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SOCIOGEOGRAFSKE PROMJENE U MALIM OTOČNIM ZAJEDNICAMA – PRIMJER OTOKA ZLARINA

SOCIO-GEOGRAPHIC CHANGES IN SMALL ISLAND COMMUNITIES – THE EXAMPLE OF THE ISLAND OF ZLARIN

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Prethodno priopćenje
Preliminary communication

Autorice na primjeru otoka Zlarina istražuju temeljne sociogeografske procese i najvažnije promjene u načinu života zajednica malih hrvatskih otoka od 1970-ih godina do danas. U radu je prezentiran dio rezultata istraživanja kvalitete života stanovništva Zlarina, provedenog metodom ankete i promatranja sa sudjelovanjem na uzorku od 67 ispitanika. Rezultati pokazuju da se zbog želje za demografskim opstankom zajednice, Zlarinjani sve više otvaraju prema strancima – prije svega doseljenicima, a onda i turistima, u kojima vide nadu demografske i gospodarske revitalizacije. Modernizacija je donijela i određene negativne promjene u mentalitetu i načinu shvaćanja zajednice, koje se ogledaju u smanjenoj solidarnosti članova i izraženijem materijalizmu. Ipak otočani i dalje iskazuju snažni osjećaj pripadnosti relativno homogenoj i intimnoj otočnoj zajednici u kojoj još uvijek postoji čvrsti osjećaj povezanosti.

Ključne riječi: Zlarin, mali otok, migracija, depopulacija, otočnost

On the example of the island of Zlarin, the authors investigate fundamental socio-geographic processes and the most important changes in the way of life of communities on small Croatian islands from 1970s until today. This paper presents a part of the results of a study conducted in February 2011 on Zlarin, within the framework of researching the quality of life of the population on the islands of Šibenik. It presents partial results of research on the quality of life of the population of Zlarin which was conducted using questionnaire and observation methods on a sample of 67 respondents. The results show that, due to their desire to assure the demographic survival of their community, Zlarin islanders are increasingly opening up towards foreigners – first of all to immigrants, and then to tourists, in whom they place their hopes for demographic and economic revitalisation. However, the islanders still show a strong sense of affiliation to their relatively homogeneous and intimate island community, to which they still have a strong sense of belonging.

Key words: Zlarin, small islands, migration, depopulation, insularity

Uvod

Zbog fizičke izoliranosti, određene prije svega odvojenosti otoka od kopna, ali i psihološke, koju nerijetko opisuju kao doživljaj (ne)sigurnosti, zatim demografske i gospodarske ograničenosti prostora omeđenog morem kao i ekoloških posebnosti svakog otoka otočani su osjetljivi na bilo koju vrstu društvenih i gospodarskih promjena. Svi navedeni elementi čine proučavanje njihova načina života iznimno zanimljivim.

Introduction

Due to physical isolation, determined primarily by the separation of the island from the mainland and to psychological isolation as well, which is often described as an experience of (in)security, but also because of demographic and economic limitations of space bounded by sea and environmental particularities of each island, islanders are especially sensitive to any kind of social and economic change. All these elements make the study of their way of life extremely interesting.

Promatrajući prostor hrvatskog otočja moguće je zamijetiti da su društvene i gospodarske promjene kroz koje prolazi Hrvatska kao država u nekoliko posljednjih desetljeća (i kao dio šireg europskog prostora), značajno utjecale i na način života stanovništva hrvatskih otoka.

Specifičnost života stanovnika otoka moguće je analizirati različitim pristupima koji svaki na svoj način objašnjavaju određeni aspekt koncepta otočnosti. Naime, koncept otočnosti dinamičan je i složen socijalni konstrukt koji podjednako određuju fizičke karakteristike topografije, tla i klime (o kojima ovise izvori i sirovine), smještaj otoka (udaljenost od kopna), veličina ili točnije malenost (prostora, zajednice, gospodarstva), doživljaji odnosa središte – periferija, intenzitet osjećaja prema lokalnoj otočkoj kulturi i povezanosti s njom ili postojanje tzv. otočnog identiteta (BALDACCHINO, 2004: 272-274; MARSHALL, 1999: 96). U istraživanju čiji su rezultati prezentirani u ovome radu primijenjen je kombinirani geografsko-sociološki pristup analizi jedne male otočne zajednice.

Cilj rada je, istražujući način života stanovništva šibenskog otoka Zlarina, opisati temeljne sociogeografske procese i najvažnije promjene u načinu života zajednica malih¹ hrvatskih otoka od 1970-ih do danas. Zlarin s površinom od svega 8,05 km² i duljinom obalne linije od 20,2 km (DUPLANČIĆ LEDER I DR., 2004.) uz Prvić, Krapanj, Kaprije, Žirje i Murter pripada šibenskoj otočnoj skupini. Od svih šibenskih otoka najbliži je kopnu,² od kojeg ga dijeli samo Šibenski kanal, ujedno i glavni prilaz Šibenskom zaljevu i glavnom regionalnom središtu gradu Šibeniku. Na otoku Zlarinu postoji samo jedno, istoimeno, naselje u kojem je 2011. živjelo 278 stanovnika u 144 kućanstva. Popis stanovništva 2011. pokazuje porast u odnosu na 2001. od 2 stanovnika, međutim naše su procjene da popisno stanje ne odgovara realnom demografskom stanju.³ Naime, tijekom

¹ Pri tom u male otoke u hrvatskim razmjerima ubrajamo one na kojima živi između 51 i 250 stalno nastanjenih stanovnika (prema LAJIĆ, MIŠETIĆ, 2006: 21, 24).

² Otok je od kopna udaljen nešto manje od 2 km, a luka Zlarin od Šibenika oko 6 km.

