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# SOCIODEMOGRAFSKE ZNAČAJKE I PROCESI U HRVATSKIM OBALNIM GRADOVIMA

## SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS AND PROCESSES IN CROATIAN COASTAL CITIES

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Pregledni članak

*Review*

Polarizacijski procesi započeti u Hrvatskoj 1950-ih rezultirali su nejednakim društveno-ekonomskim razvojem i prostornim preraspmješajem stanovništva, te koncentracijom stanovništva, radnih mjesta i stanova u gradskim naseljima. Obalni gradovi kao polovi i nositelji društveno-gospodarskog razvoja u svojim regijama postaju žarišta koncentracije stanovništva, a otoci i zaleđe prostori populacijskoga pražnjenja i starenja. Intenzivno doseljavanje pozitivno se odrazilo na demografski razvitak većih obalnih gradova, pa oni postaju nositelji bioreprodukcije i sve do posljednjega međupopisnoga razdoblja (1991.-2001.) bilježe dinamičan populacijski rast. Političke i gospodarske promjene te posljedice rata produbile su i ubrzale ionako nepovoljne demografske procese, što se ogleda u ukupnoj depopulaciji te pogoršanju struktura stanovništva obalnih jadranskih gradova. Smanjenje rodnosti, starenje stanovništva te promjene životnih vrijednosti i novi životni stil dovode do transformacije obitelji i promjena u veličini kućanstava i odnosa među članovima. Opća je tendencija postupno smanjivanje broja višočlanih kućanstava i neprestani rast udjela dvočlanih i samačkih kućanstava.

**Ključne riječi:** obalni gradovi, migracija, prirodno kretanje, starenje, depopulacija

Polarisation processes, which began in Croatia in the 1950's, resulted in disparate socio-economic development, in an uneven spatial distribution of the population, and in a concentration of people, jobs and housing in urban settlements. Coastal cities, as hubs and agents of socio-economic development, in their regions became focal points for the concentration of the population, while islands and hinterland areas suffered depopulation and demographic ageing. Intense in-migration had a positive influence on the demographic development of coastal cities. They became hotbeds of bioreproduction and up to the most recent intercensus period (1991–2001) displayed dynamic population growth. However political and economic changes in this recent period, together with the effects of the war, deepened and accelerated increasingly unfavourable demographic processes, which were reflected in an overall reduction of the population of coastal Adriatic cities, as well as in a deterioration of its structure. Decreasing fertility, demographic ageing and changes in life values brought about a transformation of the family, and hence changes in the size of households and in the relations among family members. The general trend today involves a gradual reduction in the number of household members, and a continuous increase in the number of two and one-member households.

**Key words:** coastal cities, migration, natural demographic trends, ageing, depopulation

### Uvod

Mediteranski urbani prostor, promatran u cjelini, karakteriziraju povijesna arhitektura i trajan doživljaj njegova stanovništva da je "oduvijek" u središtu povijesnih događanja, migracije koje su rezultirale diskontinuiranim naseljavanjem, te razni, često i neregularni, oblici ekonomskih aktivnosti. Pišući o mediteranskom gradu, autori se oslanjaju na koncepte jedinstvene

### Introduction

The Mediterranean urban area, seen as a whole, is characterised by historical architecture and by a permanent experience felt by its inhabitants that it has "always" been at the centre of historical events, and also by migrations that have resulted in discontinuous settlement, as well as by various, often irregular, forms of economic activity. With regard to the Mediterranean city, we will rely on concepts

mediteranske urbane geografije i spontanog urbanog razvoja te prepoznavanja i zaštite lokalnih kultura kao temeljne elemente njihova društveno-ekonomskog razvoja (LEONTIDOU, 1990; PACE, 2002.). Najveće sličnosti u stilu života stanovnika mediteranskih gradova početkom novog tisućljeća proizlaze iz usporedne prisutnosti obrazaca tradicionalnog i sve češće neformalnog i modernog u svim područjima života – privatnom i javnom, socijalnom i gospodarskom, a posebice u oblikovanju prostora. Propast *industrijskoga grada*<sup>1</sup> na obalama Sredozemnog mora, "... kreira različita lokalna društva i odnose, rastače teritorijalne veze, čini sve većima razlike u odnosu na globalno 'tržište', ... i mijenja uloge u proizvodnji bogatstva, dajući veću vrijednost lokalnom naslijeđu podjednako u sferi okoliša, kulture i identiteta" (PACE, 2002.).

Analiziramo li, tako, suvremene sociodemografske procese u obalnim gradovima na hrvatskoj strani Jadrana, potrebno je pozornost, uz posljedice promjene društvenog i gospodarskog sustava u 1990-ima i rata, usmjeriti i na razne vrste i smjerove seljenja u promatranom prostoru: višedecetljetno useljavanje s otoka koji im gravitiraju ili iz neposrednog zaleđa, iz drugih hrvatskih regija pa i neposrednog inozemstva, ali i iseljavanje iz gradova u neposrednu okolicu ili, pak, seljenje u inozemstvo.

Hrvatski obalni gradovi prostorno pripadaju tzv. polurubnim regijama (LEONTIDOU, 1996.) koje u geografskom, socioekonomskom i kulturnom smislu pripadaju tzv. međuprostoru (*in-between spaces*) koji se u mnogim svojim aspektima nalazi negdje između poznatih dihotomija što ih u sociologiji prepoznajemo kao *zajednica* i *društvo*, u političkoj ekonomiji kroz pojam jezgre ili periferije te razvijenosti ili nerazvijenosti, a u urbanoj teoriji kao urbano ili ruralno i moderno ili tradicionalno (PACE, 2002.).

S obzirom na poznatu tezu povjesničara gradova da je jedna od temeljnih značajki urbanizacije diskontinuitet (DE LANDA, 2002.), kratkim povijesnim pregledom odabranih hrvatskih obalnih gradova želimo potvrditi činjenicu nelinearnosti njihova urbana razvoja. Naime, hrvatski Jadran prostor je duge urbane tradicije. Veći broj gradova utemeljen je već u grčko i rimsko doba, ali stupanj njihova

that postulate a common Mediterranean urban geography and a spontaneous urban development, and that emphasise the recognition and protection of local cultures as basic elements in their socio-economic development (LEONTIDOU, 1990; PACE, 2002). The greatest similarities in the lifestyles of the inhabitants of Mediterranean cities, at the beginning of the new millennium, derive from the parallel presence of traditional and increasingly informal and modern elements in all spheres of life – in the private, public, social and economic spheres, and especially in the formation of space. The demise of the *industrial city*<sup>1</sup> on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, "... has created different local societies and relationships, the dissolution of territorial ties, distinction of the 'Global Market', has weakened the nation-states and modified the roles in the production of wealth, giving more value to local heritage in its environmental, cultural, and identity components" (PACE, 2002).

Thus, if we analyse contemporary socio-demographic processes in coastal cities on the Croatian side of the Adriatic, in addition to considering the consequences of changes in the social and economic system during the 1990's, as well as the effects of the war, we also need to focus on various types and directions of migration in the examined area. These include: several decades of migration to the coastal cities from the islands or immediate hinterlands that gravitate to them, in-migration from other regions in Croatia or directly from abroad, and finally out-migration from these cities to their immediate surrounding areas, to other places in Croatia, or else emigration abroad.

Croatian coastal cities, spatially, enter into the category of so-called partially peripheral regions (LEONTIDOU, 1996), which in geographic, socio-economic and cultural terms constitute so-called in-between spaces. In many of their aspects such spaces are located somewhere in-between familiar dichotomies such as *community* and *society* in sociology, the concepts of core and periphery or development and underdevelopment in political science, and the notions of urban or rural and modern or traditional in urban theory (PACE, 2002).

Taking into consideration a well-known thesis proposed by urban historians, according to which one of the basic traits of urbanisation is its discontinuity (DE LANDA, 2002), by briefly presenting some details on the histories of selected

<sup>1</sup> Činjenica koja se dogodila u prvoj polovici 1990-ih u većini obalnih gradova na hrvatskoj obali Jadranskog mora.

<sup>1</sup> A fact that took place in the first half of the 1990's in most cities along the Croatian coast of the Adriatic Sea.

urbaniteta mijenjao se tijekom povijesti. Vjerojatno najstariji grad na ovom području je Zadar (lat. *Iadera*), koji se razvio još u željezno doba kao liburnijsko naselje na rubu vrlo plodnoga poljoprivrednog područja u Dalmaciji. Od srednjeg vijeka pa sve donedavno Zadar je predstavljao interesnu zonu za Bizant, Veneciju, srednjovjekovnu Hrvatsku, Hrvatsko-Ugarsko Kraljevstvo, Habsburšku Monarhiju, Italiju i Jugoslaviju. Prvi značajniji prekid kontinuiteta njegova razvoja dogodio se 1202., kada su vojske Četvrtoga križarskog rata zauzele i opljačkale Zadar po nalogu Venecije, izazvavši egzodus stanovništva u obližnji Biograd (tal. poznat kao *Zaravecchia*).<sup>2</sup> U razdoblju od 12. do 16. stoljeća pod utjecajem razvoja trgovine na Mediteranu javljaju se gospodarski jaki pomorsko-trgovački gradovi, među kojima je na hrvatskoj obali najrazvijeniji Dubrovnik. Za razliku od Zadra, Dubrovnik nije imao bogato poljoprivredno zaleđe, stoga je bio prisiljen gospodarski se okrenuti moru. Svoju najveću ekspanziju doživljava u 15. i 16. stoljeću, s razvijenom snažnom pomorskom trgovinom i mornaricom, nakon čega nastupa stoljeće stagnacije. Ponovni snažniji sociodemografski razvoj Dubrovnik doživljava u 18. stoljeću, pod uzletom slobodne trgovine i manufakturne proizvodnje, koje potiču naseljavanje trgovaca u lučke gradove, njihovu izgradnju i povezivanje dobrim cestama sa zaleđem. U vrijeme stagnacije Dubrovnika, a pod političkim utjecajem Habsburške Monarhije, započinje snažan razvoj Rijeke kao lučkog grada. U isto vrijeme i Split i Šibenik zbog svojih luka dobivaju važno mjesto na trgovačkim putovima Mletaka. Novija povijest pokazuje da – bez obzira na ekonomske uzlete i padove hrvatskih gradova na obali Jadrana uzrokovane političkim promjenama, porastom broja stanovnika, mijenjanjem stupnja njihove atraktivnosti kao doseljeničke destinacije ili izvorišta iseljavanja, arhitektonskim zahvatima i širenjem izvan prostora starih gradskih jezgri unutar zidina srednjovjekovnoga grada – samo Pula i Rijeka u 19. stoljeću započinju intenzivniji

<sup>2</sup> Posljednji veliki prekid u kontinuitetu razvoja grada dogodio se u 20. stoljeću. Nakon Prvoga svjetskog rata, Zadar je Rapalskim ugovorom (1920.) pripao Italiji, čime je izdvojen od svog zaleđa. U posljednjim godinama Drugoga svjetskog rata (1943.-1944.) savezničke snage bombardirale su grad 30 do 50 puta, što je rezultiralo uništenjem gotovo 80% gradske povijesne jezgre i iseljavanjem većine njegovih stanovnika. Nakon što je Zadar postao dio Jugoslavije, 1945. većina preostalog stanovništva optirala je za Italiju.

Croatian coastal cities we wish to confirm the fact of non-linearity in their urban development.

First of all, it is important to note that the Croatian Adriatic is a region with a long urban tradition. Many cities were founded here as early as in the Greek and Roman eras, and the degree of their urban continuity changed through history. Probably the oldest city in this area is Zadar (*Iadera* in Latin), which developed in the Iron Age as a Liburnian settlement on the edge of one of the most fertile agricultural areas in Dalmatia. In later times, from the Middle Ages to the recent past, this city was regularly a bone of contention between the major powers on the Adriatic (Byzantium, Venice, Mediaeval Croatia, the Hungarian-Croatian Dominion, the Habsburg Monarchy, Italy, Yugoslavia). The first major break in its continuity occurred in 1202, when the armies of the Fourth Crusade seized and looted the city in the interest of Venice, provoking a mass exodus of its population to nearby Biograd (known to this day in Italian as *Zaravecchia*, or "Old Zadar").<sup>2</sup> Otherwise, due to expanding commerce in the Mediterranean, the period from the 12<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> century witnessed the emergence of economically powerful maritime trading cities. Among them, Dubrovnik would become the most developed on the Croatian coast. In contrast to Zadar, this city initially did not have a particularly rich agricultural hinterland, and thus had to turn to the sea. Dubrovnik experienced its greatest expansion in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century, when it developed strong maritime trade links and a large navy. This was followed by a century of stagnation. However in the 18<sup>th</sup> century the city entered into a new period of intense socio-economic development, due to the rise of free trade and manufacturing, which stimulated the settlement of traders in harbour towns, as well as urban construction in these towns and the building of good roads linking them to their hinterlands. In the meantime, in the period when Dubrovnik was in stagnation, under the political influence of the Habsburg Monarchy Rijeka began to develop intensely as a port city. At the same time, Split and Šibenik, owing to their harbours, acquired important positions along Venice's trade routes. Yet

<sup>2</sup> The last major break in continuity occurred in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. First, following WWI, Zadar was given to Italy by the Treaty of Rapallo (1920) which turned it into an isolate separated from its hinterland, and then, in the last years of WWII (1943-1944), the city was bombed by Anglo-American forces 30-50 times, which resulted in the destruction of about 80% of its historical centre and in the flight of most of its previous inhabitants. Finally, after the city was united with Socialist Yugoslavia in 1945, most of the remaining inhabitants opted to emigrate to Italy.

gospodarski i demografski rast.<sup>3</sup> Drugi obalni gradovi značajniji razvoj doživljavaju tek nakon Drugoga svjetskog rata, poglavito zahvaljujući urbano lociranoj industrijalizaciji, te razvoju turizma i drugih tercijarnih djelatnosti pod utjecajem litoralizacije.

Urbanizacijske procese u Hrvatskoj u poslijeratnom razdoblju karakterizira snažna ovisnost o razvoju većih urbanih i gospodarskih središta. U prostornoj raspodjeli gradskog stanovništva, usprkos razvijenoj mreži, manja gradska naselja imala su vrlo ograničeno značenje zbog izrazite tendencije koncentracije stanovništva u većim i velikim gradovima (ŽULJIĆ, 1976.). Međutim, s društvenim i gospodarskim napretkom jačaju tendencije dekoncentracije stanovništva i decentralizacije radnih mjesta iz velikih gradova u okolicu, pa raste značenje manjih gradova u okolici koji postaju nositelji pozitivnih demografskih procesa (KLEMPIĆ BOGADI, 2008.).

