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CHALLENGES OF THE REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN DALMATIA

WYZWANIA ROZWOJU REGIONALNEGO W DALMACJI

ABSTRACT: The goal of this paper was to demonstrate the process of regional transformation in the historical/geographical region of Dalmatia since the mid-20th century and identify the main trends of contemporary regional development. The analysis focused on: demographic change, socio-economic change, and physiognomic change, in the course of two time periods: 1) the second half of the 20th century, and 2) new developments since 2001. The analysis was conducted through a comparison of four subregions in Dalmatia – Zadar, Šibenik, Split, and Dubrovnik, as well as the island, coastal, and hinterland strips of the region.

The results of differing development processes are seen in the main regional differences in the region today. The role of urban centres in the area, demographic trends and age structure at the regional and local levels, problems of industrial production and weakening of the production base, an (over)orientation towards the service sector, especially tourism, changes in the structure and number of dwellings, with increases in second homes, inadequate territorial and administrative organisation remain some of the main challenges this area is facing in its development.

KEY WORDS: demographic change, socio-economic change, physiognomic change, Dalmatia, Croatia

Introduction

By the mid-20th century, Dalmatia,¹ the southern littoral region of Croatia situated along the Adriatic Sea, had been a predominantly rural area, with its economy based on two main branches: maritime and agricultural (Friganović, 1974). However, since then this region has been functionally and physiognomically transformed under the influence of littoralisation, urban-based industrialisation, and tourism development,

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¹ *Dalmatia* is one of the oldest regional geographic names in Croatia, although its area has significantly changed many times since the 1st century when a Roman province bearing the name was organised, combining Mediterranean littoral and Dinaric mountainous inland (Rogić, 1974)

which have all effected changes differently throughout Dalmatia (e.g., Nejašmić, 1991; Opačić, 2009; Lukić, 2012). The population movement from rural to urban areas has played a significant role in these changes, resulting in that rural-urban migrations in Croatia were often spontaneous and uncontrolled, and significant demographic, social, and economic problems occurred both in places of the origin of migration and in their end points (Živić and Pokos, 2005). The period starting in 1991 has been marked by issues of transition from socialism and a centrally planned economy to capitalism and a free market economy, as well as by the 1991–1995 Croatian War of Independence² from the Yugoslav Federation, which gravely affected the region in terms of human losses, as well as economic, financial, and environmental damage. Two nation-wide processes have also had an influence on the economic and demographic trends in the region in the last decade: the struggle against the impacts of the global economic crisis starting in 2008 and the advances towards the European Union membership, which Croatia successfully achieved in July 2013.

The goal of this paper is to demonstrate the process of regional transformation since the mid-20th century and identify the main trends of contemporary regional development. The analysis focuses on three main aspects of the development change: demographic change, socio-economic change and physiognomic change, in the course of two time periods: 1) the second half of the 20th century, and 2) new developments since 2001.

Alongside the literature review and the synthesis of previous research findings, the research has been based on statistical analyses of demographic and socio-economic data from the national censuses in 2001 and 2011, and other statistical publications/sources, using a spatial comparison approach.

With its surface area³ of 12,075 km², Dalmatia combines three parallel strips: islands, coastline, and the hinterland. Dalmatia can also be subdivided into Northern, Central, and Southern Dalmatia. Zadar and Šibenik are the main regional centres in Northern Dalmatia, and the seats of Zadar and Šibenik-Knin counties. Split-Dalmatia County corresponds to the Central Dalmatian area, while Dubrovnik-Neretva County corresponds to Southern Dalmatia. Within the contemporary administrative organisation of Croatia, Dalmatia also consists of 131 local government units (LGUs) – towns and municipalities, of which, all but one pertain to the four counties.⁴ The conducted analysis looked at Dalmatia through comparing four subregions – Zadar, Šibenik, Split, and Dubrovnik, as well as the island, coastal, and hinterland strips of the region. Studying differentiated development trends in these parts of Dalmatia can serve as a basis for studying potential future developments.

² Commonly referred to as the *Homeland War*, in Croatia and Croatian sources.

³ Calculation based on the State Geodetic Administration's registry of spatial units.

⁴ The Town of Novalja is situated in the northern part of the island of Pag and is the only LGU included in this research that is part of Lika-Senj County. In this way the island of Pag is as a whole included in Dalmatia (e.g., Faričić, 2012; Nejašmić, 2013; Lajić and Mišetić, 2013), and observed as a part of the Zadar subregion. North-eastern part of Zadar County, which encompasses southern mountainous region of Lika, is excluded from the analysis.



Figure 1. Geographic position of Dalmatia and its administrative organisation. Registry of spatial units, SGA was the source for digital layers containing administrative borders adjusted to the 2011 Census, which were used for thematic mapping with ArcGIS 10.0. A topographic Basemap from ArcGIS 10.0 was also used for Fig. 1.

Disparities and policies in Croatian regional development

The awareness of the existence of regional disparities, and the necessity to solve that problem, had already become prominent in Croatia between the two world wars (Sić, 2003; Pejnović, 2004). Underdevelopment of some regions for historical reasons, a focus on the primary sector and difficulties caused by a predominantly closed economic system, led to a differentiation of Croatian regions into economically 'active' and 'passive' ones (Sić, 2003). However, the largest regional disparities came about after the Second World War, especially from the beginning of the 1950s. Disparities in Croatian regional development have been explained through general rules of economic transition from the traditional agrarian into industrial and tertiary societies, where it is connected with

polarisation of economic activities, population, and income. Under such spatial and economic organisation the centres of polarised development become increasingly more prominent in concentration of economic activities and capital, with larger potential for innovation and development; unlike peripheral areas which, due to limited resources and weak innovation capacities, are characterised by slower growth and lagging behind in development (Pejnović, 2004). Interdependence of demographic and economic processes is especially visible in regional development. Disparities in regional development generate spatial mobility of population, i.e., redistribution of demographic resources towards more developed areas (Pejnović and Kordej-De Villa, 2015).