³ U demografskim istraživanjima hrvatskih otoka redovite se javlja metodološki problem zbog velikog broja formalno prijavljenih u vikendicama na otocima. Oni nisu stalni stanovnici otoka, već su tamo uglavnom u ljetnom dijelu godine, ali zbog različitih beneficija prijavljuju svoje prebivalište na otoku te su onda i popisani kao stalni stanovnici.

When examining the Croatian island region, it is possible to note that the social and economic changes that Croatia has experienced in the past several decades (as a part of the broader European area) have significantly affected the way of life on Croatian islands as well. The specificity of life of island inhabitants can be analysed using various approaches, each of which explains a given aspect of the concept of insularity.

The concept of insularity is a dynamic and complex social construct, equally determined by physical features of topography, soils and climates (on which resources and raw materials depend), by the location of the island (its distance from the mainland), by its size or, more precisely, its smallness (area, communities, economies), by experiences of the centre-periphery relationship, and by the intensity of feelings/connections to/with the local island culture, or the existence of the so-called island identity (BALDACCHINO, 2004: 272-274; MARSHALL, 1999: 96).

The research, results of which we now present in this paper, included the application of a combined geographical-sociological approach to the analysis of a small island community.

By researching the way of life of the population of Zlarin, one of the islands in the Šibenik archipelago, the aim of the paper is to describe fundamental socio-geographic processes and the most important changes in the way of life of communities on small¹ Croatian islands from 1970s until today. Zlarin, with a surface area of only 8.05 km² and a coastal circumference of 20.2 km (DUPLANČIĆ LEDER ET AL., 2004), together with Prvić, Krapanj, Kaprije, Žirje and Murter, is part of the Šibenik group of islands. Of all the islands of Šibenik, it is the closest to the mainland², from which it is divided only by the Šibenik Channel, which is also the main entrance to the Šibenik Bay and to the main regional centre, i.e. the city of Šibenik. There is only one settlement on the island of Zlarin, bearing the same name as the island, in which there were 278 residents in 144 households in 2011. The 2011 census showed an increase of 2 residents in comparison to 2001; yet, according to our estimates, the census findings do not correspond to the real demographic situation.³

¹ In regard to Croatian proportional framework, among small islands we include those that have 51 to 250 permanent residents (according to: LAJIĆ, MIŠETIĆ, 2006: 21, 24).

² The distance between the island and the mainland is a little less than 2 km, and the port of Zlarin is located at about 6 km from Šibenik.

³ In demographic research on Croatian islands there is a recurrent methodological problem, owing to the large number of persons formally registered in summer homes on islands.

istraživanja gotovo svi ispitanici tvrdili su da ih iz godine u godinu ima sve manje te da na otoku stalno živi između 180 i 200 stanovnika. Stoga je Zlarin i njegovo stanovništvo istraživački tretirano kao primjer malog hrvatskog otoka.

Prema multikriterijskoj ocjeni razvijenosti naseljenih otoka Nacionalnog programa razvitka otoka (1997.), Zlarin je svrstan u skupinu 30 najnerazvijenijih hrvatskih otoka čiji je razvoj potrebno pomoći posebnim mjerama razvojne politike.

Svojevrsnu posebnost u istraživanju socioekonomskih i demografskih procesa na Zlarinu u odnosu na neke druge male otoke čini njegov geoprometni položaj i blizina kopnu. Naime, moglo bi se očekivati da će otok tako blizu kopnu, i zbog toga s očekivano nižom razinom izoliranosti, imati vitalnije stanovništvo, povoljnije demografske pokazatelje i procese te kvalitetniju gospodarsku strukturu, a time i mogućnosti za bolji razvoj.

Metodologija istraživanja

U radu su korišteni podatci prikupljeni metodom ankete i promatranja sa sudjelovanjem. Podatci prikupljeni anketom⁴ na odabranom uzorku stanovnika otoka Zlarina, koji su poslužili kao primjer trenutnog stanja i odnosa u malim otočnim zajednicama, dio su istraživanja kvalitete života stanovništva šibenskih otoka. Za potrebe ovoga rada korišten je dio rezultata anketnog istraživanja provedenog na Zlarinu u veljači 2011. Uz znanstvenu i stručnu literaturu i dostupne statističke podatke, analizirani su kvalitativni podatci prikupljeni obradom devet otvorenih pitanja u upitniku povezani sa zaključcima provedenog promatranja sa sudjelovanjem.⁵ Tijekom promatranja vođene su bilješke (prema unaprijed određenom protokolu) o životu na otoku zimi, kada nema

⁴ Autori rada obavili su i posao anketara.

⁵ Naime, tijekom anketiranja provedeno je i desetodnevno promatranje sa sudjelovanjem. Promatrači su se na razne načine uključili u svakodnevne aktivnosti zajednice. Primjerice, kupovanjem u mjesnoj trgovini i na kiosku za novine, odlaskom u crkvu i na okupljanja prije i poslije mise, pomaganjem u radu na polju ili u masliniku, učlanjenjem u otočno kulturno društvo i sudjelovanjem u radu godišnje skupštine, posjetima domova otočana, neformalnim druženjem u kafićima, susretima s mještanima na brodu kao i na rivi prije i poslije dolaska broda.

Namely, during our research almost all respondents claimed that there are fewer and fewer inhabitants each year and that between 180 and 200 persons permanently reside on the island. Therefore, in our research we treated Zlarin and its population as an example of a small Croatian island.

According to the multicriteria assessment of the development of inhabited islands in the National Programme of Island Development (1997), Zlarin has been classified in the group of 30 most undeveloped Croatian islands, for whose development provision of aid is necessary through special measures of development policy.

A particular feature in regard to studying socio-economic and demographic processes on Zlarin is represented by its geo-communicational position and its proximity to the mainland. Specifically, one would expect that an island so close to the mainland and, because of this, with an expected lower level of isolation, would have a more vital population, more favourable demographic indicators and processes, and an economic structure of higher quality, as well as possibilities for development.

