanske visoravni započelo sporadično granatirati sjeverni Izrael, a sirijsko zrakoplovstvo bombardiralo je židovska naselja u Galileji. U protunapadu izraelskih zrakoplova na sirijske zračne baze uništena je većina sirijskih borbenih letjelica, nakon čega su izraelske kopnene postrojbe okupirale visoravan. Uključenje Sirije u sukob poslužilo je kao povod za okupaciju koja je, pak, bila motivirana u prvom redu sigurnosnim i obrambenim razlozima. Od kraja Šestodnevog rata 1967. i zauzimanja Golanske visoravni, Izrael je na Golanu uspostavio optimalnu crtu obrane države, te je u potpunosti neutralizirana prijetnja za sjeverna naselja na području Galileje. Novom *de facto* granicom Izraela i Sirije postala je crta postignutog prekida vatre, odnosno tzv. „ljubičasta linija“ (OREN, 2002.).

Odjel za naseljavanje Židovske Agencije već je u prosincu 1967. (pola godine nakon okupacije) razradio ambiciozan plan naseljavanja Golanske visoravni, kojim je židovska populacija trebala dosegnuti 50 000 unutar razdoblja od 10 godina. Izgradnja židovskih naselja na Golanskoj visoravni započela je 1970-ih, pod tadašnjom izraelskom vojnom upravom (HARRIS, 1977.). No, brojke predviđene planom još uvijek nisu realizirane, iako je izraelifikacija Golana dosegnula vrlo visok stupanj.

Egipat i Sirija, čije su vojne snage u međuvremenu obnovljene uz pomoć SSSR-a, 6. listopada 1973. iznenada su koordinirano napali Izrael sa sjevera i juga, prekršivši tada važeće granice postignute mirovnim sporazumima, radi vraćanja teritorija Sinajskog poluotoka i Golanske visoravni te, ako se ukaže prilika, konačnog uništenja Države Izrael. Nakon početnih uspjeha agresora, Izrael je mobilizirao glavninu snaga i zaustavio napredovanje egipatskih i sirijskih postrojbi. Iako su sirijske snage u prvim danima ofenzive zauzele pojedine dijelove Golanske visoravni zahvaljujući nadmoći u ljudstvu i oklopnim vozilima, IDF ih je u protuudaru odbacio na početnu crtu mirovnog razgraničenja (HAVEL, 2013.). Štoviše, izraelska je vojska u protuudaru uspjela zauzeti i dodatne dijelove sirijskoga teritorija na

Israel achieved enormous military success. In just a few days, the Israeli armed forces captured an area of over 67,000 km². In addition to the Sinai Peninsula, the West Bank, ancient Jerusalem, and the Gaza Strip, the Israeli army then occupied about two-thirds of the Golan Heights, and most of the combat power of Egypt, Syria, and Jordan was significantly neutralized, especially in the air combat segment (OREN, 2002; MOHAMMAD, 2017). It should be noted that during the first four days of the war, Syria did not want to interfere in the conflict, but Damascus changed its decision due to false information about the imminent collapse of Israel, and rumours that the Egyptian forces are already in the suburbs of Tel Aviv. Subsequently, Syrian artillery from the Golan Heights began sporadically shelling northern Israel, and Syrian air force bombed the Jewish settlements in Galilee. In a counterattack by Israeli aircrafts on Syrian air bases, most Syrian fighter jets were destroyed, after which Israeli ground forces occupied the plateau. Syria's involvement in the conflict served as a pretext for the occupation, which was truly motivated primarily by security and defence reasons. After the end of the Six Day War in 1967 and the occupation of the Golan Heights, Israel established an optimal line of defence on the Golan, and the threat to the northern settlements in the Galilee area was almost completely neutralized. The new *de facto* border between Israel and Syria became the line of the achieved ceasefire, i.e. the so-called 'Purple line' (OREN, 2002).

As early as December 1967 (half a year after the occupation), the Jewish Agency Settlement Department worked out an ambitious plan for settling the Golan Heights, according to which the Jewish population was to reach 50,000 within a period of 10 years. Construction of Jewish settlements on the Golan Heights began in the 1970s, under the then Israeli military administration (HARRIS, 1977). However, the figures provided for in the plan have not yet been realized, although the Israelization of the Golan has reached a very high level.

On 6 October, 1973, Egypt and Syria, whose military forces had since been rebuilt with the help of the Soviet Union, coordinated a sudden

istočnom dijelu visoravni. Potkraj svibnja 1974., pod pokroviteljstvom SAD-a postignut je sporazum o prekidu vatre te je Rezolucijom 350 Vijeća sigurnosti UN-a uvedena zona razdvajanja pod nadzorom mirovnih snaga te organizacije (UNDOF – *United Nations Disengagement Observer Force*). Tom su se prigodom izraelske snage povukle na crtu razdvajanja uspostavljenu 1967., a naknadno zauzeta područja ostala su pod zaštitom UNDOF-a (MARK, 2002.).

Iznimna geostrateška važnost Golanske visoravni i nespремnost Sirije na dugoročnu pacifikaciju i priznanje Izraela potaknuli su službeni Izrael na „izraelifikaciju“ cijelog područja koja je provedena u tri faze (RAM, 2019.): 1. većinom je protjerano sirijsko arapsko stanovništvo koje je ostalo na Golanu, uz iznimku 6500 Druza koji su povijesno smatrani lojalnima Izraelu; 2. pod nadzorom stručnjaka uklonjena je većina naselja i objekata koji su pripadali sirijskim Arapima. Paralelno, inicirano je naseljavanje židovskog stanovništva i izgradnja novih naselja, uz naglašavanje povijesnog narativa tisućljetne povezanosti prostora Golana sa židovskim narodom; 3. Golanska je visoravan turistički vrednovana, te je postala omiljeno odredište velikog broja Izraelaca tijekom godine.

Izrael je 14. prosinca 1981. proglasio i civilnu nadležnost nad okupiranim dijelom Golanske visoravni, čime je ovo područje pripojeno iako aneksija nije službeno proglašena; u Knesetu⁸ je donesen i ratificiran poseban zakon (Zakon o Golanskoj visoravni) kojim se izraelska vlast i zakoni primjenjuju i na to područje. Iako riječ „aneksija“ nije doslovno upotrijebljena u tekstu zakona (s obzirom na to da međunarodna zajednica ne priznaje pripajanje teritorija osvojenih ratnim djelovanjem), ovaj je čin u međunarodnoj zajednici, kao i u dijelu pravne struke, smatran upravo pripajanjem teritorija (v. MAOZ, 1994.). Posljedično, Rezolucija 497 Vijeća Sigurnosti UN-a proglasila je zakon ništavnim te međunarodna zajednica i dalje smatra okupirane dijelove

⁸ Kneset (heb. *Ha' kneset* – „okupljanje, skup“). Jednodomno zakonodavno tijelo Izraela. Kneset izglasava sve zakone, te odabire predsjednika i premijera, odobrava vladu i nadgleda njezin rad. Sjedište Kneseta je u četvrti Givat Ram u zapadnom Jeruzalemu (URL 14).

attack on Israel from the north and south, violating the then-valid borders reached by peace agreements, with the aim of regaining the Sinai Peninsula and Golan Heights, and, if an opportunity arises, the final destruction of the state of Israel. After the initial successes of the aggressors, Israel mobilized the bulk of its forces and halted the advance of Egyptian and Syrian troops. Although Syrian forces occupied certain parts of the Golan Heights in the first days of the offensive thanks to their superiority in manpower and armoured vehicles, the IDF counterattacked and pushed them to the starting line of peace demarcation (HAVEL, 2013). Moreover, the Israeli army managed to occupy additional parts of Syrian territory in the eastern part of the plateau. At the end of May 1974, a ceasefire agreement was reached under the auspices of the United States, and the UN Security Council Resolution 350 introduced a separation zone under the auspices of the United Nations peacekeeping force (UNDOF). On that occasion, Israeli forces withdrew to the dividing line established in 1967, and subsequently occupied areas remained under the UNDOF protection (MARK, 2002).

The exceptional geostrategic importance of the Golan Heights and Syria's unwillingness to long-term pacification and recognition of Israel prompted the official Israel to 'Israeliize' the entire area in three phases (RAM, 2019): 1. the Syrian Arab population remaining in the Golan was mostly expelled, with the exception of 6,500 Druze who have historically been considered loyal to Israel; 2. under the supervision of experts, most of the settlements and facilities that belonged to the Syrian Arabs were systematically removed. In parallel, the settlement of the Jewish population and the construction of new settlements were initiated, emphasizing the historical narrative of the millennial connection of the Golan Heights with the Jewish people; 3. The Golan Heights has become a favourite tourist destination of many Israelis throughout the year.

On 14 December 1981, Israel declared civilian jurisdiction over the occupied part of the Golan Heights, making the area annexed although the annexation was not officially declared; a special law (the 'Golan Heights Law') was passed and ratified

Golanske visoravni integralnim dijelom sirijsko-golanske teritorija. Također, od 1996. Opća skupština UN-a naknadno je potvrdila još četiri rezolucije u kojima se Golanskoj visoravni potvrđuje međunarodni status okupiranog teritorija. Ovu okupaciju dio međunarodne zajednice smatra legitimnom u okvirima Povelje UN-a o pravu na samoobranu, posebno imajući u vidu da je ona posljedica protuudara nakon izvršene agresije na Državu Izrael dva puta. Također, izglasavanje navedenog zakona bilo je, kako se čini, motivirano ponajprije obrambenim i sigurnosnim, a ne ekspanzionističkim motivima, s obzirom na izrazitu obrambeno-stratešku vrijednost Golanske visoravni (INBAR, 2008.).