Before 1990 and the beginning of the transition period, disadvantaged areas had ranged from the hinterland of Dalmatia, over central mountainous parts of the country (Lika and Gorski Kotar), to the areas of Banovina and Kordun. Parts of the northern and eastern Croatia (Slavonia) were also identified as disadvantaged areas and included in special government schemes aimed at enhancing economic and social conditions in such areas (Puljiz and Maleković, 2008). The inherited regional disparities were further increased by the consequences of the 1991–1995 Croatian War of Independence – the Homeland War. Most of the already-lagging areas suffered high direct and indirect war damages – a significant loss of population due to outmigration and loss of lives, devastated transport and communal infrastructure, destroyed production capacities, etc. (Puljiz and Maleković, 2008). Apart from the devastation of the War, regional development in Croatia has also been influenced by a transition period including privatisation and foreign direct investment inflows, reform of the local administrative system,⁵ and adjustments towards the EU regional policy (Kersan-Škabić and Tijanić, 2014). In 1992/1993, a reorganisation brought a system of counties as regional units, and towns and municipalities, of which there are currently 556, as local units. However, strong central control of the state over the counties was simultaneously imposed until the constitutional changes in 2000, where counties were mainly seen as administrative units and not as initiators and coordinators of development processes (Maleković et al., 2011). Much as a larger number of local units increased opportunities for many deprived areas (which became local government units) to activate local resources and manage their own development, an almost five-fold increase in the number of units led to an enlarged bureaucracy and to reduced administrative capacities in many cases (Maleković et al., 2011; Magaš, 2000).

A marked core region was formed, encompassing Zagreb and its immediate surroundings (containing one fourth of the population), the greatest concentration of businesses, domestic and foreign investments, and the highest income; secondary core regions included Split, Rijeka, and Osijek with their surroundings (Sić, 2003). In contrast to the core regions, depopulating and underdeveloped areas expanded even

⁵ The system of large municipalities was introduced in 1962 (with some later changes). Until 1992 Croatia had been administratively divided into 102 municipalities.

more in the mountainous areas, the Dalmatian hinterland, and central and eastern Croatia. Continued trends in spatial polarisation of the population in the most recent period are causing Croatia to become more and more similar to an 'island' country, with a differentiation of urban areas surrounding macro-regional centres and wide, sparsely populated areas, characterised by depopulation (Pejnović and Kordej-De Villa, 2015).

Although underdeveloped regions of Croatia, with an emphasis on underdeveloped municipalities, were being defined as early as the 1960s (Sić, 2003), regional policy is a relatively new field of the public policy in Croatia. Two main stages in its development can be outlined: the first, beginning with Croatian independence and the second stage, beginning with the formal adoption of the Law and Strategy of Regional Development in 2009/2010 (Đulabić and Manojlović, 2011). A single and unified national policy of regional development was missing at the first stage, and, in its stead, the main instruments of regional policy were several pieces of legislation establishing special statuses for different areas – such as areas of special state concern, hilly and mountainous areas, islands, and the special status of the Town of Vukovar.⁶ The institutional system for regional policy management was based on the sectoral approach and very high institutional fragmentation, especially among the central administrative bodies (Đulabić and Manojlović, 2011). The three 'development' laws that were passed, and areas covered by them, were designated at the local level and, in some cases, even lower – at the level of a settlement. Such a low geographical level of intervention had a negative effect on policy efficiency and did not tackle significant disparities in the socio-economic development at the county level (Maleković et al., 2011; Puljiz and Maleković, 2008).

A process parallel to the preparation of the regional policy framework was related to building the institutional structures in the wider context of IPA (*Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance*) implementation, and previous instruments of pre-accession assistance in Croatia, namely the CARDS, PHARE, ISPA, and SAPARD programmes. Đulabić and Manojlović (2011) argue that these processes sometimes ran on parallel tracks which were not adequately connected, in relation to institutional fragmentation and weak administrative coordination between several central administrative bodies formally in charge of these policy areas. Although the IPA institutional structure conformed to the state of Croatian regional policy at the time, the total lack of any regional or local body in the IPA structure was the most evident proof that Croatia adopted a top down approach in creating its regional policy (Đulabić and Manojlović, 2011). However, the importance of EU funding also lies in those indirect effects coming from the introduction of a new style of development management and development funding into Croatian practice, and the possibility to learn from actors in other member states (Puljiz and Maleković, 2008).

⁶ In 2002, a special Law on Reconstruction of the Town of Vukovar was passed. Vukovar had already been covered by the Law on Areas of Special State Concern, passed in 1996, but given the extent of the devastation during the War, and Vukovar's slow recovery, a special law was passed aiming to speed up the revitalisation of the city (Puljiz and Maleković, 2008).

The Law on Regional Development, adopted by the Croatian Parliament in 2009, and the Strategy of Regional Development, adopted by the national Government in 2010, marked the beginning of a new period of the regional policy. The national Strategy, as well as strategies of the regional development for each of the 20 counties in Croatia, plus the City of Zagreb as the capital, were introduced as main tools for strategic planning of regional development, making the Ministry of Regional Development the leading body in charge of regional policy (Đulabić and Manojlović, 2011). Besides the Law on Regional Development and related sublegal acts and regional strategies, regional development is still influenced by laws related to specific areas – areas of special state concern, islands, hilly and mountainous areas, and the Town of Vukovar (Kordej-De Villa and Pejnović, 2015). The new Law on Regional Development was passed at the end of 2014 (Official Gazette, 147/2014), and is aimed at making a step forward in building a comprehensive regional policy system, strengthening the principles of partnership and cooperation, and promoting development strategies for urban areas alongside strategies for counties and the City of Zagreb. The new Strategy of Regional Development until 2020 is in the process of adoption (Ministry of Regional Development and EU Funds, 2016).

Socio-geographic transformation of Dalmatia since the mid-20th century

The economy of Dalmatia was traditionally based on using land (crop and animal husbandry) and sea (fishery and maritime transport) resources (Friganović, 1974). A development turn for the region came predominantly through urban-based industrialisation, followed by intense tourism development. The development of non-agricultural sectors in main urban centres of Croatia, as a whole, caused an intense spatial redistribution of the population starting in the 1960s, with two main cores of urbanisation emerging: the Zagreb area in inland Croatia and one on the coastal Adriatic (Pejnović, 2004).