Research methodology

In this paper we used the data collected via a questionnaire survey, and we also applied the method of observation with participation. The data gathered via the survey⁴ on a selected sample of Zlarin island residents, which we will employ to exemplify current conditions and relationships in small island communities, represent a part of a study on the quality of life of the entire island population in the Šibenik archipelago. For the purposes of this paper, we will make use of a smaller part of the results of the questionnaire survey carried out in Zlarin in February 2011. Along with the information from scientific and professional sources, and available statistical data, we will analyse qualitative information, gathered by processing nine open questions in the questionnaire and connected to conclusions from

They are not permanent inhabitants of islands, but are present mostly in the summer part of year; yet, they register their permanent residence on islands because of various benefits, and thus appear in the censuses as permanent residents.

⁴ The authors of the paper carried out the questionnaire survey themselves.

turista, već u svakodnevnom ritmu i obvezama sudjeluju isključivo stalni stanovnici otoka.

S obzirom na malobrojnost populacije, anketnim istraživanjem obuhvaćeno je otprilike 30% punoljetnog stalno nastanjenog stanovništva otoka. Pri odabiru uzorka, posebice planiranju dobne strukture, nije se moglo osloniti na podatke popisa stanovništva 2001. zbog vjerojatnosti da se struktura stanovništva znatno izmijenila u proteklih deset godina. Naime, iznimna je osjetljivost brojčano malih otočnih zajednica na prirodno i mehaničko kretanje, a posebice u vremenima društvenih i gospodarskih promjena kakvima je bilo izloženo stanovništvo Dalmacije u razdoblju između posljednja tri popisa stanovništva. Istraživačice su se odlučile za izbor hotimičnoga neproporcionalnog kvotnog uzorka ispitanika kojim je obuhvaćeno današnje otočno stanovništvo različitih migracijskih povijesti i iskustava. Naime, razlog za izbor hotimičnog i neproporcionalnog uzorka je znatno veći broj žena najstarijih dobnih skupina koje nisu sudjelovale u migraciji. Ukupno je anketirano 67 ispitanika, od čega su 28 muškarci (41,8%) i 39 žene (58,2%). Starosna struktura ispitanika u uzorku istraživanja je: od 19 do 30 godina – 5 ispitanika/ispitanica; od 31 do 40 godina – 3 ispitanika/ispitanice; od 41 do 50 godina – 11 ispitanika/ispitanica; od 51 do 60 godina – 13 ispitanika/ispitanica; od 61 do 70 godine – 18 ispitanika/ispitanica; od 71 do 80 godina – 10 ispitanika/ispitanica i od 81 do 91 godine – 7 ispitanika/ispitanica.

Koristeći se hrvatskim uvjetima prilagođenom tipologijom otočnih migranata (PODGORELEC, 2010: 145-151) s obzirom na migracijsko iskustvo, uzorkom je bilo obuhvaćeno šest skupina stanovnika. U prvu ubrajamo **stanovnike nemigrante** – sve rođene na otoku koji nemaju osobnoga migracijskog iskustva. Skupinu **iseljenika** čine rođeni na otoku koji su zbog školovanja i rada živjeli više desetaka godina u drugoj sredini i na otok se vratili u raznim vremenskim točkama svoga životnog ciklusa. Kad je o Zlarinjanima riječ, od hrvatskih destinacija najčešće su iseljavali u Šibenik, Zagreb, Split i Zadar, a od inozemnih u SAD i Argentinu (DEAN, 2004.). U ovoj skupini uglavnom je riječ o radnoj migraciji koja je tijekom života i rada izvan otoka nastojala redovito posjećivati otok u vrijeme godišnjeg odmora i za razne praznike, a mnogi koji su iselili u Šibenik dolazili su gotovo svaki

the conducted observations with participation.⁵ During our observations we made notes (according to a pre-defined protocol) on life on the island in the winter when there are no tourists, and when only permanent residents of the island participate in everyday rhythms and obligations.

In view of the small size of the population, we decided to include approximately 30% of the permanently resident adult population in the questionnaire survey. In choosing the sample, especially in planning the age structure, we could not rely on the 2001 census data, due to the likelihood that the population structure has changed considerably over the last ten years. Namely, such numerically small island communities are very sensitive to shifts in natural growth and migration, and especially in periods of social and economic changes, such as those that affected the population of Dalmatia in the period between the last three censuses.

Consequently, the authors decided to select a deliberately disproportionate quota sample of respondents, which included all adult age groups among the island population with various migration histories and experiences. Namely, the choice of such an intentional and non-proportional sample was due to the significantly large number of women in older age groups who did not participate in migration. In total, 67 respondents were surveyed, of which 28 were males (41.8%) and 39 were females (58.2%). The age structure of respondents in the research sample was as follows: from 19 to 30 years of age, 5 respondents; from 31 to 40, 3 respondents; from 41 to 50, 11 respondents; from 51 to 60, 13 respondents; from 61 to 70, 18 respondents; from 71 to 80 year, 10 respondents and from 81 to 91 years of age, 7 respondents.