U radu se razmatraju suvremene sociodemografske značajke i procesi – brojčano kretanje stanovništva između popisa 1948. i 2001., prirodno i mehaničko kretanje, dobni sastav i sastav kućanstava u šest izabranih obalnih gradova Hrvatske. Izabrani su gradovi koji se ističu svojom veličinom i funkcijama, a to su Split i Rijeka kao makroregionalna središta te Pula, Zadar, Šibenik i Dubrovnik kao regionalna središta primorskog dijela Hrvatske. U ovih šest naselja koja čine 1% ukupnoga broja priobalnih naselja, 2001. živjelo je čak 53,7% ukupnoga stanovništva naselja uz obalu (MIŠETIĆ, 2006.). Uz demografsku analizu, pozornost je usmjerena i na sociološke aspekte posljedica prirodnog i mehaničkog kretanja u promatranom prostoru i to, ponajprije, na promjene načina života članova kućanstava i posljedice starenja.

Usvrhu boljeg razumijevanja sociodemografske analize u radu, potrebno je navesti nekoliko metodoloških napomena.

1. Zbog izmijenjene metodologije, rezultati popisa stanovništva 2001. nisu u potpunosti usporedivi s rezultatima popisa provedenih od 1948. do 1991. godine. Budući da je DZS obradio i podatke popisa 2001. prema metodologiji popisa 1991., tim smo se podacima koristili pri analizi kretanja broja stanovnika i izračunu migracijskog salda.

<sup>3</sup> U 19. stoljeću Rijeka je prema važnosti nadmašila Senj i postala dominantno središte sjevernog dijela jadranske obale Hrvatske.

recent history shows that despite various economic upswings and declines in the cities along the Croatian Adriatic coast (caused by political changes, growth of the number of their inhabitants, shifts in their attractiveness as in-migration destinations or as sources of out-migration, by architectural interventions and by spatial expansion beyond old city cores within Mediaeval town walls), during the 19<sup>th</sup> century – among all these cities – only Pula and Rijeka entered into a phase of intense economic and demographic growth.<sup>3</sup> The other coastal cities experienced more intense development only after World War II, primarily as a result of industrialisation in urban areas, and the expansion of tourism and other tertiary activities associated with the process of littoralisation.

Urbanisation processes in Croatia in the period after World War II were characterised by a strong emphasis on the development of larger urban centres and key economic localities. Despite good networks, smaller towns had very limited importance in the spatial distribution of the urban population, due to a distinct trend towards concentrating the population in large towns, or in the largest cities (ŽULJIĆ, 1976). However, further social and economic development resulted in an ever greater tendency to disperse the population and to decentralise jobs from major cities to adjacent areas. As a result the importance of smaller neighbouring towns increased, to the point that they became agents of positive demographic processes (KLEMPIĆ BOGADI, 2008).

This paper examines contemporary socio-demographic characteristics and processes in six selected coastal cities in Croatia. We will describe the numerical development of their populations between the 1948 and 2001 censuses, natural and mechanical population changes, and the age and household structures of their populations. These selected cities stand out either in size, or by their functions: namely Split and Rijeka are macroregional centres, and Pula, Zadar, Šibenik and Dubrovnik are regional centres along Croatia's coast. These six settlements make up only 1% of the total sum of coastal settlements, yet in 2001 they accounted for as much as 53.7% of the total population of the coastal area (MIŠETIĆ, 2006). In addition to analysing the demographic data, we will focus our attention on certain sociological aspects resulting from natural and mechanical trends in the examined period, especially with regard to changes

<sup>3</sup> In the 19<sup>th</sup> century Rijeka finally surpassed Senj in importance, as the dominant centre on the Northern Adriatic coast of Croatia.

2. Pri računanju migracijskog salda 1961.-2001. bilo je potrebno koristiti se podacima prirodnoga kretanja stanovništva. Budući da su do 1997. u podatke o prirodnom kretanju bili uračunati vitalni događaji stanovništva u inozemstvu, podacima o prirodnom kretanju stanovništva u zemlji 1998., 1999. i 2000. dodali smo, za stanovništvo u inozemstvu, procijenjeni broj živorođenih i umrlih.

3. Pri obradi podataka iz sekundarnih izvora bilo je mnogo teškoća, koje su uglavnom proizlazile iz teritorijalne neusporedivosti podataka raznih popisa stanovništva, jer su obalni gradovi u promatranom razdoblju više puta mijenjali teritorijalno-administrativne granice. Godine 1996. iz naselja Pula izdvojena su naselja Pješćana Uvala, Valbonaša, Vinkuran i Vintjan. Kako u svim promatranim popisima niti u prirodnom kretanju nismo mogli izdvojiti podatke koji se odnosi na ta naselja, nismo mogli svesti podatke na novo stanje pa smo ova naselja, radi usporedivosti, pribrojili Puli. Takav je slučaj i kod Rijeke, iz koje su se 1996. izdvojila naselja općine Kostrena (Doričići, Dujmići, Glavani, Kostrena Sv. Barbara, Kostrena Sv. Lucija, Maračići, Martinšćica, Paveki, Perovići, Plešići, Randići, Rožići, Rožmanići, Šodići, Šoići, Urinj, Vrh Martinšćice, Žuknica i Žurkovo) i naselje Lopača, koja smo pribrojili Rijeci. Iz Dubrovnika se izdvojilo 16 naselja općine Župa Dubrovačka (Brašina, Brgat Donji, Brgat Gornji, Buići, Čelopeci, Čibača, Grbavac, Kupari, Makoše, Martinovići, Mlini, Petrača, Plat, Soline, Srebreno, Zavrelje) kao i naselja Bosanka, Čajkovića, Čajkovići, Donje Obuljeno, Gornje Obuljeno, Knežica, Komolac, Mokošica, Nova Mokošica, Pobrežje, Prijedor, Rožat, Sustjepan i Šumet koji su uračunati u prirodno kretanje Dubrovnika od 1981. do 1996., i u broju stanovnika 1981. i 1991. Budući da nije moguće svesti podatke na današnji teritorijalni obuhvat Dubrovnika, ova smo naselja pribrojili ukupnom stanovništvu Dubrovnika.

in the lifestyles of household members and involving the effects of ageing.

So that readers can better understand the socio-demographic analysis in this paper, we must provide a few methodological explanations.

1. Due to the introduction of a new census methodology, the results of the census of 2001 are not fully comparable to the results of censuses taken between 1948 and 1991. Since the Central Bureau of Statistics processed the data for 2001 also according to the methodology of the 1991 census, we used this data to analyse trends in population size and to calculate migration balances.

2. In calculating migration balances in the interval 1961–2001, it was necessary to use data on natural population trends. Since until 1997 data on natural population trends included vital statistics pertaining to the population residing abroad, we incorporated estimations of the number of live births and deaths abroad into the figures on natural population trends in the country in 1998, 1999 and 2000.

3. While working with data from secondary sources many problems arose, mainly due to the territorial incompatibility of statistics from various population censuses. Namely, in the examined period the coastal cities changed their territorial-administrative borders several times. In 1996 the settlements Pješćana Uvala, Valbonaša, Vinkuran and Vintjan were detached from the city of Pula. Since we could not extract data on these settlements either from the examined censuses or from the statistics on natural population trends, for comparative reasons we grouped these settlements together with Pula. The situation was the same in the case of Rijeka. We therefore grouped together with Rijeka settlements in the municipality of Kostrena (Doričići, Dujmići, Glavani, Kostrena Sv. Barbara, Kostrena Sv. Lucija, Maračići, Martinšćica, Paveki, Perovići, Plešići, Randići, Rožići, Rožmanići, Šodići, Šoići, Urinj, Vrh Martinšćica, Žuknica and Žurkovo), and the settlement Lopača, which were detached from Rijeka in 1996. Similarly, the territory of Dubrovnik was reduced after the separation of 16 settlements located in the municipality of Župa Dubrovačka (Brašina, Brgat Donji, Brgat Gornji, Buići, Čelopeci, Čibača, Grbavac, Kupari, Makoše, Martinovići, Mlini, Petrača, Plat, Soline, Srebreno and Zavrelje), and 14 other neighbouring settlements (Bosanka, Čajkovića, Čajkovići, Donje Obuljeno, Gornje Obuljeno, Knežica, Komolac, Mokošica, Nova Mokošica, Pobrežje, Prijedor, Rožat, Sustjepan and Šumet). All these localities had previously been included in the figures on natural population trends in Dubrovnik from 1981 to 1996,

## Ukupno kretanje broja stanovnika obalnih gradova

Analizirajući intenzitet urbanizacije u Hrvatskoj, zamjećujemo izražene regionalne razlike. U primorskom dijelu taj je proces bio znatno brži i dinamičniji nego u kontinentalnom, jer su nepovoljni prirodni uvjeti (nedostatak i siromaštvo agrarnih površina i prevlast krša) poticajno djelovali na socijalno prestrukturiranje i preseljavanje poljoprivrednoga stanovništva u gradove na obali (ROGIĆ, 1970; VRESK, 1985, 1992.). Forsirana industrijalizacija, razvoj turizma i drugih uslužnih djelatnosti u uvjetima litoralizacije usmjerili su težište razvoja na obalne prostore. Takav društveno-gospodarski razvoj pozitivno se odrazio na populacijski razvoj priobalnih gradova koje u razdoblju od 1948. do 1991. karakterizira kontinuirani porast broja stanovnika, premda različitoga intenziteta u pojedinim međupopisnim razdobljima.

Gradovi riječke makroregije, poglavito Rijeka i Pula, u usporedbi s onima splitske, znatno su se ranije razvili kao gospodarski centri iskoristivši prednosti svoga geoprometnog položaja (MILIĆ, 2006.). Sredinom 19. stoljeća Pula postaje glavna austrijska ratna luka što, uz izgradnju željezničke pruge prema Trstu i Beču, znatno pridonosi gospodarskom jačanju grada. Mogućnost zaposlenja privukla je velik broj doseljenika, pa se u razdoblju od 1857. do 1900. udeseterostručio broj stanovnika grada. Istodobno, i u Rijeci se intenzivno razvijaju lučke funkcije, industrija i trgovina. Time Rijeka postaje glavna luka ugarskog dijela Monarhije, i 1873. željeznicom se povezuje s Karlovcem, Zagrebom i Budimpeštom<sup>4</sup>. Godine 1910. Rijeka ima 67 875 stanovnika, Pula 59 610, dok najveći grad u Dalmaciji, Split, tada broji svega 21 738 stanovnika.

U Dalmaciji, u razdoblju od 1857. do 1921., usporedimo li Dubrovnik, Šibenik i Zadar pa čak i Split, nije bilo znatnije razlike u prirodnom i mehaničkom kretanju stanovništva (FRIGANOVIĆ, 1992.). Tek nakon Prvoga svjetskoga rata, zbog pripajanja Zadra Italiji, Split postaje sjedište Primorske banovine, što znači upravni centar

<sup>4</sup> U sastavu Translajtanijske, "mađarskog" dijela Habsburške Monarhije, bile su "Zemlje Krune Sv. Stjepana", odnosno Kraljevstvo Hrvatske i Slavonije, te Rijeka kao izvojen prostor (*corpus separatum*). Glavna luka Cislajtanijske, austrijskog dijela Monarhije, bio je Trst. U tom kontekstu, razvoj Pule kao zajedničke vojne luke između civilnih luka Rijeke i Trsta bio je logičan.

and in the number of the city's inhabitants in 1981 and 1991. Since it was not possible to trim down our data to the present administrative confines of Dubrovnik, we grouped these settlements into the overall population of Dubrovnik.

## Total population dynamics of the coastal cities

When analysing the intensity of urbanisation in Croatia we can notice regional differences. In the coastal part of Croatia this process was much faster and more dynamic than in the continental part, since adverse natural conditions (insufficient and poor agricultural lands, with a predominance of carst) had a motivating effect on social restructuring and on the transfer of the agricultural population to the coastal cities (ROGIĆ, 1970; VRESK, 1985 and 1991). Forced industrialisation, the development of tourism and other service activities in conditions of littoralisation directed the focus of development to the coastal cities. Such socio-economic development had a positive impact on the demographics of the coastal cities, which in the period from 1948 to 1991 were characterised by a continuous growth of their populations, although at various paces in individual intercensus periods.

Cities in the Rijeka macroregion, primarily Rijeka and Pula, in comparison to cities in the Split macroregion, developed much earlier as economic centres, taking advantage of their geo-communicational position (MILIĆ, 2006). In the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century Pula became the main military port of the Habsburg Monarchy, which together with the construction of the railway from Trieste to Vienna, significantly contributed to the economic growth of the town. The possibility of employment attracted a large number of immigrants. As a result, in the period from 1857 to 1900 the population of Pula increased ten times. Simultaneously, Rijeka intensely developed its harbour functions, its industry and trade. It became the main port of the Transleithanian half of the Monarchy, and in 1873 was linked by rail to Karlovac, Zagreb and Budapest.<sup>4</sup> And thus in 1910 Rijeka had 67,875 inhabitants, Pula had 59,610, while at that time the largest city in Dalmatia, Split, had only 21,738 inhabitants.

<sup>4</sup> Transleithania, or the "Hungarian" part of the Habsburg Monarchy included the "Lands of the Crown of St. Stephen", i.e. the Kingdom of Hungary, the autonomous Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia, and Rijeka as a separate body (*corpus separatum*). The main port of Cisleithania, or the Austrian part of the Monarchy, was Trieste. And hence the development of Pula, as a joint military port, between Rijeka and Trieste as civil ports, appears logical.

cijele Dalmacije, a zbog pripajanja Rijeke Italiji i vodeća luka. Raste mu značenje kao središta regije, što pozitivno utječe na njegov gospodarski i demografski razvoj. Nepovoljne društveno-političke prilike u razdoblju između dvaju svjetskih ratova negativno su se odrazile na demografski razvoj gradova riječke makroregije, i to poglavito Pule (Šić, 1976.). Ratna stradanja i poratno iseljavanje osjetno su brojčano oslabili grad pa je 1948. Pula imala dvostruko manje stanovnika nego u prethodnom popisu (1931. 44 568, 1948. 21 065). Iako je između 1948. i 1953. među promatranim gradovima imala najvišu stopu rasta 6,0%, Pula nije uspjela dosegnuti predratni broj stanovnika (Tab. 1.).