Although it cannot be said that the process of littoralisation in the second half of the 20th century was very strong nationally, it was eminently manifested at the regional level in both northern and southern parts of littoral Croatia – through a pronounced massing of population in the narrow coastal strip and the concentration of economic activities, i.e., mostly through polarised development of coastal centres (Faričić, 2012).⁷ Thereby, using its favourable geographic position as an intersection of flows of goods and population from the hinterland and the sea, especially with the development of road and railway infrastructure, the coastal zone of Dalmatia with its already established

⁷ On islands closer to the mainland, islands connected to the mainland by bridges, or ones well connected by ferry lines, littoralisation characteristics were also similar to the mainland; however, with intense construction of second homes (less often dwellings for permanent residence) and tourism development of the coastal section, while investments into other economic sectors were much smaller (Faričić, 2012).

urban centres had an early start in terms of a higher percentage of population involved in non-agricultural activities (Friganović, 1974).

Additionally, during the three decades (1962–1992) that communal system existed with approximately one hundred municipalities which became closed political and economic units. Decisions on locations of certain industrial or service activities were made in municipal seats, which became centres of polarised development at the municipal level (Toskić and Njegač, 2003). This administrative division and the powers given to large municipalities, brought about development of municipality centres, where most functions were over concentrated, without giving enough thought to other settlements within municipalities. A partial exception to this in Croatia was coastal municipalities. Namely, through tourism development, settlements other than municipality centres managed to keep or attain some functions (Glamuzina and Glamuzina, 1998).

Demographic change

In 1948, the total population of Dalmatia was 664,420, of which 44.1% resided in Northern Dalmatia, 45.7% in Central Dalmatia, and 10.2% in Southern Dalmatia. By 1953 there had been a 6.4% increase in the total population number, and by 1991 a 42.7% increase. Within the same time span the total population of Croatia increased by 27.3% (Glamuzina and Glamuzina, 1996). The increase in the total population of Croatia in the decades following the Second World War was smaller than the natural population increase would suggest, pointing to the negative migration balance. In the 1953–1991 period, the population loss through the negative migration balance was 230,000 people, with strong emigration to European countries and overseas connected with economic and/or political motivations (Nejašmić, 2008).

Trends were very differentiated at the regional and local levels due to emigration/immigration, and outmigration/inmigration patterns. In Dalmatia, many island and hinterland municipalities experienced a decline in the total population number – e.g., twelve of the Dalmatian island and hinterland municipalities had smaller populations in 1981 in relation to 1953⁸ (Nejašmić, 1991). Depopulation of the Croatian islands started in 1921 and marked their demographic development throughout the 20th century. Until the 1960s depopulation by emigration and outmigration had been predominant,⁹ this then was followed by depopulation through a negative natural change as well, which

⁸ Those were: Vis (index of change 52.4), Lastovo (55.9), Vrgorac (70.8), Drniš (73.4), Pag (83.1), Brač (86.4), Hvar (88.2), Korčula (88.5), Imotski (90.4), Knin (91.4), Obrovac (97.5), and Benkovac (99.6) (Nejašmić, 1991).

⁹ The long-lasting emigration from the Croatian islands happened due to economic (agrarian overpopulation, industrialisation, development of the mainland, deagrarianisation, crises in specific agricultural sectors, monocultural development of some islands, etc.) and political causes (political emigration, Italian optants) (Lajić and Mišetić, 2013).

brought many island communities to extinction (Lajić and Mišetić, 2013). Using the example of small Croatian islands, Faričić et al. (2010) state that while in the period up to the Second World War overseas emigration had been predominant, the second half of the 20th century saw a dominance of internal migration, with island population moving to the mainland coastal zone (predominantly to regional centres), and the rest of the country. Nevertheless, almost 80% of settlements in Dalmatia, mostly rural, were characterised by depopulation in the 1953–1981 period. Some of the municipalities were prominent by the share of such settlements in the total number of settlements in the municipality – the island municipalities of Pag and Vis (with 100%), followed by the hinterland municipalities of Knin (97.6%), Drniš (96.8%), and Vrgorac (96.0%) (Nejašmić, 1991). A spatial restructuring of population in littoral Croatia came about, with the increasing demographic pressure in the coastal zone. The mainland littoral belt ‘fed’ on the immediate hinterland and the islands (Faričić, 2012).

Depopulation of mainly rural settlements in the hinterland, indirectly of settlements on the islands as well, and the pressure on coastal settlements were also influenced by the construction of the main coastal road at the very coastline (Faričić, 2012). Lukić (2012) found that the coastal settlements in Dalmatia which were transformed by littoralisation, industrial development, and tourism development, had the most intense demographic growth between 1961 and 2001. This concerns the main urban centres and their surroundings, but also the urbanised zone along the coast, especially between Split, Omiš, and Makarska, and to the north towards Kaštela and Trogir. Some of the urban centres in the hinterland were demographically dynamic (Trilj, Imotski, Knin, Sinj, Vrgorac), as were settlements in their surroundings, or those along roads perpendicular to the coastline. Research has also shown a differentiated influence of tourism development on the demographic development of island settlements, where the role of tourism is proportional to its strength. Strong tourism development contributes to the demographic development of settlements which are on the islands’ coasts, but weak tourism development means unfavourable demographic trends, primarily for the settlements in the islands’ interiors (Nejašmić, 1999).

In the decades following the Second World War, the proportion of young population (age group 0–19) decreased throughout Dalmatia, and the proportion of adult and older population increased. Given that the proportion of older population had already risen above 12% by 1991, the population of the region could be considered old, which could be related to the end of the process of demographic transition, but also to depopulation and extinction of parts of the region (Glamuzina and Glamuzina, 1996).