Applying a typology of island migrants adapted to Croatian conditions (PODGORELEC, 2010: 145-151) in regard to migration experiences, six groups of inhabitants were included in the sample. In the first group **resident non-migrants** were included – i.e. all island-born persons who had no personal migration experiences. The group of **emigrants** was made up of persons born on the island who had lived for several

⁵ Namely, during the survey, we also carried out a ten-day observation work with participation. We were actively involved in the daily activities of the community. For example, we would buy products in the local shop and at the newspaper kiosk, go to church and meet with parish members before and after mass; we would help in the work in the fields, or in olive groves. We also enrolled in the island cultural society and participated in the work of its annual meeting. We were invited into the homes of islanders, informally socialised in cafés; we would meet residents onboard the local ship, as well as on the quayside before and after the arrival of the ship.

vikend. Dio nekadašnje iseljeničke skupine čini relativno veliki broj ispitanika koje svrstavamo u **povratničku umirovljeničku migraciju**. Naime, najveći broj iseljenih otočana vratio se trajno živjeti na otok odmah po stjecanju prava na mirovinu. Zatim su tu dnevni i tjedni **cirkulanti**⁶ u oba smjera – osobe koje redovito dnevno ili tjedno putuju s otoka na kopno u školu ili na posao u Šibenik ili druga bliža mjesta u priobalju, ali i stanovnici Šibenika koji zbog posla redovito dnevno putuju na Zlarin. Jedan dio stalno nastanjenih otočana na Zlarinu danas čine i **doseljenici – bivši turisti**, tj. osobe rođene u drugim dijelovima Hrvatske, zemljama susjedstva (BiH, Slovenija, Srbija), ali i iz zemalja Zapadne Europe. Oni su, uglavnom, nakon višegodišnjega turističkog boravka na otoku odlučili kupiti ili izgraditi kuće za odmor i stalno se naseliti ili na Zlarinu provoditi najmanje šest mjeseci godišnje. Jednu od prepoznatljivih vrsta otočana migranta čine i **doseljenici – bračni migranti**. I na kraju, relativno malu skupinu stanovništva čine i **radni imigranti** – doseljenici zbog posla koji na otoku žive duže od godine dana.

Sociogeografske promjene u maloj otočnoj zajednici – rezultati istraživanja i rasprava

O depopulaciji

Osnovni demografski proces na hrvatskim otocima u 20. i početkom 21. stoljeća predstavlja depopulacija, koja je obilježila ne samo demografski već i ukupan društveno-gospodarski razvoj hrvatskih otoka. Osnovni uzrok depopulacije nalazimo u stoljetnom iseljavanju otočnog stanovništva započetom krajem 19. stoljeća, a koje se kontinuirano odvijalo i cijelo 20. stoljeće, dogod su postojale bioreproduktivne osnove, tj. dogod je bilo mladog stanovništva. Propast vinogradarstva krajem 19. i početkom 20. stoljeća potaknula je osiromašeno seosko stanovništvo da "sigurniju

⁶ Cirkulanata na šibenskim otocima danas je iznimno malo, ali istraživanje je ustanovilo da se stanje u posljednjih petnaestak uglavnom nije promijenilo. Naime, već je istraživanje dnevne cirkulacije na Prviću i Zlarinu provedeno 1998. ustanovilo "da je dnevno cirkuliranje, kako radnika tako i školske populacije, svedeno na takve kvantitativne okvire da na primjeru šibenskih otoka govorimo o teorijski posljednjem naraštaju kolektivnog dnevnog cirkuliranja" (LAJIĆ I DR., 2001: 182). Otprilike ista brojnost cirkulanata zadržana je do danas (između 10 i 15).

decades in another area due to schooling or work, and had returned to the island at various points of time in their life cycles. In regard to people from Zlarin, the Croatian destinations to which they migrated were most often Šibenik, Zagreb, Split and Zadar, and the foreign ones were the USA and Argentina (DEAN, 2004). This group mostly included labour migration, and these people would regularly visit the island during annual vacations and various holidays during their lives and work outside the island, and many who had moved to Šibenik would return to the island practically every weekend. A part of the former emigrant group was made up of a relatively large number of respondents that we classified as **returnee pension migration**. Namely, the largest number of emigrant islanders returned to permanently reside on the island immediately after acquiring pension rights. Then, there are daily and weekly **commuters**⁶ in both directions – persons who regularly each day, or once a week, travel from the island to the mainland to school or work in Šibenik or in other nearby locations on the mainland coast, and likewise residents of Šibenik who regularly travel to Zlarin for work reasons each day. Today, one part of permanently resident islanders on Zlarin is made up of **immigrants – former tourists**, i.e. persons born in other parts of Croatia, and from neighbouring countries (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Slovenia, Serbia), as well as from Western European countries. After many years of tourist residence, they usually decide to buy or build vacation houses and permanently settle on Zlarin, or spend at least six months a year on the island. One recognizable type of islanders and migrants is made up of – **marriage immigrants**. And finally, a relatively small group of the population includes **labour migrants** – i.e. immigrants due to work, who have lived on the island for more than a year.

Socio-geographic changes in a small island community – research results and discussion

On depopulation (population decline)

The basic demographic process on Croatian islands in the 20th and early 21st century has been

⁶ Today there are very few cases of commuters on the islands of Šibenik, but our research showed that this situation has not generally changed during the last fifteen years or so. Namely, previous research on daily commuting in Prvić and Zlarin conducted in 1998 confirmed "that daily circulation, both of workers and of the school population, was reduced to such a quantitative framework that, in the example of the islands of Šibenik, we can theoretically speak of the last generation of collective daily circulation" (LAJIĆ ET AL., 2001: 182). About the same number of commuters has been maintained until today (between 10 and 15).

budućnost" potraži uglavnom u prekomorskim zemljama (NEJAŠMIĆ, 1991.; LAJIĆ, 1992.). Razvojni programi nakon Drugoga svjetskog rata zaobišli su otoke te se iseljavanje nastavilo, poglavito u priobalna i druga gradska središta u zemlji te u zapadnoeuropske zemlje. Gospodarski razvoj socijalističke Jugoslavije temeljio se na ubrzanom razvoju industrije u gradskim središtima, koja postaju centri razvoja, dok istovremeno hrvatski otoci ne samo prostorno, već i gospodarski postaju periferija bez značajne vizije razvoja, prepušteni stihijskim gospodarskim aktivnostima, uglavnom turizmu, uz zapuštanje tradicionalne poljoprivrede i ribarstva.