Iz analize dinamike kretanja broja stanovnika promatranih gradova nakon Drugoga svjetskoga rata uočavamo da su najviše stope rasta zabilježene u razdoblju od 1953. do 1971. godine, u vrijeme intenzivnih procesa industrijalizacije, litoralizacije, urbanizacije, deagrarizacije i deruralizacije. U međupopisnom razdoblju 1953.-1961. stopa prosječnoga godišnjeg rasta stanovništva kretala se od najniže, 2,28%, u Dubrovniku do čak 4,98% u Zadru. U ovom razdoblju Zadar i Šibenik rasli su čak brže od Splita. Mogućnost zaposlenja u gradu privukla je velik broj doseljenika iz okolice, ali i iz udaljenijih područja Hrvatske i bivše Jugoslavije. Osim zaposlenja, mogućnost rješavanja stambenog pitanja kroz društvenu izgradnju bila je ključni čimbenik privlačnosti gradova doseljenicima (KLEMPIĆ, 2004.).

Privrednom reformom 1960-ih godina počinju ulaganja u razvoj lake industrije i turizma, što je imalo važnu ulogu u rastu gradskih naselja na obali (POPOVSKI, 1990). Između 1961. i 1971. i dalje je najbrže rastao Zadar (4,96%), a najsporije Šibenik (1,77%), koji u ovom razdoblju počinje gospodarski ali i demografski zaostajati za većim, znatno propulzivnijim centrima u splitskoj makroregiji.

Iako rast gradskog stanovništva Hrvatske u razdoblju 1971.-1981. usporava, prosječna godišnja stopa rasta još je uvijek visoka i iznosi 2,9% (VRESK, 1996). Iznimka nisu bili ni obalni gradovi Pula, Rijeka, Šibenik i Dubrovnik, u kojima također dolazi do smanjene dinamike porasta u usporedbi s prethodnim razdobljem. Međutim, dalmatinski gradovi Split (3,11%) i Zadar (3,32%), iako slabije u odnosu na prethodno razdoblje, bilježe rast iznad prosjeka gradskog stanovništva Hrvatske, što možemo objasniti napretkom turizma i lošom agrarnom politikom

In Dalmatia, if we compare Dubrovnik, Šibenik, Zadar, and even Split, we can note that there were no significant differences in the natural and mechanical population trends of these cities in the period from 1857 to 1921 (FRIGANOVIĆ, 1992). The importance of Split increased only after World War I. Since Zadar had been given to Italy, Split became the centre of the Littoral Banovina, which means that it became the administrative centre of all of Dalmatia (and of a part of present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina). After the Italian annexation of Rijeka, it also became the main port of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (later renamed Yugoslavia). On the other hand, unfavourable socio-political conditions in the period between the two world wars had a negative effect on the demographic development of cities in Rijeka's macroregion, primarily in the case of Pula (Šić, 1976). Later, destruction during World War II and emigration after the war significantly weakened the city's population, so that in 1948 Pula had only half the number of inhabitants that it had in the previous census (44,568 in 1931 and 21,065 in 1948). Although between 1948 and 1953 Pula had the greatest growth rate of all our examined cities (6.0%), it did not reach its pre-war population size (Tab. 1).

The analysis of population trends in the examined cities after the World War II shows that the greatest growth rates were recorded from 1953 to 1971, in the period of intense industrialisation, littoralisation, urbanisation, deagrarisation and deruralisation. In the intercensus period 1953-1961 average annual growth rates of the population varied between a low point of 2.28% in Dubrovnik and a high point of 4.98% in Zadar. In this period Zadar and Šibenik expanded even faster than Split. The possibility of employment in coastal cities attracted large numbers of in-migrants from surrounding areas, but also from more distant parts of Croatia and former Yugoslavia. In addition to employment, the possibility of solving housing problems through social construction plans was a key factor determining the attractiveness of cities for in-migrants (KLEMPIĆ, 2004).

The economic reform of the 1960's marked the beginning of investments into the development of light industry and tourism, which had an important role in the growth of urban settlements on the coast (POPOVSKI, 1990). Between 1961 and 1971 Zadar continued to grow at the fastest rate (4.96%). The slowest growth rate was in Šibenik (1.77%), which during that period began to lag economically and demographically behind larger and much more propulsive centres in the Split macroregion.



Tablica 1. Kretanje broja stanovnika Splita, Rijeke, Pule, Zadra, Šibenika i Dubrovnika u razdoblju od 1948. do 2001. godine

Table 1 Changes in the number of inhabitants in Split, Rijeka, Pula, Zadar, Šibenik and Dubrovnik in the period 1948–2001.

Godina	Split			Rijeka			Pula		
	Broj stanovnika	Lančani indeks	Stopa prosječne god. promjene	Broj stanovnika	Lančani indeks	Stopa prosječne god. promjene	Broj stanovnika	Lančani indeks	Stopa prosječne god. promjene
Year	Number of inhabitants	Chain index	Average annual rate of change	Number of inhabitants	Chain index	Average annual rate of change	Number of inhabitants	Chain index	Average annual rate of change
1948.	50 075	-	-	68 780	-	-	21 065	-	-
1953.	60 703	121,2	3,84	75 328	109,5	1,82	28 512	135,4	6,0
1961.	80 902	133,3	3,57	100 989	134,1	3,64	37 403	131,2	3,37
1971.	123 756	153,0	4,19	132 222	130,9	2,68	47 498	127,0	2,38
1981.	169 322	136,8	3,11	159 433	120,6	1,87	56 153	118,2	1,67
1991.	189 388	111,9	1,12	167 964	105,4	0,52	62 378	111,1	1,05
2001.*	176 392	93,1	-0,71	149 105	88,8	-1,19	60 220	96,5	-0,35
2001.	175 140	92,5	-0,78	147 768	88,0	-1,28	59 850	96,0	-0,41

Godina	Zadar			Šibenik			Dubrovnik		
	Broj stanovnika	Lančani indeks	Stopa prosječne god. promjene	Broj stanovnika	Lančani indeks	Stopa prosječne god. promjene	Broj stanovnika	Lančani indeks	Stopa prosječne god. promjene
Year	Number of inhabitants	Chain index	Average annual rate of change	Number of inhabitants	Chain index	Average annual rate of change	Number of inhabitants	Chain index	Average annual rate of change
1948.	16 019	-	-	16 123	-	-	19 773	-	-
1953.	18 243	113,9	2,60	18 718	116,1	2,98	22 365	113,1	2,47
1961.	27 324	149,8	4,98	25 645	137,0	3,90	26 845	120,0	2,28
1971.	45 329	165,9	4,96	30 637	119,5	1,77	34 804	129,7	2,58
1981.	63 364	139,8	3,32	36 952	120,6	1,87	43 990	126,4	2,33
1991.	76 343	120,5	1,86	41 012	111,0	1,04	49 728	113,0	1,23
2001.*	70 494	92,3	-0,80	37 489	91,4	-0,90	47 609	95,7	-0,44
2001.	69 556	91,1	-0,93	37 060	90,4	-1,01	46 882	94,3	-0,59

\* Posebno obrađeni podatci DZS prema metodologiji popisa 1991.

Izvor: Naselja i stanovništvo RH 1857.-2001., CD ROM, DZS, Zagreb, Posebno obrađeni podatci, DZS, Zagreb

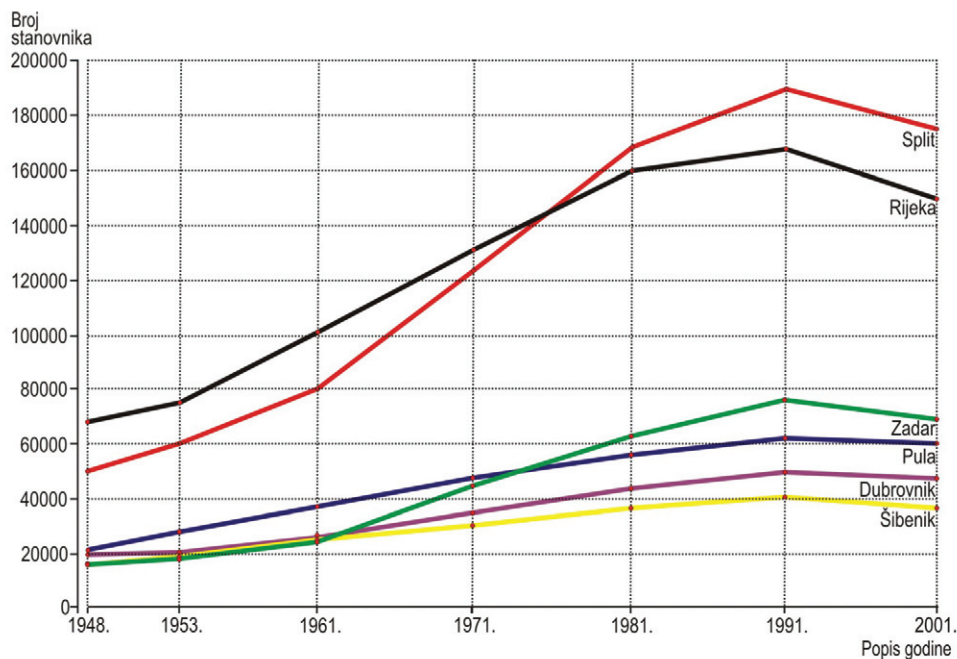
\* Data processed by the Central Bureau of Statistics according to the methodology of the 1991 census.

Source: *Naselja i stanovništvo RH 1857-2001*, CD ROM, DZS, Zagreb; specially processed data by the Central Bureau of Statistics, DZS, Zagreb

koja je ubrzala deagrarijaciju i deruralizaciju, pa je intenzitet doseljavanja i dalje bio jak (POPOVSKI, 1990; KLEMPIĆ, 2004.).

Između 1981. i 1991. uočljiv je daljnji trend snižavanja stope rasta obalnih gradova, koja je u ovom periodu u skladu sa stopom rasta ukupnoga gradskog stanovništva od 1,1%, uz

Although the growth of the urban population in Croatia began to lose pace in the period 1971–1981, the average annual growth rate was still high, namely 2.9% (VRESK, 1996). The coastal cities Pula, Rijeka, Šibenik and Dubrovnik were no exceptions in this regard. Their growth dynamics also began to slow down in comparison to the previous period. However, the Dalmatian cities Split (3.11%) and Zadar



Slika 1. Kretanje broja stanovnika obalnih gradova u razdoblju 1948.-2001.

Figure 1 Changes in the number of inhabitants in coastal cities in the period 1948–2001.

iznimku Zadra s nešto većim porastom (1,86%). Sporija dinamika rasta stanovništva obalnih, ali i ostalih gradova u Hrvatskoj rezultat je smanjenja prirodnog prirasta i slabljenja preseljavanja iz sela u grad, jer su ruralni krajevi do tada već jako depopulirali i na taj su način gotovo presušili izvori potencijalnih migranata sa sela. Osim toga, u ovom razdoblju veći dio doseljeničkih tokova usmjeren je prema naseljima okolice, jača dnevna pokretljivost stanovništva iz okolice u grad, što za posljedicu ima širenje prigradskih urbaniziranih zona (VRESK, 1993.).

Nakon razdoblja kontinuiranog porasta stanovništva, u posljednjemu međupopisnom razdoblju, 1991.-2001., prvi put nakon Drugoga svjetskog rata obalni gradovi bilježe smanjenje broja stanovnika. Split, Pula, Dubrovnik, Zadar i Šibenik izgubili su između 3 i 9% stanovnika u odnosu na 1991. U istom razdoblju Rijeka pokazuje najjaču populacijsku regresiju, -11,2%. Razloge tome pronalazimo u nepovoljnom prirodnom kretanju i jačem iseljavanju nego doseljavanju. Na iseljavanje utječe teška gospodarska situacija u zemlji i promjena političkog sustava (raspadom SFRJ iz gradova, posebice jačih vojnih centara Rijeke, Pule i Splita, iseljavaju djelatnici JNA i dio pripadnika srpske manjine). U ovom razdoblju intenzivira se

(3.32%), although at lower levels than in the previous period, registered growth rates above the average for Croatia's urban population. This can be explained by advancements in the tourist industry and by a bad agricultural policy, which hastened deagrarianisation and deruralisation, so that migration to the cities remained intense (POPOVSKI, 1990; KLEMPIĆ, 2004).

Between 1981 and 1991 the trend towards reduction of the growth rates in coastal cities was clearly evident. In this period growth rates of the coastal cities were in accord with the overall urban growth rate in Croatia (1.1%), with the exception of Zadar, which had a slightly higher rate of growth (1.86%). Slower population dynamics in the coastal cities, as well as in other Croatian cities, was the outcome of a decline in natural growth and also the result of decreasing rural-urban migration, due to the fact that rural areas were by now very depopulated and thus sources of potential rural migrants had virtually dried up. In addition, a larger part of migration flows in this period were directed to neighbouring settlements; daily population mobility between suburban and urban areas increased, which led to the expansion of the suburban urbanised zones (VRESK, 1993).

After years of continuous population growth, during the most recent intercensus period, 1991–2001, for the first time after WWII the coastal cities registered a drop in their populations. Split, Pula,

i iseljavanje stanovništva iz centralnih gradova u okolicu kao rezultat tendencija jačanja procesa suburbanizacije, što se pozitivno odrazilo na populacijski rast prigradskih naselja.