Socio-economic change

An intense process of urban-based industrialisation, accompanied by deagrarianisation (abandoning agriculture as an activity and the way of living) and deruralisation (leaving rural areas as places of permanent residence) started in Croatia in the mid-1950s. The

following decades were also marked by strong processes of tertiarisation, i.e., stronger development of the service sector, which brought in the new transfer of labour force – from secondary towards tertiary (and quaternary) sectors (Živić and Pokos, 2005). The post-war deagrarisation, deruralisation, and urbanisation in Croatia was also conditioned by low socio-economic standards in rural areas, where, for a large number of people, industrialisation meant a way out of poverty, i.e., opening the door to social advancement – especially for the young generation (Nejašmić, 1991). The agrarian policies, with their concepts of socialisation of land and production, presented another push factor (Defilippis, 2006). The intensity of deagrarisation in Dalmatia is visible from the share of agricultural population – 72.1% in 1948, 55.6% in 1953, and a mere 3.4% in 1991 (Glamuzina and Glamuzina, 1996). This process, however, did not bring about an enlargement of land units. Agricultural production in villages was often not fully abandoned, and served as additional income alongside permanent employment. In the villages themselves, except for mass abandonment, this period was marked by moving from agricultural towards a more complex economic structure of the village (Defilippis, 2006).

Ship building, manufacturing, and construction developed predominantly in the coastal zone. Split and other cities within its urban region – such as Trogir, Kaštela, and Omiš, as well as Šibenik and Zadar became the carriers of development of the secondary sector of activities in Dalmatia (Glamuzina and Glamuzina, 1996).

Table 1

Socio-economic structure of the population in Dalmatia and Croatia in 1953 and 1991

Area	People employed in primary sector economic activities (%)		People employed in secondary sector economic activities (%)		People employed in tertiary sector economic activities (%)	
	1953	1991	1953	1991	1953	1991
Northern Dalmatia	175,918 (64.8)	8,378 (8.1)	53,248 (19.6)	34,032 (32.7)	42,146 (15.6)	61,596 (59.2)
Central Dalmatia	179,827 (59.5)	8,786 (5.5)	66,787 (22.0)	54,726 (33.9)	55,989 (18.5)	97,790 (60.6)
Southern Dalmatia	36,197 (58.4)	1,507 (4.5)	9,036 (14.6)	6,378 (18.7)	16,710 (27.0)	26,160 (76.8)
DALMATIA	391,942 (61.7)	18,671 (6.2)	129,071 (20.3)	95,136 (31.8)	114,845 (18.0)	185,546 (62.0)
CROATIA	2,211,040 (63.0)	265,116 (15.2)	716,564 (20.4)	589,859 (33.8)	581,374 (16.6)	892,255 (51.0)

Source: Glamuzina and Glamuzina, 1996, according to the Censuses in 1953 and 1991

The tertiary sector in Dalmatia became predominant in 1971, and its sharp advancement was a result of development of tourism and hospitality, transport, trade,

and other services (Glamuzina and Glamuzina, 1996). However, the difference in the achieved level of the socio-economic transformation was still noticeable within the region; while coastal municipalities had 17% of population involved in the primary sector activities in 1971, the share in island municipalities was 37%, and in hinterland municipalities 47%. In contrast to this, the share of the service sector in hinterland municipalities was 19%, in island municipalities – 42%, and in coastal municipalities – 47% (Friganović, 1974).

A little under a third of employed persons in Dalmatia worked in the secondary sector activities in 1991 (Table 1), especially strong in Northern and Central Dalmatian coastal centres. Southern Dalmatia surged ahead in the share of employees in the service sector (over three fourths), but northern and central Dalmatia also had an above average share of employees in services.¹⁰ These indicators reflected the dynamic development of tourism sector, and a tertiarisation process in general, i.e., an advanced stage of socio-economic transformation (e.g., Ruppert et al., 1981; Nejašmić, 2005), with a differentiated degree of achieved socio-economic development.

Physiognomic change

Industrialisation of urban centres and development of (mass) tourism in the coastal zone, parallel to the processes of deagrarianisation and deruralisation, which especially affected smaller settlements in the hinterland and islands, influenced the differentiated physiognomic change in the region. The first category of the change was visible in the general urbanisation of the area; spatial development of urban settlements (often through development on formerly agricultural land), which underwent demographic and functional change; urbanisation of rural settlements, especially in the surroundings of cities and the coastal zone which developed under the influence of industrialisation and tourism development; and infrastructural development. A special aspect of the general physiognomic change which emerged from tourism and recreation was second home construction, which, in the last forty years has undergone a rather steep increase, especially in the coastal and island zones, widely considered to be the most attractive recreational areas in the country. It can be looked at through three waves of construction after the Second World War (Opačić, 2009) – the first and the second in the socialist period, and the ‘new’ wave following Croatia’s independence. The first wave, in the 1950s, the 1960s and the 1970s was characterised by selling and converting existing objects in depopulated smaller settlements in the coastal and island zones into second homes. The 1970s and the 1980s saw an intense construction of family second homes. Since the late 1990s, there has been intense construction of apartment

¹⁰ Reasons for the decrease in the total number of people employed in the 1953–1991 period can be found in emigration and ‘temporary’ work abroad, as well as the longer education period, the changes in educational structure of the population, and demographic ageing.

buildings, connected with real estate market development and renting out apartments to tourists. In general, construction of homes, and especially second homes, has been connected with the problem of illegal construction, even before the 1990s (Radeljak, 2012). Such a poorly controlled construction affected a change in the settlement structure, infrastructural burdening, and a general erosion of architectural identity, primarily of many coastal and island settlements.

The second category of physiognomic change came through the transformation of the agrarian landscape. Specifically, in depopulated rural areas, burdened with demographic ageing, intensely cultivated land being changed into meadows, and meadows into pastures, i.e., spreading grassland and forest at the expense of cultivated land, is clearly visible (Nejašmić, 1991). In relation to the 1960s the arable land decreased at the benefit of areas with natural vegetation, where the largest decrease was recorded for ploughed land, vineyards and orchards (Defilippis, 2006). A large number of peripheral rural settlements in the hinterland, on smaller islands and the interiors of larger islands have been marked by a 'depopulation landscape', with 'signs of primordial nature, remnants of what used to be cultivated lands, houses barely resisting the ravages of time, muddy and disorderly crofts, orchards overgrown with weeds, fences rotten or broken' (Nejašmić, 1991, p. 236).