Nepovoljan gospodarski razvoj poticao je emigraciju, a time i depopulaciju. Dugotrajna depopulacija imala je za posljedicu nagli porast udjela starog stanovništva i smanjenje mladog stanovništva, između ostalog i kao odgovor na selektivnost migracijskih kretanja (u kojima sudjeluje pretežno mlađe radno-aktivno stanovništvo) te negativnu prirodnu promjenu koja je, u suvremenom demografskom razdoblju, ključni činitelj nepovoljnih demografskih trendova (LAJIĆ, 1992.). Tako je s vremenom došlo do svojevrsnog zatvaranja kruga – depopulacija postaje ograničavajući čimbenik društveno-gospodarskog razvoja hrvatskih otoka.

Iako su pojedini veći i premošteni otoci u određenim međupopisnim razdobljima pokazivali pozitivne demografske procese, mali i iznimno mali otoci već su desetljećima prostori demografskog izumiranja. Na nekima od njih došlo je do potpunog prestanka stalne naseljenosti. Najjednostavniji opis malih i iznimno malih hrvatskih otoka jest da su to otoci s jednim ili dva naselja, izumirućom starosnom strukturom i negativnim vrijednostima bioreproduktivnih pokazatelja, te u većini primjera slabo razvijenoga gospodarstva i skromnoga životnog standarda (LAJIĆ, MIŠETIĆ, 2006.). Otok Zlarin i njegovo stanovništvo prema svim karakteristikama tipičan su primjer maloga hrvatskog otoka.

Stanovništvo i migracija

Prema arheološkim nalazima naseljenost Zlarina datira još iz srednjega kamenog doba i od tada pa sve do danas Zlarin je prostor različitih migracijskih kretanja. Veći dio svoje prošlosti bio je imigracijski otok na koji se sklanjalo stanovništvo s kopna pred različitim vojnim pohodima (DEAN, 2004.). Odvojenost otoka

depopulation (population decline), which has marked not only their demographic, but also their entire socio-economic development. The basic cause of depopulation is to be found in long-standing emigration of the island population, which began at the end of the 19th century, and continued throughout the entire 20th century, as long as it had a bio-reproductive basis, i.e. as long as there was a young population. The failure of viticulture at the end of the 19th and in the early 20th century encouraged the impoverished rural population to look for a "more secure future", mainly in overseas countries (NEJAŠMIĆ, 1991; LAJIĆ, 1992). Development programmes after World War II bypassed the islands and thus emigration continued, primarily to coastal and other urban centres in the country and to Western European countries. The economic development of Socialist Yugoslavia had been based on an accelerated development of industry in urban centres, which became centres of development, while at the same time Croatian islands, not only spatially, but also economically, became a periphery without a major vision of development, left to spontaneous economic activities, mostly tourism; and traditional agriculture and fishing were also neglected.

Unfavourable economic development stimulated emigration and, therefore, depopulation as well. Long-term depopulation has had as a result a sudden increase in the share of the elderly population and a reduction in the young population, among other things, both as a result of the selectivity of migration movements (in which mostly the younger working population participates) and due to negative natural changes which, in the modern demographic period, were a key factor contributing to unfavourable demographic trends (LAJIĆ, 1992). Thus, with time, a type of vicious circle developed – depopulation became a limiting factor for the socio-economic development of Croatian islands.

Although some larger islands, with bridges to the mainland, have shown positive demographic trends in some inter-census periods, small and very small islands have already been experiencing demographic extinction for decades. On some of them permanent residence has ended. The simplest description of small and very small Croatian islands is that these are islands with one or two settlements, with an extinguishing age structure and negative values in regard to bio-reproductive indicators, and in most cases with a poorly developed economy and a modest living standard (LAJIĆ, MIŠETIĆ, 2006). According to all its characteristics, the island of Zlarin, with its population, represents a typical example of a small Croatian island.

morem od kopna, kolika god nevelika udaljenost bila, pružala je određenu sigurnost stanovništvu u nestabilnim vremenima.

Ovisno o društveno-gospodarskim prilikama na Zlarinu je značajno varirao broj stanovnika pa je tako 1587. zabilježeno 76 kuća u kojima je živjelo 496 stanovnika, a gotovo sto godina kasnije, 1680., taj je broj udvostručen – 145 kuća i 1 018 stanovnika (DEAN, 2004: 64). U to doba glavne gospodarske djelatnosti Zlarinjana bile su poljoprivreda i ribarstvo.

Uslijedit će dva stoljeća intenzivnoga gospodarskog napretka otoka temeljenog na vinogradarstvu, maslinarstvu, ribarstvu, koraljarstvu i pomorstvu, koji će pratiti i demografska ekspanzija te prostorno širenje i razvoj naselja. Premda pretežno ruralne mediteranske arhitekture, Zlarin polako sve više poprima izgled otočnog gradića. Godine 1829. na otoku je živjelo 223 obitelji s ukupno 1 586 stanovnika (STULLI, 1980: 183). U razdoblju suvremenih popisa stanovništva, od 1857. (1643 stanovnika) do danas vrhunac naseljenosti na Zlarinu zabilježen je 1921. (1 980 stanovnika), dakle, u vrijeme najveće napućenosti cjelokupnoga hrvatskog otočja (Sl. 1.). Između dva svjetska rata Zlarin je postupno izgubio polovinu svoga stanovništva (1948. imao je svega 896 stanovnika). U iseljeništvu prve polovine stoljeća sudjelovali su gotovo isključivo muškarci, i to mahom pomorci⁷, koji su teškim i slabo plaćenim fizičkim poslovima uzdržavali obitelji u Zlarinu. Bile su to tzv. delegirane migracije, zamišljene kao privremene, ali rijetki među njima uspijevaju u kraćem razdoblju ostvariti emigracijski cilj i vratiti se na otok. Neznatan je i broj Zlarinjana koji su zaradili dovoljno da bi, nakon nekog vremena, u iseljništvo mogli odvesti i obitelj. Tako je na Zlarinu stvorena gospodarska i društvena situacija u kojoj su zlarinske žene bile prisiljene preuzimati sve vrste poslova⁸ i samostalno voditi kućanstva i posjede. Premda njihov društveni položaj nije radikalno izmijenjen, te okolnosti utjecale su na izraženiju samosvijest, autoritet i sposobnost odlučivanja Zlarinjanki u usporedbi s drugim

⁷ Nakon Prvoga svjetskog rata i propasti Austro-ugarske monarhije brodovi austrijskog Lloyd prelaze u talijansko vlasništvo, te se velik broj zlarinskih pomoraca, koji su odbili optirati za Italiju, vraća na Zlarin, gdje za njih nema posla, pa već kroz nekoliko mjeseci iseljavaju u prekomorske zemlje (DEAN, 2004.).