Prema međunarodnom pravu, Golanska visoravan trenutno se smatra sirijskim teritorijem pod izraelskom okupacijom te je Izrael u tom smislu obavezan Četvrtom ženevskom konvencijom koja definira pravila o zaštiti civilnog stanovništva na okupiranim područjima. Međutim, od trenutka okupacije do danas, Izrael je prekršio niz odredbi navedene konvencije, poglavito u vidu protjerivanja sirijskih Arapa s Golanske visoravni te izgradnje ilegalnih židovskih naselja na tom području. Zbog navedenog, međunarodna zajednica nije priznala izraelsku *de facto* aneksiju Golana iz 1981. sve do 2019. godine. Tada je, naime, administracija američkog predsjednika Donalda Trumpa službeno priznala izraelsku aneksiju Golana, ali je navedeni postupak u ostatku međunarodne zajednice dočekan s jednoglasnim protivljenjem (URL 18).

Valja spomenuti da su, uz iznimku posredovanih pregovora nakon navedenih sukoba, od 1990-ih Izrael i Sirija nekoliko puta stupili u posredan ili izravan diplomatski kontakt radi razmatranja mogućnosti sklapanja trajnog mira. Pregovori su bili najkonkretniji u mandatu Laburističke stranke pod vodstvom Yitzaka Rabina, čija je politika bila fleksibilnija te spremnija na kompromis u odnosu na stranku Likud koja je bila na vlasti u Izraelu u prethodnom mandatu (INBAR, 2008.). No, ključni problem u postizanju dogovora bio je, kako se čini, sigurnosne naravi za Državu Izrael koja je bilo kakvu opciju vraćanja Golana Siriji uvjetovala vrlo jasnim i konkretnim sigurnosnim jamstvima, normalni-

in the Knesset⁸, which applies the Israeli civil government and laws to the area as well. Although the word ‘annexation’ is not used literally in the text of the law (bearing in mind that the international community does not recognize the annexation of war-torn territories), in the international community, as well as in the legal profession, this act was considered an annexation (see MAOZ, 1994). Consequently, the UN Security Council Resolution 497 declared the law null and void and the international community continues to consider the occupied parts of the Golan Heights an integral part of Syrian territory. In addition, since 1996, the UN General Assembly has ratified four more resolutions reaffirming the Golan Heights’ international status as an occupied territory. Part of the international community considers this occupation legitimate within the framework of the UN Charter on the Right to Self-Defense, especially bearing in mind that it was a consequence of the counterattack after the aggression against the state of Israel on two occasions. Moreover, the enactment of this law seemed to be motivated primarily by defence and security, not expansionist motives, given the exceptional defensive and strategic value of the Golan Heights (INBAR, 2008).

Under international law, the Golan Heights is currently considered Syrian territory under Israeli occupation, and Israel is bound by the Fourth Geneva Convention, which defines rules for the protection of civilians in the occupied territories. However, from the moment of occupation until today, Israel has violated a number of provisions of the said convention, especially in the act of expulsion of Syrian Arabs from the Golan Heights, and the construction of illegal Jewish settlements in the same area. Because of all of the above, the international community has never recognized Israel’s *de facto* annexation of the Golan in 1981, that is, until March 2019. At that time, the administration of the US President Donald Trump declared the official recognition of the Israeli annexation of the Golan, but the said procedure was met with unan-

⁸ The Knesset (Heb. *Ha 'kneset* - “gathering”). The unicameral legislature of Israel. The Knesset passes all laws, elects the president and the prime minister, approves the government and oversees its work. The seat of the Knesset is in the Givat Ram district of West Jerusalem (URL 14)

zacijom odnosa i priznanjem vlastite države od Sirije – drugim riječima, uvjetima na koje Sirija nije pristala bez prethodnih ustupaka i jamstava Izraela. Preliminarni razgovori održani su nakon Konferencije u Madridu 1991., s naglaskom na uređenje sigurnosnih pitanja koje bi omogućilo i olakšalo povlačenje Izraela s prostora Golanske visoravni. No, nisu postignuti nikakvi konkretni dogovori osim međusobne suglasnosti da bi visoravan, kao i nedefinirani pojasevi teritorija zapadno i istočno od nje trebali biti demilitarizirani ili definirani kao zone s ograničenim vojnim snagama (HOF, 1997.).

Godine 1994. i 1995., na razini veleposlanstava te uz aktivno posredništvo SAD-a, vođeni su pregovori u Washingtonu. Izrael je tom prigodom načelno pristao na povlačenje s Golanske visoravni u okvirima mirovnog sporazuma koji bi uključio neka ključna pitanja – uvjete povlačenja (dubinu, rok, odnos između faza povlačenja i normalizacije odnosa) te suglasnost o sigurnosnim aspektima. Razgovori su nastavljeni 1996., te su se 1999./2000., u vrijeme vlade izraelskog premijera iz redova Laburističke stranke, Ehuda Baraka, dvije države najviše približile sporazumu. Iako se Sirija složila s većinom sigurnosnih aspekata na kojima je Izrael inzistirao, tadašnji sirijski predsjednik Hafez al-Asad odbio je sporazum zbog zahtjeva Izraela da zadrži manji pojas zauzetog teritorija, sjeverno od Tiberijadskog jezera. Pregovori su ponovno obnovljeni 2008. pod pokroviteljstvom Turske, ali također bez značajnijeg uspjeha (URL 6). U posljednjem desetljeću Sirija je poprište građanskog rata u kojemu sudjeluje niz frakcija, uz posredno i izravno uključenje regionalnih (Iran) i globalnih aktera (Ruska Federacija, SAD), te je postizanje sporazuma s Izraelom u tom smislu palo u drugi plan.

Gestrateški aspekti Golanske visoravni

Gestrateška važnost Golanske visoravni za Izrael u prvom se redu očituje kroz geografski položaj u odnosu na granične teritorije okolnih država, odnosno topografiju i nadmorsku visinu. Visoravan, naime, omogućuje pregled širih prostora južnog Libanona, sjevernog Izraela i velikog dijela južne Sirije te, u tom smislu, nadzor

imous opposition in the rest of the international community (URL 18).

It should be noted that, with the exception of mediated negotiations following these conflicts, Israel and Syria have entered into direct or indirect diplomatic contact several times since the 1990s with a goal to consider the possibility of concluding a lasting peace. The negotiations were most concrete in the mandate of the Labour Party led by Yitzhak Rabin, whose policy was more flexible and more willing to compromise than the one of the Likud party that was in power in Israel in the previous term (INBAR, 2008). But the key issue in reaching an agreement seemed to be of security nature for the state of Israel, which made any option to return the Golan to Syria conditional on very clear and concrete security guarantees, normalization of relations and Syrian recognition of the country. Syria did not agree to such an arrangement without previous concessions and guarantees from Israel. Preliminary talks were held after the 1991 Madrid Conference, with an emphasis on regulating security issues that would enable and facilitate the withdrawal of Israel from the Golan Heights. However, no concrete agreements were reached other than mutual agreement that the plateau, as well as the undefined belts of territory west and east of it, should be demilitarized or defined as zones with limited military forces (HOF, 1997).

In 1994 and 1995, negotiations were held in Washington, at the embassy level and with the active mediation of the United States. On those occasions, Israel generally agreed to withdraw from the Golan Heights within the framework of a peace agreement that would include some key issues - withdrawal conditions (depth, timeframe, withdrawal phases and normalization of relations), and agreement on security aspects. The talks continued in 1996, and in 1999/2000, during the government of the Israeli Prime Minister from the Labour Party, Ehud Barak, the two countries came closest to an agreement. Although Syria agreed with most of the security aspects that Israel insisted on, then-Syrian President Hafez al-Assad rejected the agreement because of Israel's request to keep a smaller patch of the occupied territory north of Lake Tiberias under its control. Negotiations resumed in 2008 under the auspices of Turkey, but

nad njom pruža značajnu prednost u vojnom i obrambenom smislu. Drugi važan geostrateški aspekt su vodni resursi, s obzirom na to da je na Bliskom istoku voda jedan od ključnih geostrateških resursa zbog njezine relativne oskudnosti. U tom smislu, Golanska visoravan kao područje koje prima značajne količine vode i napaja gornji tok rijeke Jordan donedavno je bila od iznimnoga gospodarskog značaja Izraelu za dostupnost pitke vode, kao i vode za navodnjavanje, posebice ako se uzme u obzir da vojni potencijal države u znatnoj mjeri ovisi o njezinu gospodarskom potencijalu. U kontekstu dostupnosti porječja Jordana kao osovine napajanja stanovništva i gospodarstva, vodoopskrba Izraela bila je 1960-ih izravno ugrožena planom arapskih zemalja da skrenu tokove dvaju od ukupno triju pritoka rijeke Jordan (Banias i Hasbani) prema kanalu Yarmouk, kako bi spriječili dotjecanje vode u Galilejsko more i time osujetili dovršetak izraelskoga nacionalnog projekta navodnjavanja (MURAKAMI, 1995.).

Geostrateški gledano, i topografija i vodni resursi Golanske visoravni ključ su kako za sigurnost Izraela tako i za njegov neometan razvoj. Oba navedena elementa treba stoga sagledati iz perspektive njihove vrijednosti za dugoročnu sigurnost države Izrael.