From the socio-geographical transformation which Dalmatia underwent in the second half of the 20th century, we now turn to development changes which have marked the region in the period after 2001, at the regional and local levels.

Contemporary change in the regional development in Dalmatia

Population number and structure, and demographic dynamics

In 2011, the total population of Dalmatia was 855,731, i.e., one-fifth of the population of Croatia. More than half of the population resides in the Split subregion, i.e., Split-Dalmatia County, which is the only one with above average population density in relation to Dalmatia as a whole and Croatia (Table 2). The smallest total population number, population density, average number of persons per household, and proportion of the population aged 0 to 19 characterises the Šibenik subregion. Other Dalmatian subregions have an above average number of people per household and the share of young population in relation to Croatia as a whole. However, all but the Split subregion have an above average share of the population aged 60 and over.

The analysis of the settlement distribution and size points to the concentration of population in the coastal strip of Dalmatia, specifically its central part and the urban centres of Zadar, Šibenik, and Dubrovnik with their surroundings; a predominance of smaller settlements, up to the total population of several hundred, is found in the hinterland and on the islands, with the exception of 'clusters' around the main centres of Knin, Sinj, and Imotski (Fig. 2).

Table 2

Total population number, population density, average number of persons per household, and proportion of the population aged 0 to 19 and 60 and over in Dalmatian subregions, Dalmatia, and Croatia in 2011

Area	Total population number, 2011	Population density, 2011	Average number of persons per household, 2011	Proportion of population aged 0 to 19, 2011	Proportion of population aged 60 and over, 2011
Zadar subregion	168,990	60.73	2.81	21.70	25.49
Šibenik subregion	109,375	36.80	2.65	19.84	28.98
Split subregion	454,798	100.24	2.94	22.53	23.05
Dubrovnik subregion	122,568	68.75	2.94	22.27	24.36
DALMATIA	855,731	70.87	2.88	21.98	24.48
CROATIA	4,284,889	75.71	2.82	20.92	24.07

Source: Census in 2011, Croatian Bureau of Statistics

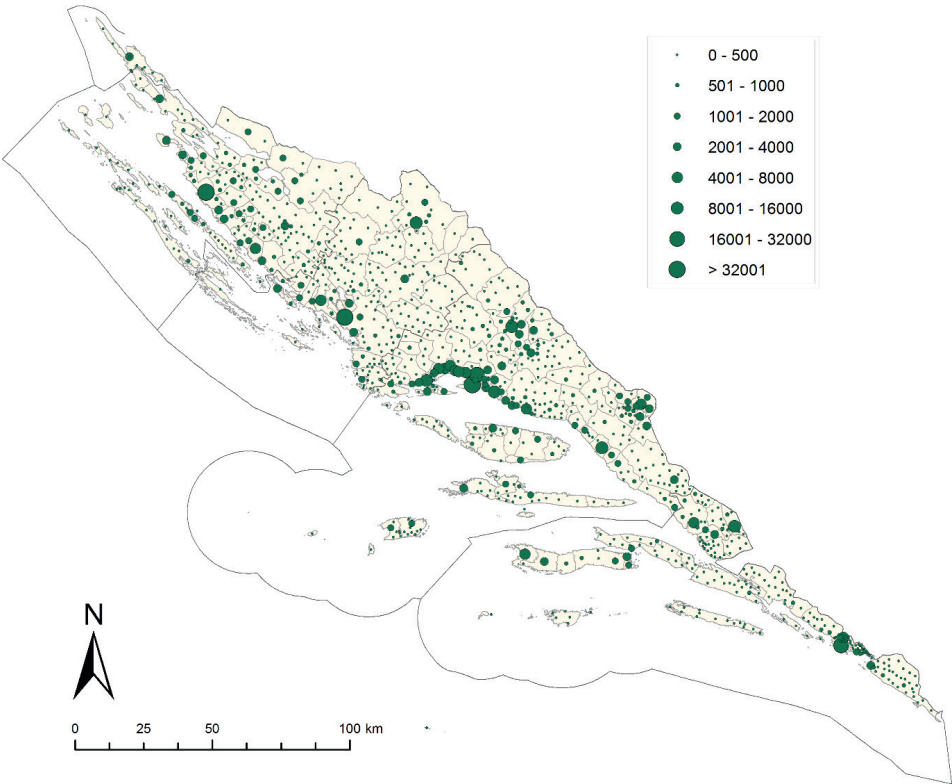


Figure 2. Settlements in Dalmatia by the total population number in 2011

Source: Census in 2011, Croatian Bureau of Statistics.

In the 2001–2011 intercensal period, all the subregions but the Zadar subregion had a decrease in the total population number, as well as Dalmatia and Croatia overall, whereby the population of Croatia as a whole decreased by the highest average annual rate (Table 3). Of Dalmatian subregions, the Šibenik subregion was, again, found to have the most negative demographic trends, i.e., had the highest negative rate of population change.

Table 3

Average annual population growth rate 2001–2011, the natural population growth rate 2001–2011, and vital index 2001–2011 in Dalmatian subregions, Dalmatia, and Croatia

Area	Total population number, 2001	Total population number, 2011	Average annual population growth rate, 2001–2011	Natural population growth rate, 2001–2011	Vital index, 2001–2011
Zadar subregion	161,457	168,990	0.46	–0.06	99.64
Šibenik subregion	112,891	109,375	–0.32	–4.47	65.81
Split subregion	463,676	454,798	–0.19	0.85	108.00
Dubrovnik subregion	123,970	122,568	–0.11	0.43	104.01
DALMATIA	861,994	855,731	–0.07	–0.07	98.99
CROATIA	4,437,460	4,284,889	–0.35	–	–

Source: Censuses in 2001 and 2011, Croatian Bureau of Statistics; Data on births and deaths 2001–2011, Croatian Bureau of Statistics

Furthermore, the natural growth rate indicates different migratory patterns in the subregions of Dalmatia. Unlike the negative natural change (with immigration) in the Zadar subregion, a positive natural change characterises the Split and Dubrovnik subregions which, related to a decrease in total population number, indicates the significance of emigration and outmigration. The most negative trends in both total and natural change of population mark the Šibenik subregion.