⁸ Pa i one poslove koji su do tada bili isključivo muški poput kopanja ili ribolova.

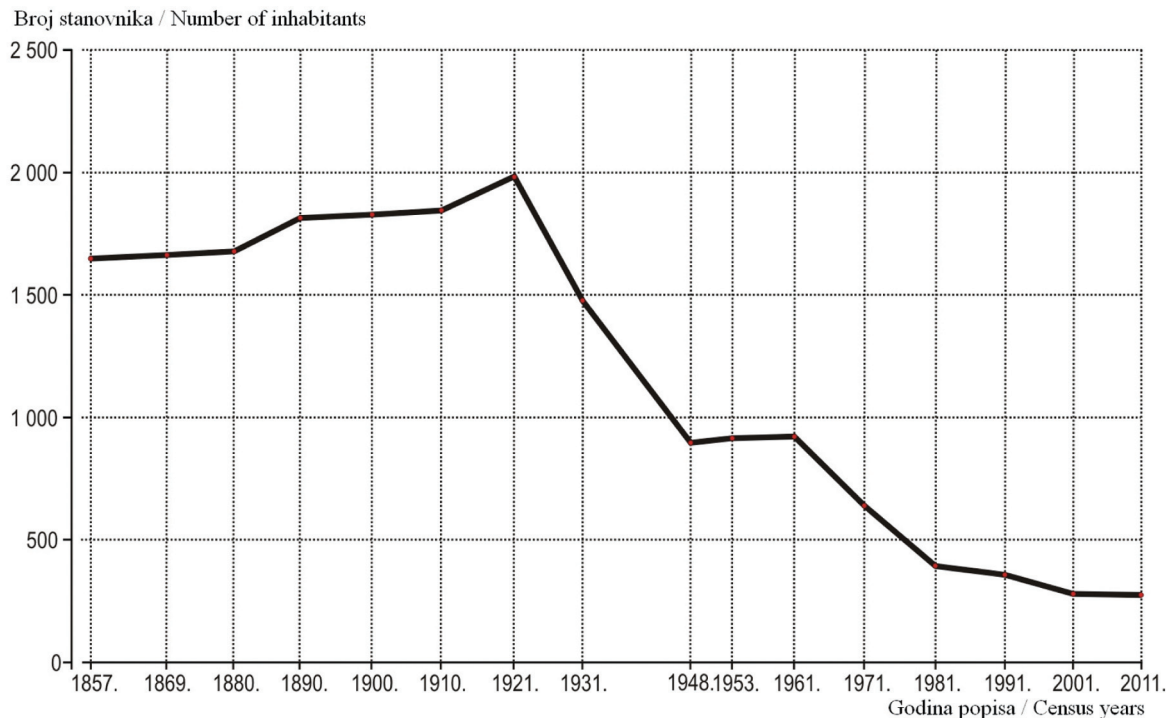
Population and migration

According to archaeological findings, the human presence on Zlarin dates back to as early as the Middle Stone Age, and from then until today Zlarin has been an area of diverse migration movements. For most of its past it has been an island of immigration, on which mainland populations took refuge in the face of various military campaigns (DEAN, 2004). Separation of the island from the mainland by the sea, regardless of how small this distance was, provided a certain security for the population in unstable times.

Depending on socio-economic conditions, the number of inhabitants on Zlarin varied significantly and so in 1587, 76 houses were recorded, in which 496 inhabitants lived, and almost a hundred years later, in 1680, this number doubled: 145 houses and 1,018 inhabitants (DEAN, 2004: 64). At that time the main economic activities of the people of Zlarin were agriculture and fishing.

Two centuries of intense economic development of the island followed, based on viticulture, olive-growing, fishing, coral diving and shipping, and accompanied by demographic expansion and spatial growth and development of the settlement. Although it mostly had a rural Mediterranean architecture, Zlarin village slowly started to acquire the appearance of a small island town. In 1829, 223 families lived on the island, and it had a total of 1,586 inhabitants (STULLI, 1980: 183). In the modern census period, from 1857 (with 1,643 inhabitants) until today, the largest number of inhabitants on Zlarin was registered in 1921 (1,980 inhabitants), at a time when all Croatian islands reached highpoints in population size (Fig. 1). Between the two world wars Zlarin gradually lost half of its population (in 1948 it had only 896 inhabitants). In the first half of the century emigrants were almost entirely men, mostly seafarers⁷, who supported their families on Zlarin through hard and low-paid manual jobs. These were so-called delegated migrations, imagined as temporary; but rarely did a person manage to achieve the migration goal in a relatively brief period and return to the island. Negligible was also the number of people from Zlarin who, after a while, earned enough to bring their families into emigration. Thus, an economic and social

⁷ After World War I and the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, ships belonging to Austrian Lloyd passed into Italian ownership, and a large number of Zlarin seafarers who refused to opt for Italy returned to Zlarin, where there was no work for many of them; thus, only several months later, they emigrated to overseas countries (DEAN, 2004.).