Vojno-obrambeni aspekt

U razmatranju geostrateške važnosti Golanske visoravni u kontekstu vojno-obrambenog aspekta vrlo je važno osvrnuti se na koncepte izraelske vojne strategije i odnos Izraela prema nedostatku strateške dubine. Izrael 1953. godine mijenja koncept glavne vojne strategije tako što napušta „obrambeno-napadačku“ strategiju usvojenu četiri godine ranije tijekom prvoga Arapsko-izraelskog rata i zamjenjuje je „napadačko-obrambenom“ strategijom (OREN I DR., 2013.). Ovakve promjene potaknuo je izraelski vojni vrh, koji je smatrao da su utvrđivanje i obrana dugoročno skupi u odnosu na napade na neprijateljskom teritoriju. Drugi izazov razmatran 1950-ih bio je vrlo ranjiv i nepovoljan oblik teritorija države koji su u slučaju invazije okolne neprijateljske države mogle relativno lako presjeći. U kasnijim razdobljima Izrael uvodi koncept „proširenih

also without significant success (URL 6). In the last decade, Syria has been torn by a civil war involving a number of factions, with the direct and indirect involvement of regional (Iran) and global actors (Russian Federation, USA), and reaching an agreement with Israel has been set aside.

Geostrategic aspects of the Golan Heights

The geostrategic importance of the Golan Heights for Israel is primarily manifested through the factor of geographical position in relation to the bordering territories of the surrounding countries, combined with the factor of topography and altitude. Namely, the plateau enables an overview of the wider areas of southern Lebanon, northern Israel and a large part of southern Syria, and in that sense, its control provides a significant advantage in military and defence terms. Another important geostrategic aspect is water, bearing in mind that it is one of the key geostrategic resources in the Middle East due to its relative scarcity. Until recently, the Golan Heights as an area that receives significant amounts of water and supplies the upper Jordan River has been of exceptional economic importance to Israel for the availability of drinking water as well as irrigation water, especially given the fact that the country's military potential depends on its economic potential. In the historical context of the Jordan Basin's availability as a supply axis for the population and the economy, Israel's water supply was directly threatened in the 1960s by Arab countries' plan to divert two of the three tributaries of the Jordan River (Banias and Hasbani) to the Yarmouk Canal in order to prevent the water to supply the Sea of Galilee and thus disrupt the completion of the Israeli National Irrigation Project (MURAKAMI, 1995).

In geostrategic terms, both the topography and water resources of the Golan Heights are key to Israel's defence and its economic development. Both of these elements should therefore be viewed from the perspective of their value for the long-term security of the State of Israel.

Military-defensive aspect

In considering the geostrategic importance of the Golan Heights in the context of the military

granica“ što je označavalo prelazak „crvene linije“ neprijateljskih zemalja u smislu u kojem je to za Izrael moglo značiti izravnu ugrozu. To je uključivalo sve aktivnosti susjednih neprijateljskih zemalja za koje je procijenjeno da su prijetnja i da ih treba ukloniti preventivnim udarima (OREN I DR., 2013.).

Izduljen oblik izraelskoga državnog teritorija u pravcu sjever-jug, uz posljedičnu uskost od 137 km na najširem do 14 km na najužem dijelu, stavio je pred Izrael izazov nedostatka strateške dubine. U vojnom smislu strateška se dubina odnosi na udaljenosti između prvih crta vojnog djelovanja do ključnih civilnih ili vojnih središta. U hipotetičkim ratnim okolnostima cilj je pomaknuti područja vojnih djelovanja što dalje od takvih središta. S obzirom na malu dubinu teritorija, neki koncepti izraelske vojne strategije uključivali su odvratanje, preventivne udare i tehnološku nadmoć nad neprijateljem. Za pomicanje borbe na neprijateljski teritorij najviše se zalagao bivši izraelski premijer David Ben-Gurion, upravo kako bi spriječio eventualni neprijateljski utjecaj na izraelsku infrastrukturu na uskom teritoriju i presijecanje državnog teritorija (EISENKOT, SIBONI, 2019.). Uz to, promovao je izrazito brzo vojno djelovanje kako bi se izbjegao pritisak na ekonomiju države i umanjio međunarodni pritisak na Izrael zbog korištenja sile. Izraelska okupacija i kontrola Golanske visoravni i, svojedobno, Sinajskog poluotoka rezultat su upravo uzimanja u obzir navedenog „koncepta dubine“, odnosno širenja vojnog djelovanja na područja izvan međunarodno priznatih granica Izraela. Iz istog je razloga tijekom mirovnih pregovora Izrael zahtijevao demilitarizaciju Golana i Sinaja.

Golanska je visoravan zbog svoje topografije i geografskog položaja iznimno važna za sigurnost sjevernog Izraela. S obzirom na dosadašnju nemogućnost postizanja sporazuma sa Sirijom kojim bi se osigurala demilitarizacija Golana, kao i na trenutačnu političku klimu u državi, jasno je da srednjoročni planovi Izraela uključuju daljnji vojni i civilni nadzor nad visoravni, te je stoga važno sagledati topografiju visoravni kao ključni vojno-obrambeni aspekt.

Prosječna nadmorska visina okupiranog dijela

and defense, it is very important to look at the concepts of Israeli military strategy and its attitude towards the lack of strategic depth. In 1953, Israel changed the concept of major military strategy by abandoning the ‘defensive-offensive’ strategy adopted 4 years earlier during the first Arab-Israeli war, and replacing it with an ‘offensive-defensive’ strategy (OREN ET AL., 2013). Such changes were prompted by the Israeli military leadership, which considered fortification and defense to be costly in the long run compared to attacks into enemy territory. Another challenge considered during the 1950s was the very vulnerable and unfavourable shape of the territory of the country, which in the event of an invasion could be relatively easily intersected by the surrounding enemy countries. In later periods, Israel introduced the concept of ‘expanded borders’ which meant crossing the ‘red line’ of enemy countries in the sense that it could mean a direct threat to Israel. This included all activities of neighbouring enemy countries, which, following an assessment, were considered a threat and were to be eliminated by preventive strikes (OREN ET AL., 2013).

The elongated shape of Israel’s state territory in a north-south direction, with a consequent narrowness of 137 km at its widest to 14 km at its narrowest, has posed a challenge to Israel’s lack of strategic depth. In military terms, strategic depth refers to the distance between the front lines of military action to key civilian or military centres. Under hypothetical war circumstances, the goal is to move areas of military action away from such centres. Given the scarce depth of the territory, some concepts of Israel’s military strategy included deterrence, pre-emptive strikes, and technological superiority over the enemy. Former Israeli Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion has shown the greatest commitment to moving the fight to enemy territory, with the aim of preventing possible hostile influence on Israeli infrastructure in narrow territory and crossing state territory (EISENKOT, SIBONI, 2019). In addition, he promoted extremely rapid military action, in order to avoid pressure on the state’s economy and reduce international pressure on Israel to use force. The Israeli occupation and control of

Golanske visoravni varira od 200 m nv u blizini Galilejskog mora do preko 1200 m na sjevernom dijelu i padinama planine Hermon. Visoravan pruža pregled i vizualni pristup prostoru Galileje na zapadu (dolina Hula), južnog Libanona na sjeverozapadu te unutrašnjosti Sirije s glavnim gradom Damaskom na istoku i sjeveroistoku, što je ključ njezine strateške važnosti. Prije 1967., sjever Izraela bio je topografski inferioran i posebno ranjiv upravo zbog sirijskih topničkih položaja na Golanskoj visoravni koji su imali izniman pregled čitave doline Hula i izraelskih gradova i sela na prostoru Tiberijadskog bazena, što je omogućavalo ne samo povremenu topničku vatru prema civilnim ciljevima u krugu 10 km, nego i značajnu prednost u situacijama otvorenoga ratnog sukoba. Stoga je razumljivo oklijevanje Izraela da vrati Golansku visoravan Siriji, s obzirom na vlastitu povoljnu stratešku poziciju nakon okupacije, uključujući topnički domet sirijskoga glavnoga grada Damaska koji je od izraelskih položaja udaljen samo 60 km (HARRIS, 1977.).

Pozicioniranje i utvrđenje crte obrane IDF-a na Golanskoj visoravni daje izraelskim snagama izrazitu topografsku prednost u slučaju napada iz pravca unutrašnjosti Sirije. To je vidljivo iz razlika u nadmorskoj visini na istočnoj crti razdvajanja – primjerice, jedna od golanskih uzvisina pod izraelskim vojnim nadzorom, Mt. Avital, visine je 1204 m, dok je teren prema unutrašnjosti Sirije prosječne visine između 700 i 800 m nv, zbog čega je kontrola ove crte izrazito važna za izraelske kopnene snage. Ovakvi uvjeti pružaju odličnu obrambenu prednost s obzirom na preglednost unutrašnjosti Sirije i smjera potencijalnog napada. S druge strane, visoravan prirodno zadobiva funkciju svojevrsnoga „bedema“ prema još nižem području sjevernog Izraela na zapadu, onemogućujući neprijateljskoj vojnoj sili pregled izraelskog teritorija te prisiljavajući bilo kakve neprijateljske snage na kretanje nižim terenom gdje su u potpunosti izložene izraelskim položajima (EILAND, 2009.).

Također, trenutačni položaji izraelskih snaga duž niza uzvišenja na istočnom dijelu Golanske visoravni topografski je najpovoljnija moguća obrambena crta obrane protiv eventualne vojne

the Golan Heights and, at one time, the Sinai Peninsula are the result of taking into account the aforementioned ‘concept of depth’, i.e. the expansion of military action to areas outside the internationally recognized borders of Israel. For the same reason, during the peace talks, Israel demanded the demilitarization of the Golan and Sinai.

In the context of the mentioned advantages of topography and geographic position, the Golan Heights is extremely important for the security of northern Israel. Given the current impossibility of reaching an agreement with Syria to ensure the demilitarization of the Golan, as well as the current political climate in the country, it is clear that Israel’s medium-term plans include further military and civil control of the plateau, and therefore it is important to consider the topography as a defensive aspect.