Socio-economic structure of the population

In relation to the population activity, as a component of the socio-economic structure of the population, the Dubrovnik subregion was the only one with an increase in the proportion of the economically active population in the 2001–2011 intercensal period, and the only one with less than 100 economically inactive people to 100 economically active ones (Table 4). In the Split subregion it is 105 people, in the Zadar subregion 121, while in the Šibenik region this number goes to 137 inactive people to 100 economically active. Furthermore, the Dubrovnik subregion was the only one with the proportion of the unemployed below the average proportion for Croatia as a whole – 14.35% to 16.27%. The highest proportion of unemployed people in 2011 was found in the Split (19.29%) and Šibenik (19.28%) subregions.

Looking at the proportion of total population with permanent work as the main source of income in 2011 at the municipality/town level (Fig. 3), the role of major urban centres in the coastal zone as carriers of activity and employment (Split and its surroundings, Zadar, Šibenik, Dubrovnik), as well as secondary centres in the island and hinterland strips is recognisable. The ‘other end’ is held up by weaker, peripheral municipalities, especially in the northern parts of Dalmatian hinterland.

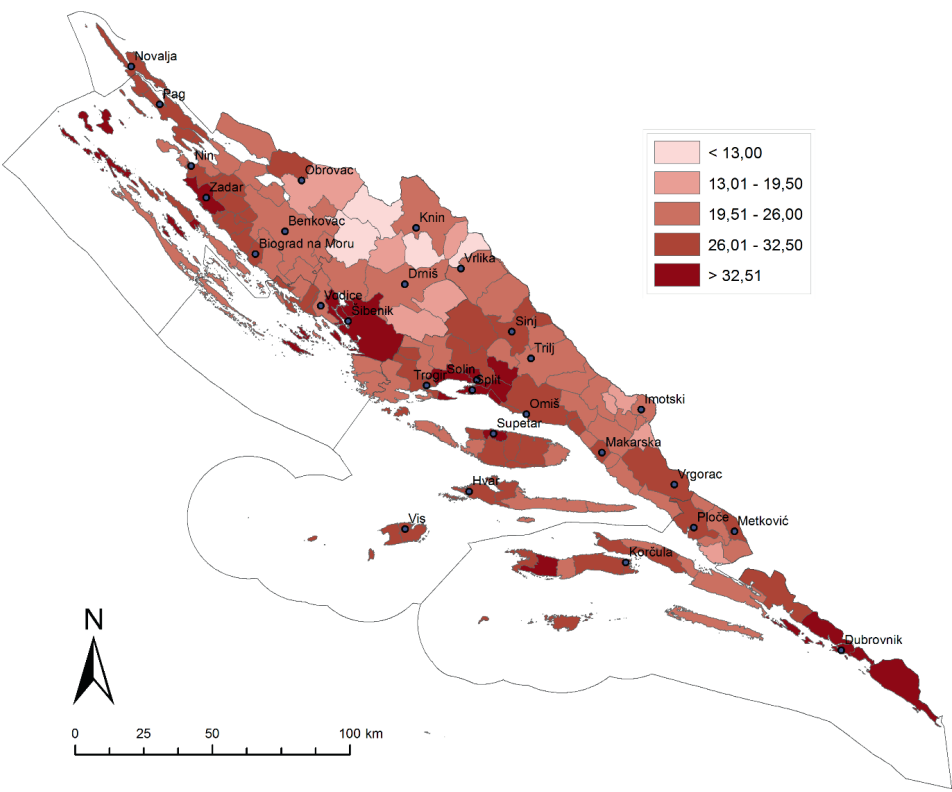


Figure 3. Proportion of the total population with permanent work as the main source of income in Dalmatian towns and municipalities in 2011

Source: Census in 2011, Croatian Bureau of Statistics.

The employment structure (Table 5) showed that all Dalmatian subregions in 2012, and Croatia as a whole, were characterised by the dominance of the service sector, followed by the proportion of persons employed in the secondary sector (ranging from 17.47% in Dubrovnik-Neretva County to 26.62% in Split-Dalmatia County), and the primary sector in the last place. Apart from the main centres, employment in the secondary sector of the economy, most present in central and parts of northern Dalmatia, is generally a more prominent feature of a number of towns and municipalities

Table 4

Characteristics of the population activity in 2011 and 2001–2011 change in Dalmatian subregions, Dalmatia, and Croatia

Area	Total population number, 2011	Number of economically active persons, 2011	Change in the proportion of economically active population, 2001–2011	Number of economically inactive persons to 100 economically active, 2011	Proportion of unemployed persons to economically active, 2011
Zadar subregion	168,990	64,307	94.32	120.62	17.78
Šibenik subregion	109,375	39,616	91.08	137.05	19.28
Split subregion	454,798	185,130	97.25	105.41	19.29
Dubrovnik subregion	122,568	51,890	100.46	97.75	14.35
DALMATIA	855,731	340,943	96.38	110.79	18.25
CROATIA	4,284,889	1,796,149	95.26	102.11	16.27

Source: Censuses in 2001 and 2011, Croatian Bureau of Statistics

Table 5

Number of persons employed in legal entities, crafts and trades, and freelancers in Dalmatian counties* and Croatia as on 31.3.2012.