Slika 1. Kretanje broja stanovnika Zlarina 1857.-2011. godine⁹Figure 1 Development of the population of Zlarin, census years 1857-2011⁹

seoskim zajednicama (MURAJ, 1999.). Masovno odseljavanje mladih muškaraca, samaca ili oženjenih znatno je poremetilo i "bračno tržište" na otoku, a time i rodnost, te kasnije utjecalo i na pojačano iseljavanje mladih žena zbog udaje za neotočane.

U razdoblju od 1948. do 1961. broj stanovnika uglavnom stagnira (zadržava se na razini oko 900) a u sljedećem razdoblju, 1961.-1981. uslijedila je intenzivna depopulacija – Zlarin je izgubio dvije trećine ukupnog stanovništva (pad s 920 na 399 stanovnika). Osim iseljavanja značajan čimbenik negativnih demografskih trendova je i negativna prirodna promjena, koja je posljedica kontinuiranog odlaska stanovništva u fertilnoj dobi. Rezultat je smanjenje nataliteta te relativni porast mortaliteta – objektivne posljedice starenja populacije. Od 1980-ih nastavio se trend smanjenja ukupnog broja stanovnika, ali sa znatno manjim stopama godišnjeg pada, jer je duboko okljaštrena dobno-polna struktura stanovništva već izgubila velik

situation was created on Zlarin, in which women on the island were forced to take over all types of activities⁸ and maintain households and estates independently. Although their social status did not change radically, these circumstances had an effect on the more pronounced self-confidence, authority and decision-making ability of Zlarin women, in comparison to women in other rural communities (MURAJ, 1999). The mass emigration of young men, single or married, significantly distorted the "marriage market" on the island, and later influenced and also increased the emigration of young women, due to marriage to non-islanders.

In the period from 1948 to 1961 the population mainly stagnated (remaining on the level of about 900), and then in the next period, 1961-1981, intense depopulation followed – Zlarin lost two thirds of its total population (a decline from 920 to 399 inhabitants). Besides emigration, a significant factor contributing to negative demographic trends

⁸ Including those activities that were previously exclusively male, such as digging and fishing.

⁹ According to the 1869 census Zlarin had 3,063 inhabitants. However, data for the settlement of Zlarin also comprised information for the settlements Zablacé and Prvić Šepurine. According to the authors' estimation, the settlement of Zlarin by itself had about 1,660 inhabitants in 1869.

⁹ Prema popisu 1869. Zlarin je imao 3 063 stanovnika. Međutim, u naselju Zlarin sadržani su i podatci za naselja Zablacé i Prvić Šepurine. Prema procjeni autora samo naselje Zlarin imalo je 1 660 stanovnika.

broj mladih koji su i potencijalno najmigratibilniji. Zadnjih dvadeset godina Zlarin bilježi značajnu povratničku umirovljeničku migraciju odseljenih Zlarinjana, što dodatno utječe na demografsko starenje populacije. Od 2000. do 2009. na Zlarinu je zabilježeno 13 rođenja i 75 smrti, iz čega je jasno da je rađanje postalo iznimno rijetka, a sprovodi česta pojava.

Gospodarstvo i migracija

Fizička ograničenost prostora, malobrojnost stanovnika i uz nju vezana sociopsihološka zatvorenost prema drugom i drugačijem (od gospodarstva, kulture i običaja do ljudi) čine utjecaj migracije na formiranje demografske strukture otočnih zajednica iznimno velikim. Razlozi migracije pretežno su ekonomski. Na otocima je prisutno višedesetljetno ili trajno iseljavanje radno aktivnog stanovništva zbog nemogućnosti zapošljavanja na otoku te odlazak djece i mladih stanovnika, nerijetko već u ranim fazama školovanja, kao preteča trajnog iseljenja. Zbog nepostojanja adekvatne infrastrukture za skrb o djeci (jaslica i vrtića¹⁰), ali i obrazovnih institucija (prije svega osnovnih škola¹¹), kao i slabosti obrazovnog procesa u malim otočnim školama¹² te nepostojanja organiziranog provođenja slobodnog vremena, nerijetko su s otoka prisiljene iseliti mlade obitelji. Tako se i danas najveći dio otočnih emigranata ubraja u mlađe radno sposobno stanovništvo, koje otok napušta zbog nejednakih mogućnosti zapošljavanja i obrazovanja djece u odnosu na stanovništvo na kopnu.

Analizirajući ekonomske izvore otoka tijekom zadnjih pedeset godina zaključujemo da su se otočni resursi pokazali iznimno osjetljivi prema utjecajima s kopna i da ih je danas na mnogim otocima manje i slabije su kvalitete. Stoga su suvremeni pokušaji ostvarivanja gospodarske

¹⁰ Nepostojanje dječjeg vrtića na otoku te strah od zatvaranja škole u kojoj je u šk. god. 2010./2011. bilo svega 5 učenika ispitanici smatraju jakim razlogom za iseljenje još preostalih nekoliko mladih obitelji, ali i jednim od važnijih ograničenja mogućeg vraćanja iseljenih otočana ili doseljavanja stranaca.

¹¹ Na većini malih hrvatskih otoka djeca su prisiljena već nakon četvrtog razreda osnovne škole školovanje nastaviti u gradovima na obali.

¹² Učiteljica svakodnevno putuje iz Šibenika na Zlarin brodskom linijom u 10 h i nastavu održava u vremenskom razmaku do povratka broda u 12 i 40. U tako kratkom vremenu održava usporedno nastavu učenicima raznih uzrasta i različitih nastavnih programa.

was also negative natural growth, which was a consequence of the continuous departure of the population of fertile age. The result was a decrease in birth rates and a relative increase in death rates – an objective outcome of population ageing. From the 1980s the trend of total population reduction continued, but with much smaller annual rates of decrease, since the greatly trimmed age-sex population structure had already lost many young people, who were potentially most prone to migration. In the last twenty years Zlarin has seen a significant return migration of retired people from Zlarin who had previously left the island, which additionally affected the ageing of the population. From 2000 to 2009, 13 births and 75 deaths were registered on Zlarin, which clearly shows that births have become extremely rare, while funerals have become frequent occurrences.