The average altitude of the occupied part of the Golan Heights varies from 200 m above sea level near the Sea of Galilee to over 1,200 m in the northern part and the slopes of Mount Hermon. The plateau provides an overview and visual access to the area of Galilee in the west (the Hula Valley), southern Lebanon in the northwest, and the interior of Syria with the capital Damascus in the east and northeast, which is the key to its strategic importance. In the period before 1967, northern Israel was topographically inferior and particularly vulnerable precisely because of the Syrian artillery positions on the Golan Heights which had an exceptional view of the entire Hula Valley and Israeli towns and villages in Tiberias Basin, allowing not only occasional artillery fire on civilian targets, but also a significant advantage in situations of open war conflict. Therefore, it is understandable that Israel is reluctant to return the Golan Heights to Syria, given its favourable strategic position after the occupation, including the artillery range of the Syrian capital Damascus, which is only 60 km from Israeli positions (HARRIS, 1977).

The positioning of the IDF’s line of defence on the Golan Heights gives Israeli forces a distinct topographical advantage in the event of an attack from Syria. This is evident from the differences in altitude on the eastern dividing

invazije s istoka i sjeveroistoka. Takav bi, naime, hipotetski napad prisilio agresora da se prilagodi topografiji i kanalizira snage između uzvišenja s kojih bi i brojčano inferiorne obrambene snage mogle odbiti napad ili, pak, dobiti na vremenu prije nego što stigne potrebno pojačanje. Takav scenarij se, uostalom, već dogodio tijekom Jomkipirskog rata u listopadu 1973. kad je, zahvaljujući terenskoj prednosti, 177 izraelskih tenkova uspjelo zaustaviti silu od ukupno 1500 sirijskih tenkova, i to dovoljno dugo za mobilizaciju i slanje dodatnih obrambenih snaga. Tom se prigodom pokazalo da bilo kakav kopneni napad s istočne/sjeveroistočne strane nema povoljne izgleda bez zauzimanja uzvišenja koja su trenutačno pod izraelskim nadzorom (INBAR, 2019.).

Iz navedenih razloga, a s obzirom na povijest vojnih agresija na Izrael, jasno je inzistiranje izraelskih vlada na dvjema mogućim opcijama u geopolitičkom smislu:

- 1) zadržavanju Golanske visoravni pod svojom kontrolom po cijenu daljnje kompromitacije svojega položaja u međunarodnoj zajednici
- 2) povlačenju s visoravni i vraćanju visoravni Siriji uz međunarodna jamstva demilitarizacije područja ili snažnije pozicioniranje međunarodnih mirovnih snaga na tom prostoru, ali po cijeni rizika gubitka nadzora nad sigurnosnom situacijom.

Hidropolitčki aspekti

U aridnim regijama dostupnost ograničenih količina vode prvorazredno je političko pitanje, a nadmetanje pojedinih nacija za kontrolu nad vodom u tom se smislu može smatrati posebnim aspektom geopolitike koji su pojedini autori nazivali i hidropolitikom (WATERBURY, 1979.; ESCUDERO, 2018.). Kako je navedeno, Golanska visoravan sadrži značajne vodne resurse koji su u razmjerno suhoj klimi bliskoistočnoga prostora iznimno važni za vodoopskrbu stanovništva i gospodarstva. U vremenu nakon Šestodnevno rata pa sve do početka 2000-ih o vodnim resursima Golanske visoravni u znatnoj je mjeri ovisila vodoopskrba Države Izrael, što je jedna od ključnih činjenica iz kojih proizlazi geostrateška

line - for example, the elevation of one of the Golan peaks under Israeli military control, Mt. Avital, is 1,204 m, while the terrain towards the interior of Syria is on average between 700 and 800 meters above the sea level, which is why the control of this line is extremely important for the Israeli ground forces. Such conditions provide an extraordinary defensive advantage given the visibility of the interior of Syria and the direction of a potential attack. On the other hand, the plateau naturally acquires the function of a kind of 'bulwark' towards even lower area of northern Israel in the west, preventing the enemy military force from surveilling Israeli territory and forcing any enemy forces to move to lower terrain where they are fully exposed to Israeli positions (EILAND, 2009).

Thus, the current position of the Israeli forces along a series of elevations in the eastern part of the Golan Heights is topographically the most favourable line of defence against a possible military invasion from the east and northeast. A hypothetical attack would force the aggressor to adapt to the topography and channel their forces between the elevations from which even outnumbered defensive forces could repel the attack or gain time before the necessary reinforcements arrive. Such a scenario, after all, already occurred during the Yom Kippur War in October 1973, when, due to terrain advantage, 177 Israeli tanks managed to stop a force of a total of 1,500 Syrian tanks, and hold them off long enough to allow IDF to mobilize and send additional troops. On that occasion, it turned out that any ground attack from the east / northeast side does not have a favourable prospect without capturing the elevations that are currently under Israeli control (INBAR, 2019).

For these reasons, and given the history of military aggression against Israel, it is clear that all Israeli governments insist on two possible options in geopolitical terms:

- 1) keeping the Golan Heights under Israeli control at the cost of further compromising its position in the international community, or
- 2) withdrawal from the plateau and returning it to Syria with international guarantees of de-

važnost ove regije.

Uz značajnu godišnju količinu oborina, na Golanskoj visoravni više je od 200 izvora od kojih su neki stalni, a neki povremeni. Ondje su i brojni tokovi, većinom periodični, dok se od stalnih tokova važnošću i obujmom vode ističu Gilbon, Mehushim, Zawitan, Yehuddia i El Al. Velik dio ovih izvora kaptiran je za potrebe naselja na samom Golanu (KEARY, 2013.).

Za vodoopskrbu Izraela posebno je bila važna rijeka Jordan zapadno od visoravni, a čiji gornji tok utječe u Tiberijadsko jezero (Galilejsko more). Rijeka se znatnim dijelom napaja vodom putem pritoka koji izvire na području Golanske visoravni, a zbog vrlo skromnih vodnih resursa Izrael se u prošlosti koristio gotovo cijelim površinskim tokom za vodoopskrbu i navodnjavanje.

Upravo je ovaj aspekt bio predmetom dodatnih tenzija oko visoravni, s obzirom na antagonizam židovske države i njezinih arapskih susjeda. Naime, godine 1964. Izrael je dovršio projekt tzv. „Nacionalnog vodonosnika“ (*National Water Carrier*) koji je dovodio vodu iz Tiberijadskog jezera prema obali i dalje prema jugu države. Po količini vode, vodonosnik je poštovao „Zajednički plan za vodu u dolini Jordana“ (*The Jordan Valley Unified Water Plan*, odnosno tzv. *Johnstonov plan*)⁹ iz 1955., kojim je trebalo biti uređeno korištenje vodnih resursa u porječju Jordana. Iako su se u početku načelno slagale s planom, arapske su zemlje ocijenile da neće podržati nijedan plan koji bi omogućio bilo kakav gospodarski ili društveni razvoj Izraela. Stoga je na sastanku zemalja članica Arapske lige 1964. dogovoren plan kojim je trebalo sabotirati izraelski, tek dovršeni, vodonosnik inženjerskim pothvatima, skretanjem vodenih tokova Baniasa i Hasbanija prema kanalu Yarmouk, kako njihove vode ne bi utjecale u Jordan. Time bi kapacitet izraelskog

militarization of the area or stronger positioning of international peacekeeping forces in the area, but at the cost of the risk of losing control of the security situation.

Hydropolitical aspects

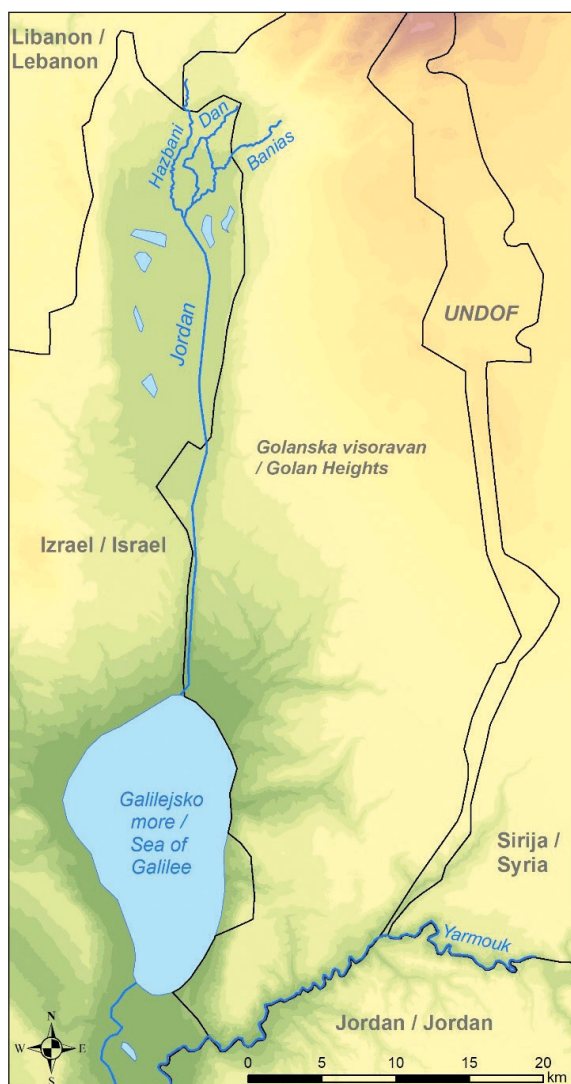
In arid regions, the availability of limited quantities of water is a first-class political issue, and the competition of individual nations for control over water in this sense can be considered a special aspect of geopolitics which some authors called *hydropolitics* (WATERBURY, 1979; ESCUDERO, 2018). As already mentioned, the Golan Heights contain significant water resources that are extremely important for the supply of the population and the economy in the relatively dry climate of the Middle East. In the period from the Six Day War until the beginning of the 2000s Israel's water resources largely depended on the water from the Golan Heights, which was one of the key factors that gave this plateau geostrategic importance.