### Prirodno kretanje stanovništva obalnih gradova

Migracijska kretanja iz sela u gradove pridonijela su jačanju prirodne dinamike stanovništva gradskih naselja, čime su ona postala težište bioreprodukcije Hrvatske iako za to nisu bila pripremljena (NEJAŠMIĆ, 2008.). No, seosko stanovništvo vrlo brzo nakon dolaska u grad, zbog promjene uvjeta i načina života, mijenja svoje reprodukcijско ponašanje i poprima obrazac rađanja gradskog stanovništva (manji broj djece), što rezultira opadajućom bioreprodukcijom ukupnog stanovništva. Ipak, intenzivno doseljavanje uglavnom mladoga reproduktivnog stanovništva pozitivno se odrazilo na prirodno kretanje stanovništva obalnih gradova 1960-ih i 1970-ih (Tab. 2.). Već 1980-ih ulaskom Hrvatske u posttranzicijsku etapu demografskog razvoja postaje uočljiva tendencija kontinuiranog smanjenja prirodnog prirasta kao posljedice smanjenja nataliteta i blagog porasta mortaliteta poradi sniženog

Dubrovnik, Zadar and Šibenik lost between 3% and 9% of their populations relative to 1991. In the same period, the greatest population regression was recorded in Rijeka, -11.2%. We may attribute this change to slow natural growth and to stronger out-migration than in-migration. Out-migration was effected by the difficult economic situation in the country and by the change in the political system (following the break-up of Socialist Yugoslavia, employees of the Yugoslav People's Army departed from major military centres such as Rijeka, Pula and Split, and a part of the Serb ethnic minority also left the cities). In this period out-migration from the central cities to their adjacent areas also intensified, as a result of the increasing tendency towards suburbanisation, which had a positive effect on population growth in suburban settlements.

### Natural population trends in the coastal cities

Migration flows from rural areas to cities contributed to strengthening natural population dynamics in urban settlements, which consequently became the focal point of Croatia's bioreproduction, although they were not prepared for this role (NEJAŠMIĆ, 2008). For after migration to cities, due to different conditions and ways of life, the rural population very quickly changes its reproductive behaviour and

Tablica 2. Prirodno kretanje stanovništva obalnih gradova od 1964. do 2000. godine  
Table 2 Natural population trends in the coastal cities from 1964 to 2000.

Grad	1964.-1970.			1971.-1980.			1981.-1990.			1991.-2000.*		
	N	M	PP	N	M	PP	N	M	PP	N	M	PP
City	1964-1970			1971-1980			1981-1990			1991-2000*		
	Births	Deaths	Natural growth	Births	Deaths	Natural growth	Birth rate	Deaths	Natural growth	Births	Deaths	Natural growth
Split**	15 955	5 774	10 181	32 534	10 923	21 611	25 832	12 053	13 779	21 669	15 032	6 637
Rijeka	12 602	5 757	6 845	23 917	10 534	13 383	21 604	13 445	8 159	13 978	15 694	-1 716
Pula	5 122	2 026	3 096	8 433	3 385	5 048	7 643	4 270	3 373	5 576	5 385	191
Zadar	5 517	1 366	4 151	10 819	2 452	8 367	10 396	3 880	6 516	8 028	5 044	2 984
Šibenik	3 291	1 374	1 917	5 944	2 475	3 469	5 588	3 212	2 376	4 294	3 629	665
Dubrovnik	3 699	1 979	1 720	6 882	3 334	3 548	6 572	4 088	2 484	5 465	4 774	691

\* 1998., 1999., 2000. autorice su procijenile vitalne događaje za stanovništvo u inozemstvu

\*\* Prirodno kretanje u razdobljima 1964.-1970., 1971.-1980. odnosi se na šire područje grada Splita – Split i 16 okolnih naselja (Donje Sitno, Gornje Sitno, Kamen, Podstrana, Slatina, Stobreč, Strožanac (dio Podstrane), Srinjine, Žrnovnica, Kaštel Kambelovac, Kaštel Gomilica, Kaštel Sućurac, Mravince, Kućine, Solin i Vranjic)

\*For the years 1998, 1999 and 2000 the authors estimated the vital statistics for the population abroad

\*\*Natural population trends for the periods 1964-1970, 1971-1980 pertain to the broader area of the city of Split – i.e. Split and 16 surrounding settlements (Donje Sitno, Gornje Sitno, Kamen, Podstrana, Slatina, Stobreč, Strožanac, Strožanac /a part of Podstrane), Srinjine, Žrnovnica, Kaštel Kambelovac, Kaštel Gomilica, Kaštel Sućurac, Mravince, Kućine, Solin and Vranjic)

Izvor / Source: *Vitalna statistika 1964.-2000*, DZS, Zagreb

fertiliteta, starenja stanovništva i smanjenog doseljavanja. U posljednjem desetljeću 20. st. još jače do izražaja dolaze negativni demografski procesi, što se očituje u sve nepovoljnijem prirodnom kretanju, smanjenju broja stanovnika i starenju.

Rijeka od početka 1990-ih, a Pula, Šibenik i Dubrovnik od sredine 1990-ih bilježe veći broj umrlih nego živorođenih, što rezultira negativnom biodinamikom stanovništva. Podatci vitalne statistike iz 2000-ih pokazuju da je prirodno kretanje stanovništva obalnih gradova nepovoljno kao i u ostatku Hrvatske, pa svi gradovi, osim Zadra, imaju prirodno smanjenje broja stanovnika. Među njima, najslabiju vitalnost pokazuje stanovništvo Rijeke, koje je i bilo prvo zahvaćeno prirodnom depopulacijom pa vitalni indeks iznosi svega 65,7 (Tab. 3.). Dubrovnik (75,7), Šibenik (82,4) i Pula (82,4) također imaju nepovoljne vrijednosti vitalnog indeksa, koji pokazuje smanjujuću reprodukciju stanovništva navedenih gradova. Iako je u Splitu još početkom 2000-ih prirodna promjena bila

adopts the birthing pattern of the urban population (a smaller number of children), which brings about a reduction in the bioreproduction of the entire population. The intense in-migration of a young and reproductive population had a positive effect on natural population dynamics in coastal cities during the 1960's and 1970's (Tab. 2). But already by the 1980's, when Croatia entered into its post-transitional demographic stage, a different tendency became evident: continuous reduction of natural growth, as a result of a decline in the birth rate and a slight increase in the death rate, due to lower fertility, the ageing of the population and less in-migration. In the final decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, negative processes became even more pronounced, as was evident in increasingly unfavourable natural demographic trends, in the reduction in the size of the population, and in ageing.

More deaths than births, leading to negative population biodynamics, were registered in Rijeka from the beginning of the 1990's, and in Pula, Šibenik and Dubrovnik from the middle of the 1990's. Vital statistics for the 2000's indicate that natural population trends in the coastal cities, and

Tablica 3. Prirodno kretanje i vitalni indeks stanovništva obalnih gradova 2001.-2007.

Table 3 Natural population trends and vital indexes of the population of coastal cities, 2001 – 2007.

Godina / Year		Split	Rijeka	Pula	Zadar	Šibenik	Dubrovnik
2001.	Živorodeni / Live births	1 643	1 043	466	657	311	257
	Umrli / Deaths	1 618	1 556	594	511	326	320
	Prirodna promjena / Natural growth	25	-513	-128	146	-15	-63
2002.	Živorodeni / Live births	1 659	1 041	449	608	289	235
	Umrli / Deaths	1 608	1 619	585	520	330	333
	Prirodna promjena / Natural growth	51	-578	-136	88	-41	-98
2003.	Živorodeni / Live births	1 594	1 046	442	608	291	234
	Umrli / Deaths	1 648	1 574	591	578	384	357
	Prirodna promjena / Natural growth	-54	-528	-149	30	-93	-123
2004.	Živorodeni / Live births	1 643	1 013	504	642	290	270
	Umrli / Deaths	1 570	1 525	588	498	351	281
	Prirodna promjena / Natural growth	73	-512	-84	144	-61	-11
2005.	Živorodeni / Live births	1 689	1 045	516	702	291	251
	Umrli / Deaths	1 636	1 549	618	553	353	336
	Prirodna promjena / Natural growth	53	-504	-102	149	-62	-85
2006.	Živorodeni / Live births	1 571	1 021	544	722	271	296
	Umrli / Deaths	1 603	1 544	587	536	392	392
	Prirodna promjena / Natural growth	-32	-523	-43	186	-121	-96
2007.	Živorodeni / Live births	1 575	984	560	729	294	246
	Umrli / Deaths	1 677	1 588	662	563	335	344
	Prirodna promjena / Natural growth	-102	-604	-102	166	-41	-98
Vitalni indeks 2001.-2007.		100,1	65,7	82,4	124,2	82,4	75,7

Izvor / Source: *Vitalna statistika 1964.– 2000*, DZS, Zagreb

pozitivna, vrijednosti su bile vrlo malene pa možemo govoriti o nultom priraštaju koji je 2006. i 2007. prešao u prirodni pad. Zadar, jedini među promatranim gradovima, još uvijek ima više živorođenih nego umrlih, što rezultira vitalnim indeksom od 124,2 koji pokazuje proširenu reprodukciju stanovništva. Zanimljivo da se u Zadru u posljednjih nekoliko godina čak povećao broj živorođenih, dok broj umrlih stagnira. Razloge takvog trenda pronalazimo, osim u demografskim, i u gospodarskim prilikama, tj. u načinu na koji je Zadar izišao iz krize nastale posljedicama rata i gospodarskog zastoja. Velikim ulaganjima u gradsku infrastrukturu, izgradnjom autoceste kojom je grad spojen sa Zagrebom i Splitom, gradnjom nove luke, otvaranjem Sveučilišta, Zadar postaje nakon desetljeća stagnacije važno gospodarsko i društveno središte.

Usporedimo li vitalnost stanovništva dviju gradskih regija, Rijeke i Splita, zamjećujemo suprotne smjerove prirodnog kretanja stanovništva gradskih okolica. Dok su u splitskoj urbanoj regiji prigradska naselja nositelji pozitivne bioreprodukcije, u riječkoj urbanoj regiji naselja okolice zahvaćena su, kao i centralni grad, prirodnom depopulacijom (KLEMPIĆ BOGADI, 2008.).

### **Migracija kao najvažniji čimbenik populacijskog rasta obalnih gradova**

Kao što su brojne studije pokazale, migracija je ponajprije odgovor na stvarne i zapažene nejednakosti u socioekonomskim mogućnostima i standardu života. Danas "...te nejednakosti proistječu iz neravnomjernog razvoja jednog prostora, povratni su efekt ulaska kapitalizma u područja koja su smatrana globalnom periferijom, i pod tradicionalnim utjecajima razvoja trgovine i industrijalizacije" (ROYLE, 1999.). Prema definiciji, na periferiji "količine i učestalost razvojnih inicijativa relativno su malobrojne, a motivacija za promjenu nailazi na ozbiljne organizacijske prepreke, bilo zbog manjka ljudi, bilo zbog njihova profesionalnoga i društvenog profila kakav im ne omogućava plodnu i/ili prikladnu reakciju na eventualne razvojne ideje i inicijative." (LAY, 1998.). Upravo zbog problema višedesetljetnog praznjenja stanovništva iz zaleđa i šire okolice gradova na obali te s obližnjih otoka, sve je manje šanse za te rubne prostore da samostalno osiguraju gospodarski prosperitet, a

also in the rest of Croatia, are unfavourable. All cities, except for Zadar, are experiencing a natural reduction in their number of inhabitants. Among them, the lowest level of vitality was shown by Rijeka's population, which was effected by natural depopulation and had a vital index of only 65.7 (Tab. 3). Dubrovnik (75.7), Šibenik (82.4) and Pula (82.4) also had low vital indexes, indicating that reproduction of the populations of the mentioned cities is declining. Although at the beginning of the 2000's natural growth in Split was still positive, its levels were so low that we could label it zero growth, which in 2006 and 2007 changed to natural reduction. Of all the examined cities, Zadar was the only one in which the number of live births remained greater than the number of deaths, resulting in a vital index of 124.2, and thus indicating extended reproduction of the population. It is interesting to note that in Zadar the number of live births even increased in the last several years, while the number of deaths stagnated. The reasons for such a trend, apart from demographic factors, may be found in local economic conditions, i.e. in the way in which Zadar overcame the crisis caused by the effects of war and economic stagnation. Due to large investments in the city's infrastructure, construction of the motorway linking the city with Zagreb and Split, construction of a new harbour, establishment of a university, after a decade of stagnation Zadar became an important economic and social centre.

If we compare the population vitality of the Rijeka and Split city regions, we can note opposite natural trends in their suburban populations. While in the Split city region, suburban settlements are agents of positive bioreproduction, in the Rijeka city area both suburban settlements and the central city have been effected by natural depopulation (KLEMPIĆ BOGADI, 2008).

### **Migration as the most important factor of population growth in the coastal cities**

As many studies have shown, migration is primarily an answer to real and perceived inequalities in socio-economic opportunities and in standards of living. Today, "...these inequalities result from uneven development, in turn a function of the penetration and consolidation of capitalism in what have often been global peripheries; and under traditional regimes of mercantilism,... and industrialization" (ROYLE, 1999). By definition, on the periphery "the quantities and frequencies of development initiatives are relatively limited, and the motivation for change

sve veći pritisak na gradove u kojima se javlja velika potreba za obrazovnim institucijama, radnim mjestima, stambenom i komunalnom infrastrukturom i dr.

Na razini ponašanja, migracije s vremenom postaju strategija seljenja iz siromašnih područja prema bogatijim, u potrazi za socioekonomskom stabilnošću. Glavni utjecaj na odluku o migraciji čine radikalne promjene u očekivanjima, što čini zadovoljavajući standard života, poželjan posao i primjeren spoj dostupnih usluga i zabave. Aspiracije u društvu rastu, potrebe se razvijaju, a slabije gospodarski razvijeni prostori zaleđa srednjih ili velikih gradova na obali ili hrvatski otoci (PODGORELEC, 2008.), koji oduvijek tim gradovima gravitiraju, u sve su manjoj mogućnosti odgovoriti na nove potrebe i zahtjeve stanovnika.