County	Number of persons employed in legal entities, crafts and trades, and freelancers 2012	Proportion of persons employed in agriculture, forestry, and fishing	Proportion of persons employed in the secondary sector of the economy	Proportion of persons employed in wholesale and retail trade; motor vehicles and motorcycles repair	Proportion of persons employed in accommodation and food service activities	Proportion of persons employed in public administration and defence, compulsory social security, education, health care, and social welfare
Zadar	42,492	3.95	20.17	17.07	7.54	29.62
Šibenik-Knin	26,556	1.47	25.37	14.89	7.74	30.08
Split-Dalmatia	124,025	1.54	26.62	16.87	6.79	25.53
Dubrovnik-Neretva	34,770	1.63	17.47	12.57	13.63	28.30
Counties in total	227,843	1.98	23.88	16.06	8.14	27.20
CROATIA	1,271,400	2.60	29.16	15.29	5.13	24.91

* Given that the lowest level at which the data for people employed in craft and trades is published is the county level, to be able to provide the sum of data for people employed in legal entities, crafts and trades, and free lances, the area used in the table is the county level.

Source: Employment and Wages, 2012, Croatian Bureau of Statistics

in the hinterland, as well as some island municipalities, where the local population is employed in small-scale manufacturing, construction, electricity supply, etc.

Furthermore, the share of employed people in legal entities, crafts and trades in primary sector ranges between 1.47% (in Šibenik-Knin County) and 3.95% (in Zadar County). Nevertheless, these numbers do not fully reflect the presence of agriculture in the region, being that it still often serves as a secondary occupation, or a source of income which adds to a salary or pension.

After the disturbances caused by the 1991–1995 War and its consequences, Dalmatia continued its intense tourism development, reflected in the data on tourist arrivals (on average over 4.6 million annually between 2010 and 2012) and accommodation facilities (close to 1,100 business units and 32.6 thousand households that render accommodation services to tourists). The importance of tourism is also shown by the above average employment in accommodation and food service activities in all subregions, especially Dubrovnik-Neretva County (13.63%). However, the seasonality of employment should be noted, first of all in tourism and activities complementary to tourism. The previously analysed data concern the state on March 31, i.e., before the main summer tourist season. The number of persons employed in crafts and trades, and freelancers in accommodation and food service activities is 7,725 for the whole Dalmatia on March 31, however the annual average is higher by one third and goes to 10,330 people.

In addition, all Dalmatian subregions have a larger share of people performing traditionally public sector activities, such as public administration and defence, compulsory social security, education, health care, and social welfare, than the Croatian average – especially dominant in towns and municipalities in the hinterland.¹¹

Housing structure and change

A little under 90% of the settlements in Dalmatia had a statistical increase in the total number of dwellings in the 2001–2011 intercensal period. Among those, 100 (10%) of the settlements had a change in the total dwellings of 200 or more, i.e., the number of dwellings in those settlements increased by at least 100%. The numbers are particularly high in the Zadar (148.79) and Šibenik (141.61) subregions (Table 6), especially in parts of the hinterland.

All of the Dalmatian subregions are also characterised by a change in the total number of occupied dwellings above Croatian average, especially the propulsive Zadar region. The change in the total of second homes is large as well, with the highest value of 192 second homes in 2011 to 100 second homes in 2001 in the Šibenik subregion.

¹¹ The values range from 100% in the Municipality of Ervenik, decreasing in the following order: in the Municipalities of Zemunik Donji; Zadar; Novigrad; Janjina; Ražanac; Runovići; Kistanje; Preko; to the Towns of Knin; and finally Vrlika, with just under 60% of people performing these activities.

Table 6

Housing structure in 2011 and 2001–2011 change in Dalmatian subregions, Dalmatia, and Croatia

Area	Total number of dwellings, 2011	Change in total dwellings, 2001–2011	Total number of occupied dwellings, 2011	Change in total occupied dwellings, 2001–2011	Total number of second homes, 2011	Change in total second homes, 2001–2011
Zadar subregion	141,028	148.79	59,587	118.32	46,217	167.21
Šibenik subregion	92,022	141.61	40,853	106.20	27,848	192.48
Split subregion	254,629	133.71	152,125	109.84	30,187	134.18
Dubrovnik subregion	64,679	124.27	40,605	108.73	7,027	126.41
DALMATIA	552,358	137.32	293,170	110.77	111,279	158.60
CROATIA	2,246,910	119.70	1,496,558	105.27	249,243	136.56

Source: Censuses in 2001 and 2011, Croatian Bureau of Statistics.

Discussion and conclusion

Following the periods of growth in the total number of population in Dalmatia in the second half of the 20th century, with differing trends at the regional and local levels, in the 2001–2011 intercensal periods, all the subregions of Dalmatia (also Dalmatia and Croatia as a whole), except for the Zadar subregion, experienced a decrease in the total population number. Whereas positive trends characterise the Zadar subregion with its economically active regional centre, parts of the hinterland in relation to dealing with the long-term consequences of the War and the surroundings of Split, which point to processes of suburbanisation and deconcentration of population, the highest average annual population decrease rate in Dalmatia characterises the Šibenik subregion. The Šibenik subregion is also primarily 'responsible' for the lower-than-average population density of Dalmatia as a whole. Friganović (1992) stated that the lagging behind in population trends of the Šibenik subregion, already shown in previous decades, was also conditioned by its position between two more dynamic subregions – Zadar and Split. Živić and Pokos (2005) found that in ranking of Croatian counties, according to the selected sociodemographic indicators in 2001, Šibenik-Knin County stood at the negative pole, pointing to the issues in the socio-economic development of large parts of its area.

The age structure of the population, as one of the most important indicators of the population biodynamics, especially due to its social and economic implications (Nejašmić, 2005) presents one of the main issues of the regional development of Dalmatia. The fact that all but the Split subregion have an above average share of the population aged 60 and over reflects the long-term depopulation of many Dalmatian settlements, a lack of an adult population, and the impact of the War. The long-lasting

problem of outmigration and emigration of younger population influences the weakening structural characteristics of the rest of the population. Through the process of ageing and negative natural change it reflects in further intensifying the decrease in the population number of peripheral areas (Pejnović, 2004).