With a significant annual amount of precipitation, there are more than 200 springs on the Golan Heights, some of which are permanent and some occasional. There are also numerous streams, mostly periodic, but also some permanent ones among which Gilbon, Mehushim, Zawitan, Yehuddia and El Al stand out given their significant volume of water. Many of these springs have been used for the needs of settlements on the Golan (KEARY, 2013).

The Jordan River, with its upper course flowing into Lake Tiberias, used to be the most important component of Israel's water supply. The river is largely supplied with water through tributaries that spring in the Golan Heights, and due to very modest water resources, Israel was using almost the entire surface flow for water supply and irrigation.

It is precisely this aspect that was the cause of additional tension regarding the plateau, given the antagonism between the Jewish state and its Arab neighbours. Namely, in 1964, Israel completed the so-called *National Water Carrier*, a project which brought water from Lake Tiberias to the coast and further towards the south of the

⁹ *Zajednički plan za vodu u dolini Jordana* (engl. *The Jordan Valley Unified Water Plan*) – poznat i kao „Johnstonov plan“ bio je plan za zajedničko upravljanje vodnim resursima sliva rijeke Jordan. Plan je inicirao i razvio američki veleposlanik Eric Johnston između 1953. i 1955. po uzoru na sličan razvojni plan doline Tennessee u SAD-u. Plan su odobrili tehnički odbori za vodoopskrbu svih zemalja s pristupom slivu Jordana – Izraela, Jordana, Libanona i Sirije. Iako je Arapska liga odbila plan, Jordan i Izrael vodili su politiku uvažavanja odredbi o korištenju količina vode kolike su im prema planu pripadale (URL 15).



SLIKA 2. Kartografski prikaz gornjeg toka rijeke Jordan i Galilejskog mora u odnosu na Golansku visoravan
 FIGURE 2 The map of the upper Jordan area and Lake Tiberias with regards to the position of the Golan Heights

vodonosnika bio smanjen za 35 %, a sveukupna vodoopskrba države za 11 % (SHLAIM, 2000.). Nakon što su arapske zemlje započele tehničku izvedbu ovoga plana, Izrael je takvu diverziju doživio kao ugrozu svojih temeljnih prava te je iskoristio incidente u demilitariziranom području kako bi zračnim napadima spriječio izvedbu ovih projekata (OREN, 2002.).

HOF (1997.) razlučuje nekoliko ključnih hidrogeografskih elemenata koji su potkraj 20. stoljeća bili važni za Izrael u geostrateškom smislu, a koji su u tom kontekstu bili ključni i za eventualno postizanje sporazuma između Izraela i Sirije: izvor i rijeku Baniyas, golanske površinske vode, rijeku Jordan i Tiberijadsko jezero. U međuvremenu su, razvojem i izgradnjom desalinizacijskih tehnologija u Izraelu, navedeni vodni resursi iz-

country. In terms of water quantities, the carrier complied with the *Jordan Valley Unified Water Plan*⁹ from 1955, whose aim was to regulate the use of water resources in the Jordan basin. Although they initially agreed with the plan, the Arab countries decided that they would not support any plan that would enable any economic or social development of Israel. Therefore, at a meeting of Arab League member states in 1964, a plan was agreed to sabotage the Israeli newly completed water carrier project by engineering ventures of diverting the Baniyas and Hasbani watercourses toward the Yarmouk Canal so that their waters would not supply the Jordan river. In theory, this would reduce the capacity of the Israeli water carrier by 35% and the overall water supply of the state by 11% (SHLAIM, 2000). After the Arab countries embarked on the technical implementation of this plan, Israel saw this diversion as a threat to its fundamental rights, and used incidents in the demilitarized zone as a pretext to engage in a series of air strikes in order to prevent the implementation of the Arab countries' plan (OREN, 2002).

HOF (1997) distinguished several key hydrogeographic elements of utmost importance for Israel in geostrategic terms, which were in this context crucial for the eventual agreement between Israel and Syria: the source and the stream Baniyas, the surface waters of the Golan, the Jordan River and the Sea of Galilee. In the meantime, with the development and the construction of desalination facilities in Israel, the mentioned water sources have ceased to be of national importance.

The upper stream of the Jordan River and the Sea of Galilee are the main hydrological elements in the northern part of Israel (Fig. 2). Until 1967 the upper reaches of the Jordan river were also

⁹ The Jordan Valley Unified Water Plan - also known as the "Johnston Plan", was a plan for the joint management of water resources in the Jordan River Basin. The plan was initiated and developed by the U.S. Ambassador Eric Johnston between 1953 and 1955 following the example of a similar development plan for the Tennessee Valley in the United States. The plan was approved by the technical committees for water supply of all countries with access to the Jordan basin - Israel, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria. Although the Arab League eventually rejected the plan, Jordan and Israel pursued a policy of respecting the provisions on the use of the amount of water they were entitled to according to the plan (URL 15).

gubili nacionalni značaj.

Gornji dio toka rijeke Jordan koji uključuje i Galilejsko more osnovni su hidrografski elementi u području sjevernog dijela Izraela (Sl. 2.). Gornji tok Jordana do 1967. ujedno je bio granica između Izraela i Sirije, a okupacija navedenog područja onemogućila je Siriji korištenje 22 milijuna metara kubičnih vode godišnje, što joj je bilo zajamčeno Johnstonovim planom iz 1955. (HOF, 1997.). Pritisak na razmjerno oskudne količine vode povećavao se porastom broja stanovnika u većem dijelu porječja, što je s jedne strane stavljalo Izrael u razmjerno rigidan položaj što se tiče eventualnog prijedloga povratka na političke granice i ponovnog pristupa Siriji vodnim resursima ove rijeke. Naime, povijesno se godišnja količina vode u Jordanu smanjila s 1,3 mlrd. m³ na samo 70 – 100 milijuna m³ (URL 7). Sve veći pritisak stanovništva i gospodarstva na rijeku i sve njezine pritoke stvarao je pat poziciju i tendenciju kratkoročno jednostranih poteza. Takve okolnosti prisiljavale su Izrael i ostatak regije koji pripada porječju da u doglednoj budućnosti pronađu kakvo-takvo zajedničko rješenje (AVIRAM I DR., 2020.), što je u geopolitičkom smislu službenom Izraelu reduciralo manevarski prostor. Zbog toga je Izrael od 2000-ih počeo intenzivno razvijati nova rješenja za vodoopskrbi svojeg teritorija. Uz to što je jedna od vodećih zemalja u pročišćavanju i ponovnoj uporabi otpadnih voda za potrebe poljoprivrede, Izrael je danas i jedna od rijetkih zemalja u svijetu koje glavnu pitke vode dobivaju desalinizacijom morske vode. Značajnije korištenje desalinizacije počelo je 2000. godine s 50 mil. m³ dnevno, dok se, prema planovima, do 2030. predviđa dobivanje 1100 milijuna m³ dnevno (URL 20).

Prema trenutno dostupnim podacima, u Izraelu se tri četvrtine vode u kućanstvima dobiva desalinizacijom vode iz Sredozemnog mora, a u planu je izgradnja novih postrojenja koja će omogućiti potpunu neovisnost o vodama iz tekućica, eliminirajući ovisnost o porječju Jordana. Potkraj 2021. Izrael je potpisao sporazum s Jordanom kojim će se provoditi razmjena vode za električnu energiju kojom raspolaže Jordan, a koju generira iz tamošnjih solarnih elektrana. Trenutačno se približno 6 % vode dobivene de-

the border between Israel and Syria, and the occupation of the area prevented Syria from using 22 million cubic meters of water per year, which was guaranteed by Johnston's 1955 plan (HOF, 1997). The pressure on relatively scarce water resources kept increasing with population growth in much of the basin, putting eventually Israel in a relatively rigid position on a possible proposal to return to political borders and re-access Syria's water resources. Namely, in the last several decades the annual amount of water in the Jordan river has decreased from 1.3 billion cubic meters to only 70-100 million (URL 7). The growing pressure of the population and the economy on the river and all its tributaries created a stalemate and a tendency to short-term unilateral moves. Such circumstances, however, used to be a factor which pressured Israel and the rest of the region belonging to the basin to find some kind of common solution in the foreseeable future (AVIRAM ET AL., 2020), reducing the nation's geopolitical maneuverability. This prompted Israel to begin with the intensive development of alternative solutions for the water supply of its territory from the early 2000s. In addition to being one of the leading countries in the treatment and reuse of agricultural wastewater, Israel is today one of the few countries that obtain most of its drinking water by desalination of seawater. Significant use of desalination began in 2000 with 50 million m³ of water from desalination plants per day and, according to the existing plans, by 2030 this figure is expected to reach 1100 million m³ per day (URL 20).

According to the currently available data, around 3/4 of household water in Israel is obtained by desalination of water from the Mediterranean Sea. Furthermore, the country plans to construct new desalination facilities which would enable its complete independence in water supply, eliminating the need to rely on the Jordan basin. At the end of 2021, Israel signed an agreement with Jordan to exchange water for electricity available to Jordan, which it generates from solar power plants there. Currently, about 6% of the water obtained by desalination is pumped to Jordan and the Palestinian Authority. These are, in essence, completely new geostrategic circum-

salinizacijom crpi prema Jordanu i Palestinskoj samoupravi. Ovo su, zapravo, potpuno nove geostrateške okolnosti u odnosu na one kakve su vladale neposredno nakon Šestodnevnog rata 1967. godine. Tada je, iz planinskih vodonosnika zapadne obale i Golanske visoravni, Izrael dobivao približno 60 % ukupne količine vode (URL 20, URL 21). Ovakvim razvojem situacije smanjuje se hidropolitika važnost Golanske visoravni, a u kontekstu postojećih odnosa sa susjednim većinom aridnim zemljama razvijenost desalinizacijske infrastrukture novi je adut u rukama Države Izrael.