U Hrvatskoj je migracija snažno povezana s procesom urbanizacije, pa je porast stanovništva hrvatskih gradova proteklih desetljeća uglavnom bio determiniran mehaničkim kretanjem stanovništva (NEJAŠMIĆ, 1988; POPOVSKI, 1990; KLEMPIĆ, 2004.). U razdoblju 1961.-1981. migracijski saldo gradskog stanovništva Hrvatske iznosio je 502 711 i u tom je razdoblju doseljavanje činilo čak 61,3% u ukupnom porastu gradskog stanovništva (NEJAŠMIĆ, 1988.). Šezdesete godine su razdoblje i intenzivnoga populacijskog rasta obalnih gradova, koji je također ostvaren poglavito pod utjecajem migracijskih kretanja (Tab. 4.). Doseljavanje je pridonijelo sa čak 74,8% porastu Splita, 70,9% Dubrovnika, 70,7% Rijeka, 69,3% Zadra i 58,2% Pule. Jedino je u Šibeniku komponenta prirodnog kretanja u porastu bila izraženija jer je migracijski saldo sudjelovao sa 45,7%, što je rezultiralo i slabijim porastom stanovništva u usporedbi s ostalim gradovima.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Zbog nepostojanja pouzdanih statističkih podataka o broju doseljenih i odseljenih stanovnika, podatke o mehaničkom kretanju izračunavamo iz razlike međupopisne promjene i prirodne promjene u određenom razdoblju.

encounters serious organisational barriers, either due to a lack of people, or due to their professional and social profile which does not enable them to productively and/or suitably react to possible ideas and initiatives regarding development." (LAY, 1998). Precisely due to the problem of several decades of depopulation in the hinterland and wider vicinity of coastal cities, as well as on nearby islands, these peripheral areas have less and less chances to secure independent economic growth, and there is increasing pressure on cities, in which there is a great need for education institutions, jobs, housing, municipal infrastructure, and similar.

On the behavioural level, migration eventually becomes a strategy for moving from poor areas towards more affluent ones in the search for socio-economic stability. The main influence on the decision to migrate is exerted by radical changes in expectations of what constitutes a satisfactory standard of living, a desirable job, an appropriate combination of accessible services and recreation (entertainment). Aspirations in society are growing, needs are expanding, whereas economically less developed areas in the hinterlands of middle and large coastal cities or on the Croatian islands (PODGORELEC, 2008), areas that have always gravitated towards these cities, are increasingly less able to satisfy the new needs and demands of their populations.

In Croatia migration has been strongly linked to the process of urbanisation, and thus population growth in Croatian cities during past decades has been determined mainly by this mechanical population flow (NEJAŠMIĆ, 1988; POPOVSKI, 1990; KLEMPIĆ, 2004). In the period 1961–1981 the migration balance of Croatia's urban population was 502,711, and in this period in-migration accounted for as much as 61.3% of the total growth of the country's urban population (NEJAŠMIĆ, 1988). The 1960's were a period of intense population growth in the coastal cities, which was accomplished primarily under the influence of migration movements (Tab. 4). In-migration contributed as much as 74.8% to the growth of Split, 70.9% in the case of Dubrovnik, 70.7% in Rijeka, 69.3% in Zadar and 58.2% in Pula. Šibenik was the only examined city in which the natural demographic component was stronger than migration; this city's migration balance was only 45.7%, which resulted in less growth of its population in comparison to the other cities.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Due to a lack of reliable statistical data on in-migrant and out-migrant populations, we have calculated figures on mechanical population flows from the differences between intercensus changes and natural changes in a given period.

Tablica 4. Migracijski saldo stanovništva obalnih gradova 1961.-2001.  
Table 4 Migration balances of the populations of coastal cities, 1961-2001.

Grad	Međupopisno razdoblje	Međupopisna promjena broja stanovnika	Prirodna promjena	Migracijski saldo	
				Apsolutni	Relativni (%) <sup>*</sup>
City	Intercensus period	Intercensus population change	Natural growth	Migration balance	
				Absolute	Relative (%) <sup>*</sup>
Rijeka <sup>**</sup>	1961.-1971.	31 233	9 165	22 068	21,9
	1971.-1981.	27 211	13 383	13 828	10,5
	1981.-1991.	8 531	8 159	372	0,2
	1991.-2001.	-18 859	-1 716	-17 143	-10,2
Split <sup>***</sup>	1961.-1971.	53 291	13 443	39 848	40,0
	1971.-1981.	52 009	21 611	30 398	19,9
	1981.-1991.	20 066	13 779	6 287	3,7
	1991.-2001.	-12 996	6 637	-19 633	-10,4
Pula <sup>****</sup>	1961.-1971.	10 095	4 216	5 879	15,7
	1971.-1981.	8 655	5 048	3 607	7,6
	1981.-1991.	6 225	3 373	2 852	5,1
	1991.-2001.	-2 158	191	-2 349	-3,8
Zadar	1961.-1971.	18 005	5 525	12 480	45,7
	1971.-1981.	18 035	8 367	9 668	21,3
	1981.-1991.	12 979	6 516	6 463	10,2
	1991.-2001.	-5 849	2 984	-8 833	-11,6
Šibenik	1961.-1971.	4 992	2 712	2 280	8,9
	1971.-1981.	6 315	3 469	2 846	9,3
	1981.-1991.	4 060	2 376	1 684	4,6
	1991.-2001.	-3 523	665	-4 188	-10,2
Dubrovnik <sup>*****</sup>	1961.-1971.	7 959	2 317	5 642	21,0
	1971.-1981.	9 186	3 548	5 638	16,2
	1981.-1991.	5 738	2 484	3 254	7,4
	1991.-2001.	-2 119	691	-2 810	-5,7

<sup>\*</sup> Relativni migracijski saldo jest udio apsolutnoga migracijskog salda u ukupnom broju stanovnika početkom promatranoga međupopisnoga razdoblja

<sup>\*\*</sup> Rijeka + 19 naselja općine Kostrena + Lopača

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Podatci za 1961.-1971., 1971.-1981. odnose se na šire područje grada Splita (Split +16 naselja okolice)

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> Pula+ Pješćana Uvala, Valbonaša, Vinkuran, Vintjan

<sup>\*\*\*\*\*</sup> Dubrovnik + 16 naselja općine Župa Dubrovačka + 14 naselja Grada Dubrovnika

<sup>\*</sup> The relative migration balance is the share of the absolute migration balance in relation to the total number of inhabitants at the beginning of the intercensus period

<sup>\*\*</sup> Rijeka + 16 settlements in the municipality of Kostrena + Lopača

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Figures for 1961-1971, 1971-1981 pertain to the broader area of the city of Split (Split + 16 settlements in its surrounding area)

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> Pula + Pješćana Uvala, Valbonaša, Vinkuran, Vintjan

<sup>\*\*\*\*\*</sup> Dubrovnik + 16 settlements in the municipality of Župa Dubrovačka + 14 settlements of Dubrovnik city

Izvori / Sources: *Popis stanovništva i stanova 1971.*, Stanovništvo i domaćinstva u 1948., 1953., 1961. i 1971. i stanovi u 1971., rezultati po naseljima i opštinama, vol. VII, SZS, Beograd, 1975; *Popis stanovništva, domaćinstava i stanova 1981.*, Stanovništvo po naseljima, općinama i zajednicama općina, dokumentacija 553, RZS SRH, Zagreb, 1984; *Popis stanovništva 1991.*, Stanovništvo u zemlji i inozemstvu po naseljima, dokumentacija 911, DZS, Zagreb, 1996; *Posebno obrađeni podaci popisa 2001. prema metodologiji 1991.*, DZS, Zagreb; Vitalna statistika 1964.-2000., DZS, Zagreb

Zbog ekonomske važnosti<sup>6</sup>, ali i pozicije obrazovnih centara, obalni gradovi postali su imigracijsko odredište navlastito za stanovnike s obližnjih otoka i neposrednog zaleđa, ali i iz drugih dijelova Hrvatske te republika bivše države. Premda je iseljavanje u prekomorske zemlje zbog agrarne prenapučenosti, temeljnog oslanjanja na uzgoj monokultura te bolesti vinove loze počelo još krajem 19. stoljeća, na nepovoljna demografska kretanja i depopulaciju hrvatskih otoka najjače je utjecalo iseljavanje prema velikim centrima na obali ili u unutrašnjosti zemlje, uzroke čega nalazimo u društveno-gospodarskom zaostajanju otočja (NEJAŠMIĆ, 1992; PODGORELEC, 2008). Primjerice, istraživanje provedeno 2002. pokazalo je da je najveći dio imigranata u Split doselio iz Dalmatinske zagore, zatim srednjodalmatinskih otoka, iz drugih naselja u Dalmaciji, drugih područja Hrvatske i iz Bosne i Hercegovine (KLEMPIĆ, 2004).

U međupopisnim razdobljima 1971.-1981. i 1981.-1991. i dalje su svi promatrani gradovi imali pozitivne obje komponente ukupnoga kretanja broja stanovnika. U 1970-ima je dominantna komponenta porasta broja stanovnika Dubrovnika (61,4%), Splita (58,5%) i Zadra (53,6%) bila imigracija, u Puli (58,3%) i Šibeniku (54,9%) prirodni prirast, dok je u Rijeci bio podjednak utjecaj migracijskog salda i prirodnog prirasta. U ovom se razdoblju kao imigracijski centar i dalje ističe Dubrovnik, čiji je migracijski saldo iznosio 5638 osoba ili relativno 16,2%.

U 1980-ima uočljivo je apsolutno i relativno smanjenje intenziteta doseljavanja u gradove, jer je doseljavanje većim dijelom usmjereno u naselja urbanizirane okolice. Ipak mehaničko kretanje još uvijek ima vrlo važnu ulogu u porastu stanovništva većine promatranih gradova. U ovom razdoblju jedino u Dubrovniku i dalje u populacijskom rastu dominira migracijska komponenta (56,7%). U porastu stanovništva Zadra, koji i dalje snažno razvija funkciju rada, gotovo podjednako sudjeluju prirodni prirast (50,2%) i mehaničko kretanje (49,8%), a u Puli, Šibeniku i Splitu na populacijski rast značajnije utječe prirodna komponenta (od 55 do 70%). Najmanji migracijski saldo, jedva pozitivan (relativno svega 0,2%), zabilježen je u Rijeci.

<sup>6</sup> Razvijena funkcija rada u gradovima, u odnosu na okolicu, omogućavala je zapošljavanje u raznim granama industrije i uslužnim djelatnostima.

Due to their economic importance<sup>6</sup>, and also the presence of education centres, coastal cities became in-migration destinations primarily for the population from their immediate hinterlands and from nearby islands, although they also attracted people from other parts of Croatia and from other republics of the former state. When we consider the islands, emigration to overseas countries – caused by agricultural overpopulation and by a basic reliance on monocultures, followed by a disease of grapevines – began on them already in the 19<sup>th</sup> century; yet it was migration to large cities on the coast or in the interior of the country that had the greatest negative influence on demographic trends and depopulation on the Croatian islands, the effects of which can be seen in their delayed socio-economic development (NEJAŠMIĆ, 1992; PODGORELEC, 2008). One study conducted in 2002 confirmed, for example, that the largest proportion of in-migrants in Split arrived from the Dalmatian hinterland (Dalmatinska zagora), followed by in-migrants from the central Dalmatian islands, from other localities in Dalmatia, from other parts of Croatia and from Bosnia and Herzegovina (KLEMPIĆ, 2004).

In the intercensus periods 1971–1981 and 1981–1991 all the examined cities continued to have positive values in both components of their total population dynamics. In the 1970's the dominant component of population growth in Dubrovnik (61.4%), Split (58.5%) and Zadar (53.6%) was in-migration; in Pula (58.3%) and Šibenik (54.9%) it was natural growth, while in Rijeka the migration balance and natural growth had equal importance. In this period Dubrovnik continued to stand out as an in-migration centre, with a migration balance of 5,638 persons, or in relative terms 16.2% of the population.

In the 1980's an absolute and relative decline in the intensity of in-migration to the cities became apparent, since migration was increasingly directed to settlements in urbanised suburban areas. However, mechanical population flows continued to have a very important role in the population growth of most examined cities. In this period Dubrovnik was the only city in which the migration component (56.7%) continued to be dominant in population growth. In Zadar, which further developed its economic (or productive) function, natural growth (50.2%) and mechanical population flow (49.8%) contributed to overall population growth almost equally, whereas in

<sup>6</sup> The developed function of work (productive function) in cities, in comparison to their surrounding areas, enabled employment in various branches of industry and in the service sector.



Tablica 5. Udio domorodnog i doseljenog stanovništva u obalnim gradovima 1961. i 2001. godine  
 Table 5 The percentage of indigenous and in-migrant populations in coastal cities in 1961 and 2001.

Grad	1961.		2001.	
	Domorodno stanovništvo	Doseljeno stanovništvo	Domorodno stanovništvo	Doseljeno stanovništvo
City	1961		2001	
	Indigenous population	In-migrant population	Indigenous population	In-migrant population
Split	43,3	56,7	50,7	49,3
Rijeka	35,1	64,9	48,5	51,5
Pula	30,6	69,4	44,8	55,2
Zadar	35,1	64,9	48,0	52,0
Šibenik	47,5	52,5	55,3	44,7
Dubrovnik	39,2	60,8	54,4	45,6

Izvor / Source: *Popis stanovništva 1961.*, vol. XII, Migraciona obeležja, rezultati za naselja, SZS, Beograd, 1966; *Popis stanovništva 2001.*, CD ROM, DZS, Zagreb

U posljednjem međupopisnom razdoblju 1991.-2001. svi promatrani gradovi, osim Rijeke, imaju pozitivno prirodno kretanje, međutim neusporedivo snažnija komponenta u kretanju stanovništva je negativan migracijski saldo, što rezultira ukupnom depopulacijom. U ovom su razdoblju nepovoljni migracijski tokovi posebice došli do izražaja u velikim gradovima Splitu i Rijeci, u kojima se intenzivirao proces dekoncentracije stanovništva u naselja okolice. S obzirom na opće demografsko stanje – niske stope nataliteta, konstantno smanjenje fertiliteta i starenje – suvremeno kretanje stanovništva obalnih gradova pod jakim je utjecajem mehaničkoga kretanja.

Ovisno o obujmu i dinamici migracije, u pojedinim razdobljima mijenja se odnos domorodnoga i doseljenog u ukupnom stanovništvu. Naglašeno preseljavanje rezultiralo je vrlo visokim udjelom doseljenika u ukupnom stanovništvu gradova na obali. Prema rezultatima popisa 1961. u svim promatranim gradovima bilo je više doseljenog nego domorodnog stanovništva (Tab. 5.). Najviše doseljenika zabilježeno je u Puli, 69,4%. Taj podatak ne iznenađuje jer je u međupopisnim razdobljima 1948.-1953. i 1953.-1961. Pula imala vrlo visoke stope porasta, koje su uglavnom bile rezultat imigracije.