Apart from it leading to a decrease in reproduction of population and depopulation related to the negative natural change, a large share of older population unfavourably influences economic activity, social and cultural life, and leads to extinction of specific components of cultural heritage (language, customs, etc.) (Faričić et al., 2010). The problem of advanced demographic ageing includes the implications of a large number of settlements ceasing to be places of permanent residence, as well as a differentiation between settlements with relatively strong demographic bases and other advantages, and those with poor demographic prospects, which need better social care for the elderly and the infirm (Nejašmić, 2013). Nevertheless, the example of the islands shows that pensioners often actively engage in activities such as small-scale agriculture or fishing, thereby contributing to the economic stability of households (Faričić et al., 2010).

The impacts of the War, and the long-term consequences of the transition process, have also affected the economic structure of the area, which is especially visible in the industrial decline and the orientation towards the service sector, predominantly tourism. Newer infrastructural developments in transport infrastructure, such as the new motorway, and advances in other types of transport, can also be associated with the intensity of the traffic and tourism sector development (see: Radeljak Kaufmann, 2016). The Dubrovnik subregion was the only one with the proportion of the unemployed in 2011 below the average proportion for Croatia, while the highest proportion was found in the Split and Šibenik subregions, which is related to the slower recovery from the direct and indirect consequences of the War and also the hardships which industry went through, weakening the production base of those areas. Furthermore, tourism development has not had an equal impact in all the areas of Dalmatia. Unlike the concentration of tourism-sector related activities in the narrow coastal strip, followed by the islands, the hinterland is characterised by a small number of accommodation facilities for tourists, and a small number of tourist arrivals. However, lately this area has been experiencing stronger tourism development, especially through various forms of rural tourism.

Using the example of Croatia, Petrić (2011) lists problems that could be caused by tourism in ecological, socio-cultural, and economic aspects of life of a destination, such as illegal, semi-legal, or infrastructurally inadequate construction of accommodations and other facilities related to tourism or problems related to migratory pressure on tourist areas, especially in the coastal strip. Looking at the smallest scale – the small Croatian islands – and corresponding to the intense emigration of the island population, deagrarisation, and parallel tourism development, i.e., the weakening of the role of islands as spaces of permanent living and working, they increasingly take on the

function of spaces for vacation and recreation, which is also reflected in the island landscape (Faričić et al., 2010).

The housing change in Dalmatia is related to demographic restructuring, its increasingly touristic and recreational orientation, and the long-term consequences of the post-war renewal, especially in the hinterland areas. The reasons for the general increase in the number of second homes and their extensive presence in Dalmatia should be primarily looked for among the following: 1) continued new construction or adaptation of existing dwellings in coastal and island settlements; and 2) an increase in the number of second homes in depopulated areas, predominantly hinterland and islands, where the existing dwellings are not fully abandoned, rather turned into second homes.

All Dalmatian subregions have a larger than the Croatian average share of people employed in traditionally public sector activities, e.g., administration and defence or education and health care, especially in towns and municipalities in the hinterland. This reflects a transition from a system of large municipalities in the territorial organisation prior to 1992 to a large number of smaller LGUs in the territorial-administrative structure, but also an insufficient diversification of economic activities and the reliance of peripheral areas on employment in the public sector. On the other hand, although almost a quarter (24.1%) of the population, living on two thirds (62.1%) of Croatian territory, were covered by some kind of regional policy measures at the first stage of its development, the basis of regional development policy was to aid underdeveloped and war-afflicted areas rather than a coherent set of mechanisms addressing the main causes of disadvantages (Đulabić and Manojlović, 2011). Furthermore, restricted financial and administrative powers of the counties along with other factors such as lack of organisational capabilities, lack of inter-county cooperation and the small size of some counties have often diminished the potential role of regional structures as drivers of regional development (Puljiz and Maleković, 2008).

It could be argued that Dalmatia could be relatively more successful in managing its regional development than much of the remainder of Croatia (e.g., the whole Northern Adriatic region and the mountainous region of Lika), looking only at the aspects of its economic and demographic characteristics in relation to other parts of the national territory (Kordej-De Villa and Pejnović, 2015). However, large disparities within the region have yet to be addressed in a more integral fashion. Learning and overall capacity building activities are especially important from the point of view of a balanced regional development. Otherwise, the majority of funding could be directed to most advanced regions, thus further contributing to regional unbalances (Puljiz and Maleković, 2008). The role of the main regional centres, as well as middle-sized and local urban centres, in regional development, demographic trends and age structure at the regional and local levels, weak production base and an (over)orientation towards the service sector, especially tourism, changes in the structure and number of dwellings, with increases in second homes, inadequate territorial and administrative organisation, are some of the main development issues that remain to be faced in the future development.

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WYZWANIA ROZWOJU REGIONALNEGO W DALMACJI

ABSTRAKT: Celem artykułu było zaprezentowanie procesu regionalnej transformacji w historycznym/geograficznym regionie Dalmacji od połowy XX wieku, wraz z identyfikacją głównych trendów współczesnego rozwoju regionalnego. Analiza skupiła się na: zmianie demograficznej, zmianie społeczno-ekonomicznej oraz fizjonomicznej w trakcie dwóch okresów: 1) druga połowa XX wieku; 2) nowy rozwój po 2001 roku. Analiza została przeprowadzona przez porównanie czterech subregionów Dalmacji, tj.: Zadar, Šibenik, Split oraz Dubrovnik, jak również w ujęciu pasów wysp, wybrzeża, głębi ładu badanego regionu.

Wyniki różnicowania procesów rozwojowych są widoczne w głównych regionalnych zróżnicowaniach dzisiejszego regionu (Dalmacji). Funkcje centrów miejskich obszaru; trendy demograficzne i struktura wiekowa na poziomie regionalnym i lokalnym; problemy produktu przemysłowego i słabnącej bazy produkcyjnej; nadmierna orientacja na sektor usługowy, głównie turystykę; zmiany w strukturze i liczbie mieszkań wraz ze wzrostem liczby drugich domów; nieadekwatna terytorialna i administracyjna organizacja pozostają niektórymi głównymi wyzwaniami, z którymi boryka się ten obszar w procesie rozwoju.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: zmiana demograficzna, zmiana społeczno-ekonomiczna, zmiana fizjonomiczna, Dalmacja, Chorwacja