Geopolitičke perspektive Golanske visoravni

U kontekstu unutarnjopolitičkih stavova i pozicija pojedinih stranaka u Izraelu prema pitanju Golanske visoravni, u godinama nakon okupacije stav lijevih i desnih političkih opcija bio je razmjerno ujednačen. Iako se izraelska kontrola nad ovim područjem uglavnom vezuje uz stranke desne, nacionalističke orijentacije poput Likuda, valja istaknuti kako su na istoj liniji što se tiče Golana dugo vremena bile i lijeve opcije. Tako je, primjerice, stajalište Laburističke stranke 1970-ih bilo usmjereno izgradnji novih naselja i kolonizaciji židovskog stanovništva na visoravni (KUMARASWAMY, 1999.). Balansirajući između stavova međunarodne zajednice i rizika geostrateške prirode, međutim, pojedine su vlade bile spremne na ustupke i eventualno vraćanje Golanske visoravni Siriji, no uz vrlo čvrsta i konkretna jamstva. Hipotetičkim sporazumom na kakav bi Izrael bio spreman bilo bi dogovoreno povlačenje izraelske vojske s Golana u zamjenu za mir, uspostavljanje normalnih diplomatskih i gospodarskih odnosa te priznanje Države Izrael, no navedeni pokušaji u tom smjeru bili su neuspješni. U međuvremenu, još jedna invazija na Izrael (1974.) te izrazito političko-geografski dinamizam Bliskog istoka u određenom su smislu učvrstili izraelski stav o strateškoj potrebi zadržavanja kontrole nad Golanom (HAUSER, ZARFATI, 2018.). Izrael je u međuvremenu usmjerio svoje diplomatske napore prema SAD-u, tražeći da mu američka administracija službeno prizna suverenost nad Golanskom visoravni. Takav sce-

stances in relation to those that prevailed immediately after the six-day war in 1967. At that time, Israel received about 60% of the total amount of water from the mountain aquifers of the West Bank and the Golan Heights (URL 20, URL 21). These circumstances mean the decreased hydro-political importance of the Golan Heights, and in the context of the existing relations with the neighbouring arid countries, the development of desalination infrastructure becomes a new trump card in the hands of the state of Israel.

Geopolitical perspectives of the Golan Heights

In the context of internal political attitudes and positions of individual parties in Israel towards the Golan Heights, in the years after the occupation, the attitude of left and right political options was relatively uniform. Although Israeli control over the area is largely tied to right-wing parties such as the Likud, it should be noted that left-wing options have long been on the same line regarding the Golan. For example, the position of the Labour Party in the 1970s was directed towards the construction of new settlements and the colonization of the Jewish population on the plateau (KUMARASWAMY, 1999). Balancing between the official position of the international community on the matter and the risks of a geostrategic nature, however, some governments were ready to make concessions and possibly return the Golan Heights to Syria, but with very firm and very concrete guarantees. A hypothetical agreement on what Israel would be prepared for would be to withdraw the Israeli army from the Golan in exchange for peace, establish normal diplomatic and economic relations and recognize the state of Israel, but all the attempts towards reaching these conditions were so far unsuccessful. Meanwhile, another invasion of Israel (1974) and the remarkable political-geographical dynamism of the Middle East strengthened the Israel's stance on the strategic need to retain control of the Golan (HAUSER, ZARFATI, 2018). Israel, meanwhile, focused its diplomatic efforts on the United States, demanding that the U.S. administration officially recognizes its sovereignty over the Golan Heights. Such a scenario occurred

narij ostvario se u ožujku 2019. kada je američki predsjednik Donald Trump priznao izraelsku jurisdikciju nad Golanom. Unatoč negodovanju ostatka međunarodne zajednice koja je osudila odluku Trumpove administracije kao suprotnu međunarodnom pravu, ovaj je potez u Izraelu dočekan kao važan korak u ostvarivanju izraelskih geostrateških interesa u regiji i dugoročnoj „izraelifikaciji“ visoravni.

U posljednjih desetak godina, pitanje statusa Golanske visoravni treba sagledati i iz perspektive općega geopolitičkog preslagivanja u bliskoistočnoj regiji nakon „Arapskog proljeća“, što se posebno odrazilo na unutarnje prilike u Siriji. Naime, godine 2011. i građanskih nemira usmjerenih protiv režima sirijskog predsjednika Bašara al-Asada i nasilnog suzbijanja prosvjeda, izbio je višegodišnji složeni sukob između nekoliko frakcija – službena Sirija i njezini saveznici, pobunjenička „Slobodna sirijska vojska“ i druge skupine umjerene opozicije, Islamska Država Iraka i Levanta (ISIL), manje džihadističke skupine (npr. Al-Nusra Front) i Kurdsko-arapske Sirijske Demokratske Snage (SDF). U sukob su se u manjoj ili većoj mjeri izravno uključili i SAD, Rusija, Iran, Turska i Izrael, pri čemu je SAD aktivno pomagao umjerenu opoziciju, Rusija i Iran službenu sirijsku vladu i predsjednika Asada, dok je Turska ušla u sukob sa sirijskim Kurdima.

Službeni stav Izraela u Sirijskom građanskom ratu je stroga neutralnost. Drugim riječima, Izrael se, za razliku od svojega ključnog saveznika SAD-a, nije svrstao na stranu pobunjenika niti je otvoreno pozivao na odstupanje Asada s vlasti u Siriji. Štoviše, Asad je u nekim krugovima izraelske politike percipiran kao „manje zlo“, odnosno prepreka jačanju islamističkih skupina u neposrednom izraelskom susjedstvu. To je pridonijelo pasivnoj izraelskoj politici prema cjelokupnoj problematici sukoba u Siriji. S druge strane, nakon 2013. kad su se u sirijski rat na strani sirijskog predsjednika izravno uključili Iran i Hezbollah, Izrael je zauzeo aktivniju ulogu (neslužbene ratne operacije manjeg opsega, ograničene na prostor jugozapadne Sirije, istočno od Golanske visoravni). Razlog za to je bojazan od jačanja uloge Irana blizu izraelskih granica, odnosno sprječavanje opskrbe Hezbollaha iranskim

in March 2019 when the US President Donald Trump recognized Israeli jurisdiction over the plateau. Despite the outrage of the rest of the international community, which condemned the Trump administration's decision as contrary to international law, the move was hailed in Israel as an important step in pursuing Israel's geostrategic interests in the region and long-term political 'Israelization' of the plateau.

In the last ten years, the issue of the status of the Golan Heights should be viewed from the perspective of the general geopolitical rearrangement in the Middle East region after the 'Arab Spring', which had a special impact on the internal situation in Syria. Namely, in 2011, after the civil unrest directed against the regime of the Syrian President Bashar al-Assad and the violent suppression of protests, a long and complex armed conflict broke out between several factions – the official Syria and its allies, the rebel Free Syrian Army and other moderate opposition groups, the terrorist Islamic state of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), smaller jihadist groups (e.g. Al-Nusra Front) and the Kurdish-Arab Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF). The United States, Russia, Iran, Turkey, and Israel also became more or less directly involved in the conflict, with the United States actively assisting the moderate opposition, Russia and Iran helping the official Syrian government and President Assad, while Turkey entered into conflict with the Syrian Kurds.

Israel's official position in the Syrian civil war is strict neutrality. In other words, Israel, unlike its key U.S. ally, did not side with the rebels or openly call for Assad to step down from power in Syria. Moreover, Assad is perceived in some circles of Israeli politics as a 'lesser evil', i.e. an obstacle to the strengthening of some of the Islamist groups in the immediate Israeli neighbourhood. This has contributed to a relatively passive Israeli policy towards the overall issue of the conflict in Syria. On the other hand, after Iran and Hezbollah were directly involved in the Syrian war on the Syrian president's side in 2013, Israel took a more active approach (unofficial small-scale war operations, limited to south-western Syria, east of the Golan Heights). It was motivated by fears of strengthening of the Iran's role near Israel's borders, as well

naoružanjem. Ta se politika očitovala u povremenim zračnim napadima na Hezbolah i iranske dobrovoljce, kao i sanitetskoj pomoći ranjenicima među pobunjeničkim snagama, uključujući i pripadnicima različitih pobunjeničkih skupina, koji su povremeno prevoženi i liječeni u izraelskim bolnicama. Razlog za takvo postupanje je procjena situacije – Iran i Hezbolah su dugoročne strateške prijetele za državu Izrael, dok ISIL i druge slične ili umjerenije grupacije predstavljaju tek taktičku prijetnju koja nije izravna. Stoga između Izraela i spomenutih skupina u jugozapadnoj Siriji postoji međusobno tiho „savezništvo“ u kojemu je ključni cilj Izraela da navedene skupine drže položaje istočno od Golanske visoravni i time spriječe kontakt iranskih dobrovoljaca i Hezbolaha s tim područjem (MALMWIG, 2016.).

Iz navedenog je jasno da je sukob u Siriji koji je u velikoj mjeri obilježen sektaškim neprijateljstvom između sunita i šijita u određenom smislu bio povoljna okolnost za Izrael, s obzirom na skretanje fokusa islamskog svijeta sa židovske države. Štoviše, zaoštavanje odnosa između dviju najbrojnijih islamskih vjeroispovijesti posredno je pomoglo normalizaciji odnosa pojedinih zaljevskih zemalja s Izraelom (Ujedinjeni Arapski Emirati i Bahrein), s obzirom na to da je jačanje utjecaja šijitskog Irana u regiji percipirano kao zajednička prijetnja kako židovskoj državi tako i interesima sunitskih država na Bliskom istoku. Pitanje odnosa Izraela i Sirije privremeno je za kratko obnovljeno početkom 2020., kad su se pojavile špekulacije o tome da Sirija planira pregovarati s Izraelom radi uspostave gospodarskih odnosa, kako bi si olakšala gospodarske sankcije koje joj je nametnuo SAD. No, takav je scenarij uklonio sirijski predsjednik Asad koji je javno izjavio da ne planira nikakve razgovore s Izraelom sve dok Izrael ne pokaže spremnost vratiti Siriji okupirano područje Golanske visoravni (URL 17).