Prema podacima popisa 2001. u svim obalnim gradovima smanjen je udio doseljenog stanovništva koji sada čine otprilike pola stanovništva promatranih gradova (44,7% - 55,2%). To je izravna posljedica smanjenja jačine doseljavanja, ali i brojnih potomaka doseljenika rođenih u gradu, koji se samim tim ubrajaju

Pula, Šibenik and Split population growth was more significantly influenced by the natural component (55% to 70%). The smallest migration balance, barely positive (in relative terms only 0.2%), was registered in Rijeka.

In the most recent intercensus period, 1991–2001, all our examined cities, except Rijeka, displayed positive natural growth, yet an incomparably stronger component in their population dynamics were negative migration balances, resulting in overall depopulation. During this period unfavourable migration flows were especially evident in the two largest cities, Split and Rijeka, in which an intense deconcentration of the population to adjacent settlements took place. Taking into account the general demographic situation (low birth rates, a constant reduction of fertility and increased ageing), the present population dynamics of coastal cities are being greatly influenced by mechanical population flows.

Depending on the volume and dynamics of migration, the relative shares of the indigenous and in-migrant populations changed in various periods. Strong migration resulted in very high proportions of in-migrants in the total populations of the coastal cities. According to the results of the 1961 census, in all the examined cities the in-migrant group was larger than indigenous population (Tab. 5). The greatest percentage of in-migrants was registered in Pula, 69.4%. This figure is not surprising, since in the intercensus periods 1948–1953 and 1953–1961 Pula had very high growth rates, which were for the most part the result of in-migration.

According to the 2001 census data, in all the coastal cities the relative share of the in-migrant population decreased, and now makes up about a half

u domorodno stanovništvo, te pojačanog mortaliteta stanovnika doseljenih u 1950-ima i 1960-ima (KLEMPIĆ BOGADI, 2008). Glavnina doseljenika u Šibenik (61,0%), Split (52,7%) i Zadar (49,4%) doselila je iz bliže okolice (iz naselja iste županije), što potvrđuje migracijski zakon kako su migracije intenzivnije na kraće udaljenosti. U Dubrovniku je gotovo pola doseljenika (45,2%) iz inozemstva, uglavnom iz Bosne i Hercegovine, što je očekivano jer je dubrovačka regija relativno mala unutar granica Hrvatske, a Dubrovniku je oduvijek gravitirao jedan dio Bosne i Hercegovine. Pula (33,7%) i Rijeka (29,5%) također imaju visok udio doseljenika podrijetlom iz inozemstva, od kojih je većina iz BiH, ali je velik dio i s područja Srbije i Crne Gore, što možemo povezati s vojnim funkcijama Pule i ostankom vojnih lica nakon umirovljenja, kao i s jakom lučkom industrijom Rijeke, koja je otvarala veliki broj radnih mjesta.

### Ostarjelo stanovništvo obalnih gradova

Promjene u sastavu stanovništva prema dobi u pravilu su dugoročne i uvelike određuju buduće promjene u prirodnome kretanju stanovništva, ali diktiraju i promjene u javnom prostoru ili organizaciji pojedinih javnih službi. Proučavanje starenja i dugotrajne skrbi u gradovima može se temeljiti na značajnim podacima o demografskom sastavu, ekonomskom funkcioniranju, arhitekturi, urbanom dizajnu i prometnoj infrastrukturi.

Premda gradska populacija u usporedbi s izvangradskom i dalje ima povoljniju starosnu strukturu, razlike se među njima smanjuju te urbana populacija sustiže neurbanu u starenju i stupnju ostarjelosti (NEJAŠMIĆ, 2008.). Iznimka u tim procesima nije ni stanovništvo obalnih gradova koje je također zahvaćeno intenzivnim starenjem, što se ogleda u kontinuiranom smanjenju udjela mladih uz istodobno povećavanje starih. Usporedba podataka popisa 1961. i 2001. pokazuje da je stanovništvo obalnih gradova u ovom razdoblju brzo starjelo i doseglo visok stupanj ostarjelosti (Tab. 6. i 7.). Stanovništvo Rijeke i Dubrovnika s prosječnom starošću 41,2 i Pule 40,7 godina starije je i od hrvatskog prosjeka (39,3).

Detaljnija analiza pokazuje da je stanovništvo obalnih gradova početkom 1960-ih imalo između 20% i 30% mladih (0-14), te 4-7% starih

of the total populations of the examined cities (44.7% to 55.2%). This is a direct result of the decline in the intensity of migration, yet it also reflects the fact that many offspring of migrants were born in the cities and hence enter into the category of indigenous population, while on the other hand the death rate has grown among people that migrated to the cities in the 1950's and 1960's (KLEMPIĆ BOGADI, 2008). Most in-migrants in Šibenik (61.0%), Split (52.7%) and Zadar (49.4%) arrived from nearby areas (from settlements in the same county), which confirms the migration law by which migrations are more intense over short distances. In Dubrovnik almost a half of the in-migrants (45.2%) arrived from abroad, mainly from Bosnia and Herzegovina. This was expected, since the Dubrovnik region is relatively small within the borders of Croatia and a part of Bosnia and Herzegovina has always gravitated towards Dubrovnik. Pula (22.7%) and Rijeka (29.5%) also have relatively large shares of migrants originating from abroad. Most of them came from Bosnia and Herzegovina, but there is also a relatively large proportion from the area of Serbia and Montenegro. We can link this to Pula's military functions and to the settlement of former military personnel in the city on retirement, and in the case of Rijeka to the city's strong port industries, which resulted in the creation of many jobs.

### The elderly population in coastal cities

Transformations of a population's age structure are usually long-term, and greatly determine future changes in natural population trends. However, they also dictate changes in the public sphere, or in the organisation of individual public services. Studies on ageing and long-term care for the elderly in cities may be based on relevant data concerning the cities' demographic structure, economic functions, architecture, urban design and transportation infrastructures.

Although city populations, in comparison to non-city populations, continue to have more favourable age structures, differences between the two are diminishing, and urban populations are becoming more similar to non-urban populations in terms of ageing and levels of agedness (NEJAŠMIĆ, 2008). The population of the coastal cities is no exception in this process. It has also been effected by ageing, as is evident in the continuous decline of the proportion of young people and the simultaneous increase in the share of the elderly. A comparison of the census data from 1961 and 2001 shows that the population of the coastal cities has

Tablica 6. Stanovništvo obalnih gradova po velikim dobnim skupinama 1961. i 2001.godine  
 Table 6 The population of the coastal cities by large age groups, 1961 and 2001.

Grad	1961.						2001.					
	0-14		15-64		65+		0-14		15-64		65+	
	broj	%	broj	%	broj	%	broj	%	broj	%	broj	%
City	1961						2001					
	0-14		15-64		65+		0-14		15-64		65+	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Split	21 360	25,4	57 621	68,4	5 265	6,3	29 145	16,7	120 502	69,1	24 798	14,2
Rijeka	24 719	24,5	70 269	69,7	5 781	5,7	8 438	14,5	40 631	69,6	9 290	15,9
Pula	10 396	28,0	24 814	66,8	1 948	5,2	19 177	13,4	100 538	70,3	23 347	16,3
Zadar	8 264	30,3	17 790	65,3	1 177	4,3	12 559	18,1	47 861	69,1	8 804	12,7
Šibenik	6 547	25,6	17 445	68,2	1 590	6,2	6 033	16,3	25 405	68,8	5 476	14,8
Dubrovnik	5 078	21,6	16 337	69,6	2 058	8,8	4 764	15,7	20 239	66,8	5 303	17,5

Izvor / Source: *Popis stanovništva 1961*, vol. XI. Pol i starost, rezultati za naselja, SZS, Beograd, 1965.; *Popis stanovništva 2001*, CD ROM, DZS, Zagreb

stanovnika (65 i više), što govori da je već tada bila riječ o zreom tipu populacije. Najpovoljniji dobnii sastav 1961. s 30,3% mladih i svega 4,3% starih stanovnika imao je Zadar. I ostali demografski indikatori kao indeks starosti (14,24) i koeficijent dobne ovisnosti mladih (46,45) upućuju na povoljnu starosnu strukturu. Za razliku od Zadra, najnepovoljnije stanje bilo je u Dubrovniku, koji je već 1961. imao 8,8% starih i 21,6% mladih stanovnika, kao i najveću vrijednost indeksa starosti (40,53) i koeficijenta dobne ovisnosti starih (12,6).

Četrdeset godina kasnije, Zadar je i dalje, među promatranim gradovima, s 18,1% mladih i 12,7% starih grad s najpovoljnijom starosnom strukturom, što možemo objasniti povoljnim prirodnim kretanjem i intenzivnim useljavanjem u grad sve do 1990-ih. Dubrovnik još uvijek, sada uz Rijeku i Pulu, ima najnepovoljniji dobnii sastav među obalnim gradovima. Iz vrijednosti indeksa starosti koji je veći od 110, može se iščitati kako je staro stanovništvo brojčano nadmašilo mlado u spomenutim gradovima. Međutim, i u ostalim gradovima situacija je vrlo nepovoljna, tako da prema pokazateljima dobnog sastava stanovništvo svih obalnih gradova pripada tipu izrazito starog stanovništva s udjelom starih stanovnika većim od 12%. Analiziramo li koeficijente dobne ovisnosti u razdoblju 1961.-2001. očito je veliko smanjenje vrijednosti koeficijenta dobne ovisnosti mladih i povećanje koeficijenta dobne ovisnosti starih.

Osim demografskih spoznaja o starenju, važno je razumjeti kako se stariji ljudi snalaze u gradovima i koje su im potrebe. Naime, starenje

rapidly aged in this period and has achieved a high level of agedness (Tabs. 6 and 7). The populations of Rijeka and Dubrovnik, with an average age of 41.2, and Pula with an average of 40.7, are older than the Croatian average (39.3).

A detailed analysis shows that the population of the coastal cities in the early 1960's had a proportion of younger people (0-19 years of age) between 20% and 30%, and a proportion of elderly people (65 years of age and more) between 4% and 7%. This confirms that even at that time the population was of the mature type. The most favourable age structure in 1961, 30.3% young people and only 4.3% elderly, was in Zadar. Other demographic indicators, such as the ageing index (14.24) and the child dependency ratio (46.45), also indicate a favourable age structure in this city. As opposed to Zadar, the most unfavourable situation was in Dubrovnik, which in 1961 had 8.8% of its population in the elderly category and 21.6% in the young category, as well as the highest ageing index (40.53) and aged dependency ratio (12.6).

Forty years later, with 18.1% of its population in the young category and 12.7% in the elderly category, Zadar was still the city with the best age structure, which can be explained by favourable natural trends and intense in-migration right until the 1990's. Similarly, Dubrovnik continued to have the most unfavourable age structure among coastal cities, but it was now approached in this aspect by Rijeka and Pula. The ageing index in these three cities, which is greater than 110, shows that their elderly populations have numerically surpassed their young populations. However, the situation is critical in the other cities as well, and thus,

Tablica 7. Analitički pokazatelji starenja stanovništva obalnih gradova 1961. i 2001. godine  
 Table 7 Analytic indicators of ageing in the populations of coastal cities, 1961 and 2001.

Grad	1961.				2001.				
	Indeks starosti	Koeficijent ukupne dobne ovisnosti	Koeficijent dobne ovisnosti starih	Koeficijent dobne ovisnosti mladih	Indeks starosti	Prosječna starost	Koeficijent ukupne dobne ovisnosti	Koeficijent dobne ovisnosti starih	Koeficijent dobne ovisnosti mladih
City	1961				2001				
	Ageing index	Total dependency ratio	Aged dependency ratio	Child dependency ratio	Ageing index	Average age	Total dependency ratio	Aged dependency ratio	Child dependency ratio
Split	24,65	46,21	9,14	37,07	85,08	38,9	44,77	20,58	24,19
Rijeka	23,39	43,40	8,23	35,18	121,74	41,2	42,30	23,22	19,07
Pula	18,74	49,75	7,85	41,90	110,10	40,7	43,63	22,86	20,77
Zadar	14,24	53,07	6,62	46,45	70,10	37,6	44,64	18,39	26,24
Šibenik	24,29	46,64	9,11	37,53	90,77	39,3	45,30	21,55	23,75
Dubrovnik	40,53	43,68	12,60	31,08	111,31	41,2	49,74	26,20	23,54

Izvor / Source: *Popis stanovništva 1961*, vol. XI, Pol i starost, rezultati za naselja, SZS, Beograd, 1965; *Popis stanovništva 2001*, CD ROM, DZS, Zagreb

stanovništva postavlja pred upravu gradova, bez obzira na njihovu veličinu, različite zahtjeve u organizaciji života na svim razinama. U svim obalnim gradovima sve veći broj građana (2001. više od 2%) doseže dob starijih starih<sup>7</sup> osoba (u dobi iznad 80 godina). I premda istraživanja (PODGORELEC, 2008.) potvrđuju da je oko 40% ljudi starijih od 80 godina u potpunosti funkcionalno, ipak, porast broja građana u starijoj staroj populaciji sugerira da će se javiti rastuća potreba za uslugama trajne skrbi. Može se očekivati da će ta populacija biti manje zdrava, više socijalno izolirana i stoga osjetljivija nego skupina mlađih starih (65-79 godina).

Relativno mali broj starijih ljudi u Hrvatskoj danas ima financijske mogućnosti iskoristiti prednosti koje grad pruža (dostupnost različitih kulturnih i zabavnih sadržaja, privatnih i državnih ustanova zdravstvene i socijalne skrbi i dr.). Procjene su istraživača (PODGORELEC, 2008) da samo jedan od 20 starijih u nekom

according to age structure indicators, all coastal cities have entered into the type-category of very old populations with share of old population above 12 %. If we analyse age dependency ratios in the period 1961-2001, then it is obvious that the child dependency ratio has greatly decreased and the aged dependency ratio has increased.

In addition to demographic insights into ageing, it is important to understand how older people manage in cities, and what needs they have. Namely, due to ageing of the population, city administrations, regardless of the size of the city, must address various demands pertaining to the organisation of life on all levels. In all coastal cities more and more citizens (in 2001 over 2%) are moving into the older-old age group<sup>7</sup> (people with over 80 years of age). And although studies (PODGORELEC, 2008) confirm that about 40% of all people over the age of 80 are still fully functional, nevertheless the increase in the number of citizens in the older-old population suggests that there will be a growing need to provide permanent care

<sup>7</sup> Promjene u naravi starenja zahtijevaju podjelu posljednje etape života, starosti, na dvije podetape. Godine između 65. i 80. odgovaraju *mlađem starom dobu*, razdoblju u kojem je većina ljudi oslobođena glavnih obiteljskih i radnih odgovornosti, a još je (nerijetko) dobra zdravlja i u snazi. U godinama nakon 80., *starijem starom dobu*, naglo raste broj bolesnih i osoba kojima treba tuđa njega. I premda nas stvarnost uči da kronološka dob nije nepogrešiv uvjet takve razdiobe, termin mlađi stari i stariji stari ljudi određen je prema prosječnim tjelesnim i mentalnim sposobnostima pojedinaca u starosti.

<sup>7</sup> Changes in the nature of ageing have called for a division of the last stage of life into two sub-stages. People with between 65 and 80 years of age make up the younger-old age group, a period in life when most people are free of their main family and work responsibilities, and still (often) enjoy good health and vigour. After the age of 80, in the older-old age category, the number of ailing persons and people that require care from others abruptly rises. And although reality teaches us that chronological age is not a faultless criterion for such a division, the terms younger-old and older-old have been defined based on average physical and mental capabilities of individuals in those age groups.

većem gradu ima materijalne uvjete za korištenje svih prednosti grada, a što direktno utječe na višu kvaliteta njihova života. Siromaštvo među starima podjednako je ozbiljan problem i u gradu i na selu. Ipak, svuda u svijetu, upravo kao rezultat urbanizacije, siromaštvo je postalo sve koncentriranije u urbanim područjima i dostiže razinu kao nikada prije. Na žalost, situacija je jednako teška i u obalnim gradovima Hrvatske upravo zbog vrlo niskih mirovina<sup>8</sup> i visokih troškova života.

### Promjene veličine kućanstava i odnosa među članovima

Obitelji tradicija su među primarnim elementima koji karakteriziraju mediteranska urbana društva, oblikujući uobičajeno zajedničko ponašanje koje to društvo djelomice razlikuje od građanskog života u drugim geografskim prostorima. Važnost uloge rodbinskih odnosa u javnoj i privatnoj sferi ili značajna uloga prijateljstva ili intenzivan život susjedstva (stambene četvrti) te snažno iskazivanje osjećaja, karakteristika su života stanovnika srednjih i velikih gradova na Mediteranu (PACE, 2002.).

Uz način života, prirodno kretanje, dobno-spolne strukture i migracija temeljni su činitelji promjena u veličini i sastavu kućanstva. Iako znatno sporije nego u zapadnoeuropskim zemljama, u Hrvatskoj se smanjuje udio obiteljskih, a povećava udio različitih neobiteljskih kućanstava. Na veličinu i vrstu kućanstava u hrvatskom društvu znatno su utjecale promjene društvenog i gospodarskog sustava te povećana socijalna nesigurnost. Tako Anđelko Akrap i Ivan Čipin (2006.), nakon provedenog istraživanja na reprezentativnom uzorku stanovnika Hrvatske u dobi od 35 do 44 godine zaključuju kako "u spletu raznorodnih činitelja, koji utječu na promatrani porast socijalnog steriliteta, zamjetnu ulogu imaju rat i porast nezaposlenih u 1990-im". Promjene su ranije i u većoj mjeri zahvatile stanovništvo gradova pa tako rezultati popisa 2001. potvrđuju najveću koncentraciju neoženjih/neudatih u

<sup>8</sup> Osnovni izvor prihoda najvećeg dijela starih stanovnika u Hrvatskoj, a posebice u gradovima je mirovina. Prosječna mirovina (umanjena za poreze i prireze) u ožujku 2009. iznosila je 2163,68 kuna, a područni uredi u promatranih šest gradova na obali bilježe prosječne mirovine koje se kreću od, najniže, 2150,99 u Šibeniku do, najviše, 2556,89 kuna u Rijeci (Hrvatski zavod za mirovinsko osiguranje, VII, 1, 2009, tablica 20).

services. It is to be expected that this population will be less healthy, socially more isolated and therefore more sensitive, than people in the younger-old age group (with 65-79 years of age).

A relatively small number of older people in Croatia today have the financial resources to make use of the advantages that cities offer (access to various cultural and recreational contents, private and state health institutions, social care services, etc.). It has been estimated (PODGORELEC, 2008) that among the elderly, only one person in twenty in a larger city has the material requirements to make use of the advantages that cities offer, and which directly influence the quality of life. Poverty among the elderly is an equally serious problem in urban as in rural settings. Yet throughout the world, explicitly as an outcome of urbanisation, poverty is becoming increasingly concentrated in urban areas and is reaching levels higher than ever before. Unfortunately this situation is just as difficult in Croatia's coastal cities, precisely due to very low pensions<sup>8</sup> and high costs of living.

### Changes in the size of households and in relations between household members

The family and tradition are among the primary elements that characterise Mediterranean urban society, shaping typical shared behaviour that in part distinguishes this context from city life in other geographic areas. The importance of family relations in the public and private spheres, or a significant role of friendship or else intense neighbourhood relations (the city quarter), as well as a strong expression of emotions, are characteristics of life among the inhabitants of middle-sized and large cities on the Mediterranean (PACE, 2002).

Together with this way of life, natural population trends, age and gender structures and migrations have been the primary factors that have changed the size and structure of households. Although more slowly than in Western European countries, the percentage of family households in Croatia has decreased, and the share of non-family households has increased. Changes in the social and economic system, and

<sup>8</sup> Pensions are the basic source of income for most elderly inhabitants of Croatia, especially in cities. In March 2009 the average pension in Croatia (after deduction of taxes and surtaxes) was only 2,163.68 kuna. At that time local pension services in the six examined coastal cities recorded average pensions ranging from the lowest in Šibenik, 2,150.99 kuna, to the highest in Rijeka, 2,556.89 kuna (Croatian Pension Insurance Institute / Hrvatski zavod za mirovinsko osiguranje, VII, 1, 2009, table 20).

Tablica 8. Kućanstva obalnih gradova prema broju članova 2001. godine  
Table 8 Households in coastal cities by number of members, 2001.

Godina	Svega	Obiteljska kućanstva prema broju članova							Neobiteljska		Prosječan broj članova
		2	3	4	5	6	7	8 i više	Samačka	Višečlana	
Year	Total	Family households by number of members							Non-family		Average number of members
		2	3	4	5	6	7	8 or more	Single	More than one member	
Split	56,926	11,430	12,194	13,664	5,770	2,098	550	280	9,832	1,108	3.1
	100.0	20.1	21.4	24.0	10.1	3.7	1.0	0.5	17.3	1.9	
Rijeka	53,325	12,604	12,519	11,197	2,742	845	196	110	11,990	1,122	2.7
	100.0	23.6	23.5	21.0	5.1	1.6	0.4	0.2	22.5	2.1	
Pula	21,505	5,483	5,108	4,582	1,107	305	64	48	4,557	251	2.7
	100.0	25.5	23.8	21.3	5.1	1.4	0.3	0.2	21.2	1.2	
Zadar	22,583	4,775	4,859	5,945	2,167	673	198	74	3,572	320	3.1
	100.0	21.1	21.5	26.3	9.6	3.0	0.9	0.3	15.8	1.4	
Šibenik	12,521	2,849	2,600	3,181	1,019	319	75	31	2,272	175	3.0
	100.0	22.8	20.8	25.4	8.1	2.6	0.6	0.2	18.1	1.4	
Dubrovnik	10,614	2,377	2,133	2,247	834	281	86	52	2,348	256	2.9
	100.0	22.4	20.1	21.2	7.9	2.6	0.8	0.5	22.1	2.4	

Izvor / Source: *Popis stanovništva 1961*, vol. XI, Pol i starost, rezultati za naselja, SZS, Beograd, 1965; *Popis stanovništva 2001*, CD ROM, DZS, Zagreb

velikim gradovima. Pritom se poglavito radi o vremenskom odgađanju stupanja u brak, sve kasnijem rađanju prvoga djeteta i sve većem broju jednoroditeljskih obitelji. Raste i broj samačkih kućanstava. Kao i drugdje u svijetu, uz produženi životni vijek podizanjem kvalitete života, višeg stupnja socijalne i zdravstvene zaštite pojedinca, starim je ljudima omogućena samostalnost do u duboku starost. Ali i rast ekonomske moći pojedinca, posebice žena u radno aktivnoj dobi, omogućuje ekonomsku neovisnost te potiče samostalno stanovanje. Istraživanjem je potvrđeno (AKRAP, ČIPIN, 2006.) da je na veličinu i socijalnu strukturu kućanstva u Hrvatskoj, znatno utjecala snažna imigracija ženskoga seoskog stanovništva u veće gradove, a zbog mogućnosti zapošljavanja izvan tradicionalnih ženskih zanimanja i ostvarenja višeg stupnja ekonomske aktivnosti<sup>9</sup> te lakšeg života.

I premda su istraživanja pokazala da su promjene obiteljske strukture češće u urbanim prostorima, kako kontinentalnim tako i primorskim, tradicionalno i moderno shvaćanje obitelji, premda gdjekad u sukobu, različito utječe na strukturu i veličinu kućanstava u

<sup>9</sup> I time omogućene veće samostalnosti u svim područjima života pa tako i u donošenju odluke o stupanju u brak ili stanovanju.

greater social insecurity, have significantly influenced the size and types of households in Croatian society. And so, after conducting a survey on a representative sample of the Croatian population between the ages of 35 and 44, Anđelko Akrap and Ivan Čipin (2006) came to the conclusion that "in the mix of various factors that influenced the observed growth of social sterility, the war and the growth of unemployment during the 1990's have [played] a significant role". City populations were affected earlier, and to a greater degree, and thus the results of the 2001 census confirmed that the greatest concentration of unmarried persons was to be found in large cities. Reasons for this include, primarily, temporal postponement of marriage, an increasingly older age for first childbirth, and a rising number of one-parent families. The number of single-member households is also on the rise. As in other parts of the world, the extension of lifespans by improving the quality of life and providing individuals with a higher level of social and health protection has enabled older persons to remain independent until advanced old age. And likewise, the increase in the economic power of individuals, especially of women in their active working years, has facilitated economic independence and stimulated living single. Research has confirmed (AKRAP, ČIPIN, 2006) that the size and social structure of households in Croatia has been strongly influenced by the migration of women from

pojednim obalnim hrvatskim gradovima. Podatci i istraživanja (PODGORELEC, 2008.) potvrđuju nam da je tradicionalan obiteljski način života u većoj mjeri prisutan u južnom hrvatskom primorju. Tako u prosjeku najveća kućanstva imaju Zadar i Split (3,1 osoba) te Šibenik (3,0). To su gradovi koji ujedno imaju i najmanji udio samačkih i najveći udio četveročlanih kućanstava (Tab. 8). U prosjeku najmanja kućanstva nalazimo u Rijeci i Puli (2,7 osoba) kao i, ukupno, najveći udio samačkih i dvočlanih kućanstava među promatranim gradovima (u Puli 46,7% i Rijeci 46,1%). Visok udio dvočlanih kućanstava u Rijeci (23,6%), i Puli (25,5%), ali i ostalim obalnim gradovima, prije svega je rezultat starenja stanovništva iako možemo pretpostaviti da je djelomice riječ i o sve većem broju mlađih bračnih parova bez djece te o sve popularnijoj kohabitaciji koja među mlađim naraštajima sve češće postaje alternativa braku. Desetljeća pogoršanja dobne strukture odrazila su se i na obiteljski sastav dubrovačkog stanovništva koje čine čak 44,5% jednočlanih i dvočlanih kućanstava.

Promjena obiteljske strukture mijenja i očekivanja obitelji prema neformalnoj skrbi koju pružaju članovi obitelji (PODGORELEC, KLEMPIĆ, 2007.), ali i prema formalnoj<sup>10</sup> koju organizira država, županija ili grad. U okvirima organizacija formalne skrbi podjednako se mijenjaju potrebe za brojem jaslca i dječjih vrtića, organiziranoga dnevnog boravka za djecu osnovnoškolske dobi, ali i domova za stare i nemoćne, dnevnih boravaka za starije ili organizacije svih oblika pomoći u kući. Porast dugovječnosti stanovnika obalnih gradova stavlja u nove odnose članove obitelji. Raste teret pružatelja međugeneracijske skrbi unutar obitelji – baka i djedova koji pomažu u čuvanju svoje unučadi, ali i odrasle djece u srednjoj dobi koja pružaju skrb svojim ostarjelim roditeljima dok skrbe i za svoju, nerijetko maloljetnu, djecu.

Trend smanjenja broja članova kućanstva uzrokovan odvojenim stanovanjem mlađih i starijih članova obitelji ima određene implikacije, posebice u razlici opsega potreba za organiziranim zdravstvenim i socijalnim uslugama, primjerice njegovom u kući. Takva stambena segregacija često izaziva strah ostarjelih roditelja, najčešće kada ostanu sami u kućanstvu, da će biti zapušteni od strane mlađih članova obitelji. Uobičajene

<sup>10</sup> Institucionalni i izvaninstitucionalni oblici skrbi i pomoći građanima svih dobi.

rural areas to larger cities, and by the opportunities that women now have to find jobs outside of traditional female occupations. This has enabled them to achieve higher levels of economic activity<sup>9</sup> and to live more comfortable lives.

And although research has shown that changes in family structure appear more often in urban areas, both in continental and coastal parts of Croatia, traditional and modern concepts of the family, even if sometimes in conflict, have different effects on structure and size of households in various coastal cities. Data and studies (PODGORELEC, 2008) confirm that the traditional family way of life is more strongly present in southern parts of the Croatian coastal area. Thus Zadar and Split have the largest average households (3.1 persons), followed by Šibenik (3.0). These cities also have relatively small percentages of single-member households, and the largest share of four-member households (Tab. 8). In contrast, Rijeka and Pula have the smallest average households (2.7 persons per household) and overall the largest share of single-member and two-member households (in Pula 46.7% and in Rijeka 46.1%). The large proportion of two-member households in Rijeka (23.6%) and in Pula (25.5%), and likewise in other coastal cities, is primarily the result of demographic ageing. However, we may assume that it partially includes a growing number of young married couples without children, as well as young people who have adopted the ever more popular option of cohabitation, which among members of the younger generation is becoming an increasingly frequent alternative to marriage. Several decades marked by a deterioration of the age structure have also affected the family structure of Dubrovnik's population, in which single-member and two-member households make up as much as 44.5% of the total number.