S obzirom na opću situaciju u vrlo nestabilnoj bliskoistočnoj regiji, kao i geostratešku vrijednost visoravni u sigurnosnom smislu, vidljiv je nastavku *status quo*, odnosno zadržavanja Izraela na Golanu. Perspektivu novih pokušaja sporazuma dodatno onemogućuje i spomenuto preslagivanje odnosa na Bliskom istoku te vrlo složena

as by the consequent intentions to prevent Iran from supplying Hezbollah with weapons. This approach included the occasional airstrikes on Hezbollah and Iranian volunteer forces, as well as medical assistance to the wounded members of various rebel groups. The reason for this was previous assessment of the situation - Iran and Hezbollah are long-term strategic threats to the state of Israel, while ISIL and other similar extremist or more moderate groups are only a tactical threat that is not immediate. Thus, a temporary 'quiet alliance' occurred between Israel and some of the mentioned rebel groups, in which Israel's key goal is for these groups to hold positions east of the Golan Heights and thus prevent Iranian volunteers and Hezbollah from coming into contact with the area (MALMWIG, 2016).

Following the above, it is clear that the conflict in Syria, which was largely marked by sectarian enmity between Sunni and Shia factions of Islam, was in a sense a favourable circumstance for Israel, given the shift of focus of the Islamic world away from the Jewish state. Moreover, the strained relations between the two largest Islamic denominations have indirectly helped to normalize relations between Israel and some Gulf states (United Arab Emirates and Bahrain), as the strengthening of Shiite Iran's influence in the region is perceived as a common threat to both the Jewish state and the interest of the Sunni Arab countries in the Middle East. The issue of Israel-Syria relations was temporarily briefly renewed in early 2020, when speculation emerged that Syria was planning to reopen the negotiations with Israel with the aim of establishing economic relations, in order to ease the economic sanctions imposed on it by the United States. But such a scenario was rebuffed by Syrian President Assad, who has publicly stated that he does not plan any talks with Israel until Israel shows readiness to return the occupied Golan Heights area to Syria (URL 17).

Given the general situation in the very unstable Middle East region, as well as the geostrategic value of the plateau in terms of security, the continuation of the 'status quo' of the Israeli occupation of the Golan Heights, is evident. The prospect of new attempts at an agreement is further hampered by the aforementioned instabilities in the

situacija u Siriji koja osnažuje odlučnost izraelskih unutarnjopolitičkih čimbenika za trajnim zadržavanjem Golana u svojim rukama.

ZAKLJUČAK

Na temelju razmatranja glavnih geostrateških prednosti Golanske visoravni u svjetlu postojećega geopolitičkoga karaktera šire regije mogu se donijeti zaključci o trenutačnoj važnosti Golana za Izrael, kao i perspektivama navedene visoravni u odnosima Izraela sa Sirijom. O takvim perspektivama djelomice se može stvoriti realna slika i na temelju opisanih historijsko-geografskih obilježja.

S obzirom na vojno-obrambenu vrijednost Golanske visoravni, može se zaključiti da bi povlačenje Izraela s navedenog područja bilo kratkoročno i dugoročno rizično za Izrael. Nadzor nad visoravni, naime, pruža Izraelu ključnu obrambenu prednost koja je i dokazana s obzirom na to da je sirijsko-izraelska granica od 1974. do danas uglavnom mirna. Trenutačno razgraničenje duž uzvisina na istočnom dijelu visoravni najpovoljnija je moguća obrambena crta protiv eventualne vojne invazije s istoka, odnosno iz smjera sirijske unutrašnjosti. Također, vojna prisutnost na Golanu pruža Izraelu dodatni nadzor nad kretanjima u južnom Libanonu, posebice ako se ima u vidu razmjerno nedavna povijest i uloga Hezbolaha za sigurnost sjevernih granica države.

U hidropolitikom kontekstu, Golanska je visoravan u razdoblju nakon Šestodnevnog rata bila od vitalnog značaja za vodoopskrbu Izraela imajući u vidu ne samo to da je riječ o regiji s najviše padalina u odnosu na okolni prostor, već i da voda s visoravni izravno napaja Jordan i Galilejsko more. Od tada je izraelska vodoopskrbna infrastruktura već značajno prilagođena situaciji potpune izraelske kontrole vodnih resursa koji izravno ili neizravno potječu s Golanske visoravni. S obzirom na geopolitičku nestabilnost regije, Izrael je razvojem tehnologije desalinizacije od 2000-ih do danas u najvećoj mjeri umanjio ovisnost vlastitoga gospodarstva o vodi s Golanske visoravni i, općenito, iz kopnenih voda. Činjenica da se danas čak tri četvrtine vode u izrael-

Middle East and the very complex situation in Syria, which strengthens the determination of Israeli domestic political factors to keep the Golan in their hands permanently.

CONCLUSION

Based on the consideration of the main geostrategic advantages of the Golan Heights in the light of the existing geopolitical characteristics of the wider region, conclusions can be drawn about the current importance of the plateau for Israel, as well as the prospects of the plateau in Israel's future relations with Syria. A realistic image of such perspectives can be partly created on the basis of the described historical and geographical features.

Given the defensive military value of the Golan Heights, it can be concluded that withdrawing Israel from the area would be risky for Israel in the short and long term. Namely, the control over the plateau provides Israel with a key defensive advantage, which was proven having in mind that the Syrian-Israeli border has been mostly peaceful since 1974. The current demarcation along the hills in the eastern part of the plateau is the most favourable possible line of defence against a possible military invasion from the east, i.e. from the direction of the Syrian interior. Moreover, the military presence in the Golan provides Israel with additional control over developments in southern Lebanon, especially given the relatively recent history and role of Hezbollah for the security of the country's northern borders.

In the hydropolitical context, in the period after the Six Day War, the Golan Heights was a vital area for Israel's water supply given not only the fact that it is the region with the most rainfall relative to the surrounding area, but also that the plateau water directly feeds the Jordan river and the Sea of Galilee. Since then, the Israeli water supply infrastructure has already significantly been adapted to the situation of full Israeli control of water resources originating directly or indirectly from the Golan Heights. Given the political instability of the region, from the 2000s onwards, Israel opted to extensively develop the technology of desalination, which has resulted in the overall reduction on the

skim kućanstvima dobiva desalinizacijom nova je okolnost u geostrateškom značenju visoravni. Politički, historijsko-geografski i vojno-obrambeni aspekti prevladali su u odnosu na hidropolitiku važnost regije.

Aktualne geopolitičke prilike u regiji potvrđuju skepsu o mogućnosti postizanja sigurnosnih uvjeta koji bi u dogledno vrijeme omogućili stvaranje uvjeta u kojima bi bilo realno vraćanje Golanske visoravni Siriji. Takvi uvjeti podrazumijevali bi geopolitičku stabilizaciju regije i normalizaciju odnosa koja, s obzirom na karakter Bliskog istoka kao geopolitičke regije, trenutačno nije realna. Međunarodno priznata granica sa Sirijom na Jordanu iz geostrateške perspektive nije dostatna da se može smatrati „branjivom“ granicom te je daljnja okupacija Golanske visoravni jedino realno obrambeno-sigurnosno jamstvo i opcija za Izrael. Vrlo složena situacija u Siriji onemogućuje bilo kakve nove konkretne pregovore dviju strana i dodatno učvršćuje Izrael na svojoj sadašnjoj poziciji što se tiče visoravni. Također, opća nestabilnost bliskoistočnoga „shatterbelta“ i tradicionalno neprijateljstvo i nesklonost arapskih režima i, posebice, Irana kao rastuće regionalne sile u odnosu na Izrael čine bilo kakav scenarij općeg mira i sigurnosti zasad iluzornim, te se u tom smislu može tvrditi da je izgledan nastavak izraelske okupacije ovoga prostora.

dependency of its economy on the water originating in the Golan Heights, as well as other existing water resources. The fact that $\frac{3}{4}$ of water in the Israeli households comes from desalination plants represents a new circumstance in the geostrategic significance of the plateau, giving the defensive and historical aspects more importance than the hydropolitical ones. The current geopolitical situation in the region confirms the scepticism about the possibility of achieving security prerequisites that would in the foreseeable future enable the creation of conditions in which the return of the Golan Heights to Syria would be realistic. Such prerequisites would imply geopolitical stabilization of the region and normalization of relations, which, given the character of the Middle East as a geopolitical region, are currently not realistic. From a geostrategic perspective, the internationally recognized border with Syria on the Jordan River is insufficiently secure to be considered a 'defensible' border, and further occupation of the Golan Heights is the only real defence and security guarantee and option for Israel. The very complex situation in Syria prevents any new concrete negotiations between the two sides and further strengthens Israel in its current position regarding the plateau. In addition, the general instability of the Middle Eastern 'shatter-belt' and the traditional hostility and reluctance of the Arab regimes and, especially, of Iran as a growing regional power vis-à-vis Israel make any scenario of general peace and security illusory for the time being. Thus, it can be said that a continuation of the Israeli occupation of this area in the following years is the most likely scenario.