Transformations in family structure also change family expectations in regard to informal care offered by family members (PODGORELEC, KLEMPIĆ, 2007), as well as in regard to formal care<sup>10</sup> organised by the state, the county or the city. Furthermore, in the organisation of formal care, there have been changes in the demand for a certain number of nursery schools, kindergartens and organised day residences for elementary school children, and on the other hand in the need for retirement homes for the old and infirm, for day centres for the elderly or else for all forms of organised aid in the home.

<sup>9</sup> And therefore greater independence in all spheres of life, including in regard to decisions on entering into marriage or on how they will live (single or with somebody).

<sup>10</sup> Institutional and non-institutional forms of care and aid offered to citizens of all ages.

su teorije da urbanizacija, industrijalizacija i modernizacija društava slabe obiteljsku, rodbinsku, prijateljsku i dobrosusjedsku podršku, koja je nekada bila karakteristična za način života u ruralnim sredinama. Istraživanja su pokazala očekivanje da će stari ljudi u gradovima imati veću šansu da im dijete živi u istom kućanstvu ili u blizini (KLEMPIĆ, 2004; KLEMPIĆ BOGADI 2008.), negoli ostarjeli roditelji na selu (PODGORELEC, 2008.), iz kojeg je iselilo brojno mlađe radnoaktivno stanovništvo. Razlog tome su i česte odluke mladih u gradovima o kasnom odlasku iz roditeljska doma, problem nedostatka i visoke cijene stanova za iznajmljivanje kao i visoke cijene kredita za kupnju stana, što prati i relativno kasno tzv. prvo zapošljavanje odraslih mladih članova obitelji. Istraživanja, kako u nas, tako i u svijetu, pokazuju da su kontakti između roditelja i odrasle djece koji žive u odvojenim kućanstvima uglavnom česti i relativno bliski. Međugeneracijska podrška iskazuje se uzajamnim djelovanjem, ljubavlju ili pomaganjem (financijska pomoć, razni oblici pomoći u kućanstvu ili izvan njega i sl.).

### Zaključak

Forsirani razvoj industrije u gradovima i litoralizacijski procesi na jadranskoj obali stvorili su težište društveno-gospodarskog i demografskog razvoja na obali, a istodobno su negativno utjecali na razvoj naselja na kvarnerskim i dalmatinskim otocima, unutarnjoj Istri, Bukovici i zagorskom dijelu Dalmacije. Poradi toga, obalni gradovi postali su atraktivna imigracijska odredišta, pa je doseljavanje bilo temeljni činitelj snažnoga populacijskog rasta, posebice u razdoblju 1953.-1981. S društveno ekonomskim napretkom dolazi do promjena u prostornoj pokretljivosti, pa slabi intenzitet doseljavanja u grad, jača dnevna cirkulacija i razvoj naseljenosti okolice. Gradovi, kao centri rada, postaju pokretači socioekonomske transformacije naselja u okolici, te se formira gradska regija u kojoj počinje dekoncentracija stanovništva i radnih mjesta iz centralnoga grada u okolice.

Sve do 1990-ih godina veći i veliki gradovi bili su nositelji povoljnih sociodemografskih procesa. Međutim, danas su oni, kao i većina Hrvatske, zahvaćeni depopulacijom (ukupnom i prirodnom) i starenjem. Turbulentne promjene 1990-ih u segmentu politike, društva

The extension of people's lifespans in coastal cities has created new relationships between all family members. Providers of intergenerational care in the family now bear a growing burden – grandparents must help in minding their grandchildren, and middle aged adult children must take care of their elderly parents, while at the same time providing for their own children, who are often still minors.

The declining trend in the number of household members, caused by the separate habitation of younger and older family members, has certain implications, especially concerning the different scope of needs for organised health services and social services, for example in the need for care in the home. This residential segregation frequently causes fear in aged parents, most frequently fear that they will remain alone in their homes, and be abandoned by younger family members. Often we encounter various theories according to which urbanisation, industrialisation and the modernisation of society weaken support from family members, kin, friends and neighbours, which was once a trait of the way of life in rural environments. Yet research has shown that older people in cities will have a greater chance that their child will live in the same household with them, or somewhere nearby (KLEMPIĆ, 2004; KLEMPIĆ BOGADI, 2008), than is the case among elderly parents in rural areas (PODGORELEC, 2008), from which much of the young working age population has migrated. Further reasons for this difference are the frequent decisions of city-dwelling young people to leave their parental homes at a later date, the problem of insufficient and costly rental flats in cities, as well as the high prices of loans to buy one's own flat, accompanied by the relative late so-called first employment of younger family members. Studies both in Croatia and in other countries of the world have shown that contacts between parents and adult children that live in separate households are for the most part frequent and relatively close. Intergenerational support manifests itself mainly in reciprocal activities, in love or aid (financial assistance, various forms of help in the home or outside of it, etc.).

### Conclusion

The forced development of industry in cities along Croatia's Adriatic coast, together with littoralisation processes, have moved the focus of socio-economic and demographic progress to the coast, and at the same time negatively influenced the development of settlements on the Kvarner and Dalmatian



i gospodarstva negativno su utjecale na sociodemografske procese i obilježja obalnih gradova. Svi ti gradovi doživjeli su kolaps nekadašnje socijalističke industrije, posebice Rijeka, Split i Šibenik, pa je gospodarsko prestrukturiranje teško i sporo. Visoka stopa nezaposlenosti i skupoća stambenog prostora ograničavajući su čimbenici pozitivnih smjerova populacijskog razvoja. U novonastalim uvjetima nema naznaka usporavanja procesa starenja, smanjenja prosječnog kućanstva i sve većeg broja samačkih kućanstava. Među promatranim obalnim gradovima jedino Zadar još uvijek ima pozitivno prirodno kretanje i općenito pokazuje nešto povoljnije sociodemografske karakteristike.

Dolaskom kapitalizma u obalne gradove Hrvatske postupno se mijenja i odnos pojedinca prema tradicionalnim vrijednostima poput obitelji, koja je oduvijek činila okosnicu mediteranskog stila života. Tako pojedine uloge članova obitelji, posebice na području skrbi o djeci ili ostarjelim članovima obitelji sve češće preuzimaju institucije.

Dostupnost različitih sadržaja čini gradove poželjnim mjestom stanovanja za sve dobne skupine stanovništva. S obzirom na unapređivanje procesa starenja hrvatskog stanovništva i promjene veličine i sastava kućanstava, očuvanje kvalitete života u velikoj mjeri ovisi o razini formalne skrbi, tj. organiziranosti zdravstvene i socijalne zaštite. U cijeloj Hrvatskoj, pa tako i u primorskoj regiji, razina zdravstvenih usluga i socijalne zaštite na znatno je višoj razini u gradovima (i to posebice velikim) negoli u izvangradskim prostorima. Uz kvalitetu javnog prijevoza i postojanje bolnica kao i domova zdravlja u mjestu stanovanja, za starije stanovništvo posebice je važan broj i kvaliteta institucija za smještaj starih i nemoćnih te postojanje raznih oblika izvaninstitucionalne skrbi. Dakle, svi promatrani obalni gradovi imaju ili kliničke bolničke centre (Rijeka i Split) ili opće bolnice (Pula, Zadar, Šibenik i Dubrovnik). Svaki grad ima dom zdravlja koji pruža usluge stanovništvu šireg područja: Istarski dom zdravlja u Puli, Dom zdravlja Primorsko-goranske županije u Rijeci, Dom zdravlja Zadarske županije u Zadru, u Šibeniku Dom zdravlja Šibenik, u Splitu Dom zdravlja Splitsko-dalmatinske županije i u Dubrovniku Dom zdravlja Dubrovnik. Rijeka i Split jedini imaju ustanove za hitnu medicinsku pomoć. Svi gradovi imaju ustanove za zdravstvenu njegu i

islands, in the interior of Istria, in Bukovica and in the Dalmatian Hinterland (Dalmatinska zagora). Due to this the coastal cities became attractive migration destinations, and in-migration was the primary factor of strong population growth, especially in the period 1953–1981. Eventually, socio-economic progress brought about changes in spatial mobility, and as a result the intensity of in-migration to the cities weakened, daily commuting increased and suburban settlements developed. Cities, as centres of employment, became stimuli for socio-economic changes in their adjacent areas, which led to the formation of city regions and to the deconcentration of populations and jobs from central cities to suburban areas.

Until the 1990's larger towns and major cities along the Croatian coast were agents of favourable socio-demographic processes. Today, however, as is the case in most of Croatia, they are affected by (overall and natural) depopulation, as well as by ageing. The turbulent changes of the 1990's in segments of politics, society and the economy had a negative impact on socio-economic processes and on the characteristics of coastal cities. All these cities, and especially Rijeka, Split and Šibenik, experienced a collapse of former Socialist industries, and their economic restructuring was difficult and prolonged. High unemployment rates and costly housing were factors that limited positive trends in demographic development. And in the newly created conditions no signs have so far appeared of a slow-down in ageing, in the trend towards a smaller average number of household members and in the growth of the number of single households. Among our examined cities, only Zadar has experienced positive natural growth, and generally demonstrated somewhat more favourable socio-demographic characteristics.

The arrival of capitalism in Croatia's coastal cities also brought about a change in the attitudes of individuals towards traditional values, such as the family, which had previously formed the framework of the Mediterranean lifestyle. As a result, institutions have been increasingly assuming roles that were previously the duty of family members, especially in the context of child care and care for elderly family members.

The accessibility of various types of content makes cities favourable places to live in for all age groups. In view of the advanced process of ageing in the Croatian population, and on-going changes in the size and structure of households, preservation of the quality of life will greatly depend on the level of

pomoć u kući, stomatološke poliklinike, zavode za javno zdravstvo županija i ljekarne. Broj i opseg djelatnosti ustanova razlikuje se između makroregionalnih središta i ostala četiri grada u korist Rijeke i Splita.

U svih šest gradova postoje domovi za starije i nemoćne čiji je osnivač županija, i to u Dubrovniku dvije ustanove, a po jedna u Puli, Rijeci, Zadru, Šibeniku i Splitu. Nerijetko su prekapacitirani jer se u njih smještava i starije stanovništvo otoka koji im gravitiraju (posebice je teška situacija u Zadru) ili zaleđa, a u kojima nema institucionalnog smještaja po povoljnijim cijenama. Zadnjih godina značajno raste broj domova čiji su osnivači privatne osobe ili neke organizacije i te ustanove najčešće su smještene, zbog nižih troškova, u naselja okolice srednjih i velikih gradova. Primjerice, u Vodicama kraj Šibenika, zatim četiri *privatna* doma u Splitu i bližoj okolini, nekoliko privatnih ustanova na otoku Krku u koje se u velikom broju smještavaju stariji Riječani i sl. Ipak, veliki pritisak na tzv. županijske domove smještene u gradovima ne smanjuje se upravo zbog prosječno slabe platežne mogućnosti ostarjelih (niske mirovine) i znatne razlike u cijeni smještaja, pri čemu su privatni domovi najčešće dvostruko skuplji.

Uz podmirivanje troškova svakodnevnog života, trošak vezan uz trajnu skrb i njegu, posebice pomoć u kućanstvu, kućna njega i slične alternative institucionalizaciji, koje su u mnogo većem broju organizirane u gradovima, stavljaju neke opcije skrbi izvan dohvata mnogih među najstarijima starima. Istraživanja ostarjelih otočana, koji su radni vijek proveli u gradskim središtima na kopnu kojima njihovi otoci gravitiraju, i nakon umirovljenja se vratili na neki od otoka, potvrdila su da gradovi pružaju veće mogućnosti praćenja kulturnih, zabavnih i športskih događanja, ali su i skupa mjesta za život, pa relativno mali broj starijih ljudi u Hrvatskoj danas ima financijske mogućnosti iskoristiti sve njihove prednosti.

formal care, namely on organised health services and social security. In all of Croatia, and therefore also in the coastal region, the level of health services and social security in cities (particularly in large cities) is much higher than in non-urban areas. In addition to efficient public transportation and the presence of hospitals and health centres in places of residence, for the elderly population the most important factors are the number and the quality of homes for the elderly and infirm, and the presence of various non-institutional forms of care. And so, all the examined cities have either university hospital centres (Rijeka and Split), or general hospitals (Pula, Zadar, Šibenik and Dubrovnik). Every city has a health centre, which offers its services to the wider region: the Istrian Health Centre in Pula, the Health Centre of Primorje-Gorski Kotar County in Rijeka, the Health Centre of Zadar County in Zadar, Šibenik Health Centre in Šibenik, the Health Centre of the Split-Dalmatia County in Split, and Dubrovnik Health Centre in Dubrovnik. Emergency paramedical institutions exist only in Rijeka and Split. All cities have institutions for health care and aid in homes, dental polyclinics, county public health institutions and pharmacies. The number and range of activities of such institutions varies between the macroregional centres and the other four cities, to the advantage of the former (Rijeka and Split).

There are county-organised homes for the elderly and the infirm in all six cities: two in Dubrovnik, and one per city in Pula, Rijeka, Zadar, Šibenik and Split. Often these institutions are over-capacitated, in view of the fact that they accommodate also the elderly population from the islands that gravitate to them (which has created an especially difficult situation in Zadar), or else from the hinterland, i.e. from areas in which there is no institutional accommodation at an affordable cost. In recent years there has been a significant increase in the number of homes established by private individuals or organisations, and these institutions, due to lower operational costs, are often located in settlements near middle-sized and large cities. For example, there is one private home in Vodice near Šibenik, four in Split and in its vicinity, and several private institutions on the island of Krk, in which many elderly people from Rijeka are accommodated, etc. However, the pressure on co-called county homes in the cities has not lessened, due to the limited financial means of the older population (low pensions) and the significant differences in the prices of accommodation, which are often two-times higher in private homes.

After covering daily life expenses – because of the cost associated with permanent care and nursing (especially with household help, home care and other alternatives to institutionalisation that are organised to a far greater degree in cities), many of the oldest-old cannot take advantage of some care options. Research on elderly islanders, who had spend their working years in city centres on the coast to which their island gravitates, and who returned to their island after retirement, confirmed that cities offer more opportunities to enjoy cultural, recreational and sporting events. However, they are also expensive places in which to live, and therefore only a relatively small number of elderly people in Croatia today has the financial means to make use of these advantages.

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