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URL 6, *Naselja i stanovništvo Republike Hrvatske 1857.-2001.*, Državni zavod za statistiku, www.dzs.hr, 5. 6. 2014. (URL 6 označava u popisu mrežnih izvora da se radi o 6. korištenoj mrežnoj stranici abecedno gledano, a navodi se u tekstu kao URL 6 umjesto cijele mrežne stranice)

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Carta prospettiva della delle comuni censuarie della Dalmazia secondo la nuova distrettuazione, Milano, 1853., Državni arhiv u Zadru, Geografske i topografske karte Dalmacije i susjednih oblasti, HR-DAZD-383, 32.

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Pozivne bilješke se pišu na dnu stranice (Times New Roman, 10 pt, prored 1). Uputno je minimalno korištenje pozivnih bilježaka i to u slučaju nužnosti dodatnih pojašnjenja, a nikako kao način citiranja literature.

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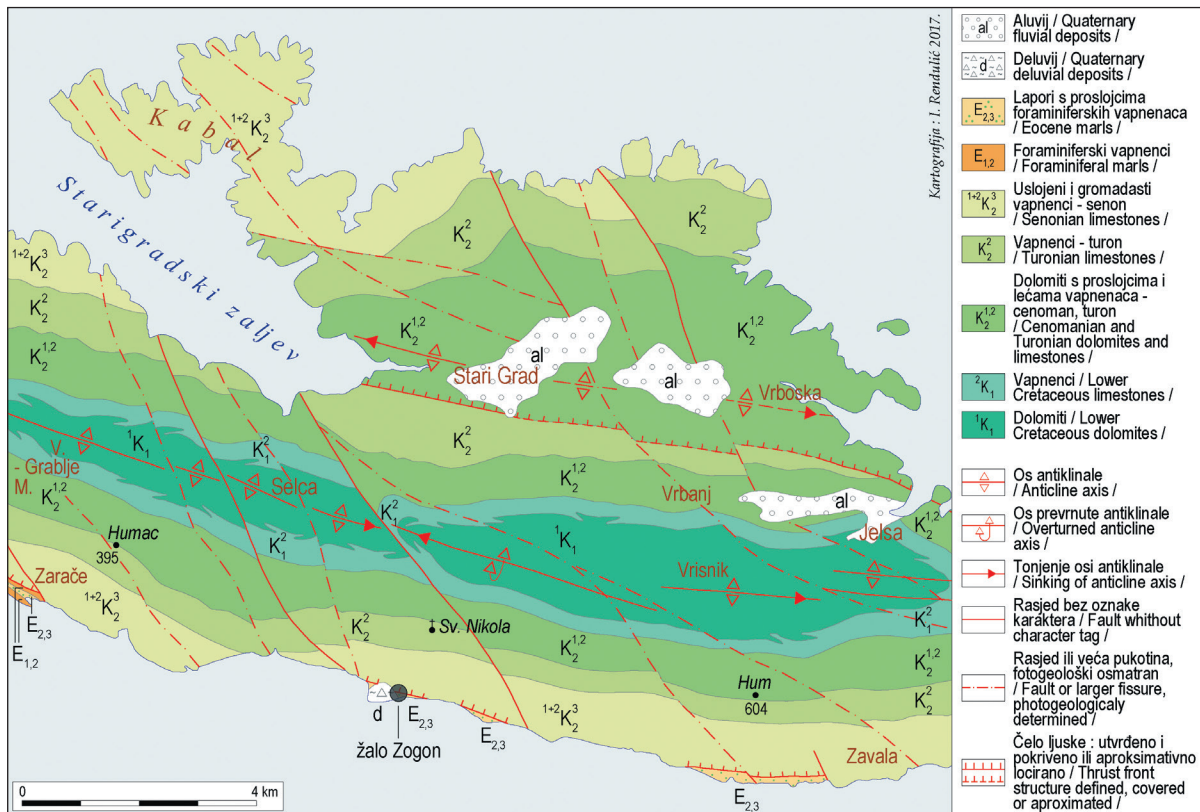
Primjeri uređene tablice i slike:

TABLICA 1. *Mislite li da je vanjska politika Hrvatske dovoljno samostalna, to jest donosi li vlastite odluke?*

TABLE 1 *Do you think that the foreign politics of Croatia is sufficiently independent, i.e. can the state make its own decisions?*

Ponudeni odgovor / Answer offered	Broj osoba koje su odgovorile na pitanje / The number of persons who answered the question	%
Da / Yes	2	1,2
Ne / No	98	56,6
Djelomično / Partially	38	22
Ne znam / I do not know	33	19
Ne želim odgovoriti / I do not want to answer	2	1,2

Izvor: Anketno istraživanje, 2017. / Source: Survey research, 2017



SLIKA 2. Geološka karta dijela otoka Hvara (Izvor: Marinčić, Majcen, 1976.)
 FIGURE 2 Segment of the Island of Hvar geological map (Source: Marinčić, Majcen, 1976.)

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TRINAJSTIĆ, I. (2011): Phytogeographical diversity of plant cover, in: *Croatian Forests of the Mediterranean*, (ed. Matić, S.), Academy of Forest Science, Croatian Forests, Croatian Forestry Society, 182-192.

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Croatian Historical Atlas, (ed. Regan, K.), Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, Zagreb, 2003, pp.386.

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Doctoral thesis, University of Zagreb, Faculty of Science, Department of Geography, Zagreb, pp 137.

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MARIĆ, A. (2012): Šolta from A to Z on 600 luxurious pages, Slobodna Dalmacija, n. 18520, Split, 4th September, 2012, 23.

e) Website: url x, name of the data which is downloaded (*in italics*), website name, website address, date of downloading. For example:

URL 6, *Naselja i stanovništvo Republike Hrvatske 1857.-2001.*, Croatian Bureau of Statistics, www.dzs.hr, 5. 6. 2014 (URL 6 indicates that it is the 6th website cited, listed in the alphabetical order, and in the text it is stated as URL 6 instead of the full name on the list of online sources)

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The report on the state of the environment and environmental programs of Zadar County, Zadar County, Oikon Ltd., Institute for Applied Ecology, Zagreb, 2006

Carta prospettiva della delle comuni censuarie della Dalmazia secondo la nuova distrettuazione, Milan, 1853, State Archives in Zadar, Geographical and topographical maps of Dalmatia and neighboring areas, HR-DAZD-383, 32.

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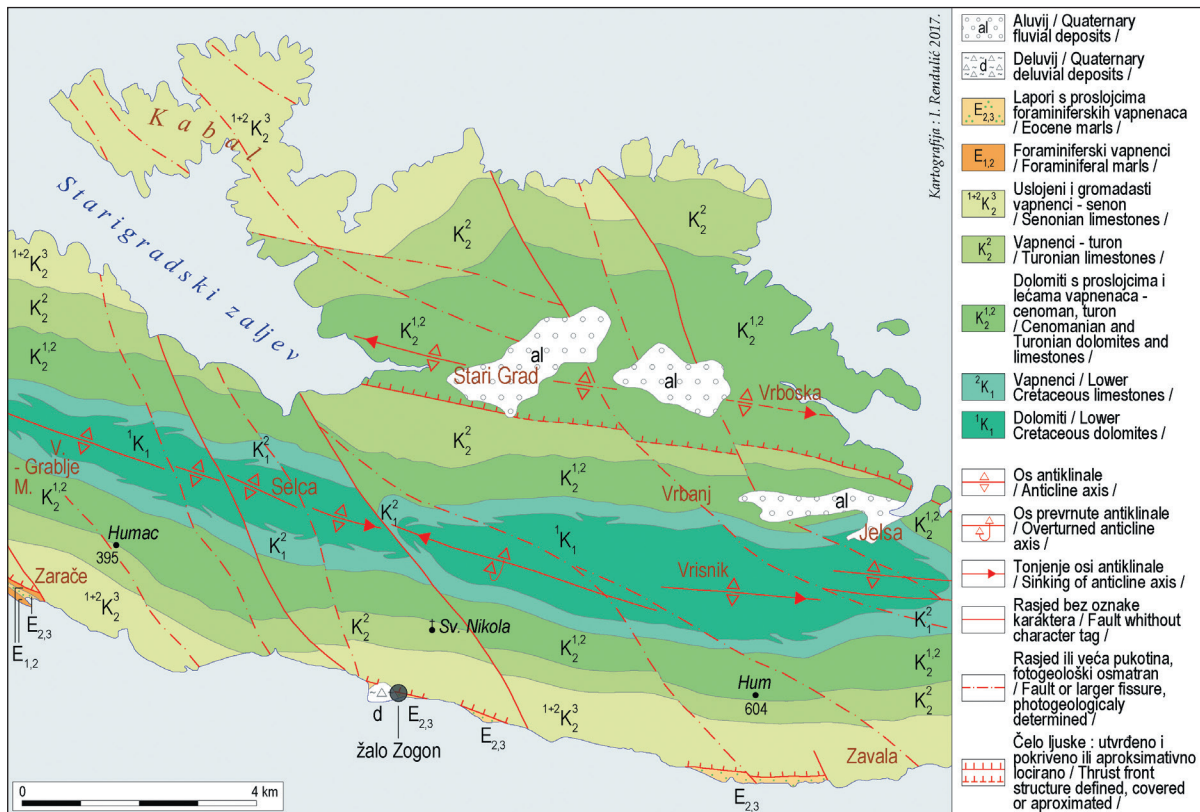
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TABLE 1 *Do you think that the foreign politics of Croatia is sufficiently independent, i.e. can the state make its own decisions?*

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Ne znam / I do not know	33	19
Ne želim odgovoriti / I do not want to answer	2	1,2

Izvor: Anketno istraživanje, 2017. / Source: Survey research, 2017



SLIKA 2. Geološka karta dijela otoka Hvara (Izvor: Marinčić, Majcen, 1976.)
 FIGURE 2 Segment of the Island of Hvar geological map (Source: Marinčić, Majcen, 1976.)

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