Economy and migration

The physical constraints of space, small numbers of inhabitants, and, associated with this, socio-psychological closure towards others and to what is different (from the economy, culture and customs to people) makes the influence of migration on the formation of the demographic structure of island communities exceptionally important. Reasons for migration are mostly economic. Because of the impossibility of finding employment on the islands, they have been experiencing emigration of their working age population lasting several decades or permanently. The departure of children and young residents, frequently even during the early phases of schooling, has likewise been a precursor of permanent emigration. The lack of adequate infrastructures for child care (nursery schools and kindergartens¹⁰), and also inadequate educational institutions (primarily elementary schools¹¹), as well as the weakness of the educational process in small island schools¹² and the non-existence of organised leisure activities,

¹⁰ The absence of a nursery school and fear that the elementary school will be closed, which had only 5 pupils in the school year 2010/2011, were considered by the respondents to be strong reasons for the emigration of the last remaining young families, and also possible limitations for the return of emigrated islanders, or for the immigration of foreigners.

¹¹ On most small Croatian islands, already after the first four years of elementary school, children are forced to continue their schooling in towns on the mainland coast.

¹² Each day the teacher travels from Šibenik to Zlarin by ship at 10:00 AM and has classes in the interval until the return of the ship at 12:40 PM. In such a small amount of time, parallel teaching is provided to pupils of various ages and with different curriculums.

dobiti na otoku popriličan izazov, podjednako za otočno stanovništvo kao i došljake (PODGORELEC, 2008).

Snažan razvoj industrije u velikim obalnim gradovima poput Rijeke, Splita, Zadra i Šibenika 1960-ih omogućio je brojno zapošljavanje stanovnika otoka koji tim gradovima gravitiraju (KLEMPIĆ BOGADI, PODGORELEC, 2009). Tako je velik broj Zlarinjana bio zaposlen u Šibeniku. Odgovor na takvo gospodarsko usmjerenje bivše države prema razvoju obalnih gradova, na otocima se očitovao kroz pad tradicionalnih gospodarskih djelatnosti. Stanovnici Zlarina bavili su se mediteranskom poljoprivredom, ribarstvom, koraljarstvom, pomorstvom te turizmom. U poljoprivredu na Zlarinu, premda je predstavljala tradicionalnu, temeljnu gospodarsku djelatnost, kao ni na drugim hrvatskim otocima, nije se ulagalo niti su postojali razvojni planovi. U početku, otoci proživljavaju fazu deagrarijacije zapošljavanjem stanovništva na obali praćenu pojavom kolektivnih dnevnih ili tjednih cirkulacija radnika. Međutim, stambena politika kojom su radnici s otoka dobivali stanove u kopnenim središtima u kojima su i radili te neadekvatno povezivanje s kopnom predstavljaju privlačno-potisne čimbenike iseljavanja stanovništva priobalnih otoka, poput Zlarina, koji bi, zbog blizine Šibenika, trebao biti tretiran kao jedna od njegovih gradskih četvrti¹³ tj. "gradski" otok. Stoga su se i brojni Zlarinjani, premda u idealnoj poziciji za dnevno cirkuliranje, odlučili za trajno preseljenje u Šibenik. Egzodus je doveo do smanjenja ukupnog stanovništva, a samim time i do ukidanja određenih obrta i usluga na otoku, koji su pak poticali daljnje iseljavanje. Do 1970-ih, kada započinje snažniji razvoj turizma na hrvatskim otocima, mnogi od njih već su u fazi podmakle depopulacije.

Zlarin ima relativno dugu turističku tradiciju. Njegova prednost kao turističke destinacije oduvijek je bila blizina Šibenika, a posljednjih dvadesetak godina to je i relativno kvalitetna povezanost brodskim prijevozom te, u sezoni, dostupnost raznovrsnije kulturne i ugostiteljske ponude u odnosu na druge otoke šibenskog arhipelaga. Prepoznatljivosti i privlačnosti otoka, posebice za jednodnevne turiste, svakako

¹³ Brodom je udaljen nešto manje od 30 minuta vožnje i, kako su nam rekli neki ispitanici, mnogo je brže stići sa Zlarina u Šibenik negoli s jednog na drugi kraj Šibenika javnim prijevozom. Tek od 1990-ih Zlarin je sa Šibenikom povezan s četiri dnevne veze radnim danom.

frequently force young families to migrate from the islands. Thus, even today the largest part of migrants from the islands is made up of young work-capable people who departed due to unequal opportunities for employment and education of children in comparison to opportunities on the mainland.

Analysing the economic sources of the islands during the last fifty years, we conclude that island resources have shown exceptional sensitivity to influences from the mainland and that on many islands today they are fewer in number and of poorer quality. Therefore, modern attempts to achieve economic profits on the islands represent a substantial challenge, equally for the island population as well as for newcomers (PODGORELEC, 2008).

The intense development of industry in large coastal cities such as Rijeka, Split, Zadar and Šibenik during the 1960s enabled sizeable employment of island residents who gravitated towards these towns (KLEMPIĆ BOGADI, PODGORELEC, 2009). Thus, a large number of people from Zlarin found work in Šibenik. A response to such an economic direction adopted by the former state towards the development of coastal towns manifested itself on the islands in the decline of traditional activities. Inhabitants of Zlarin had been engaged in Mediterranean agriculture, fishing, coral diving, shipping and tourism. As on other Croatian islands, there were no investments or development plans for agriculture on Zlarin, although agriculture represented a traditional, essential economic activity. At first, the islands experienced a phase of deagrarianisation through the employment of the population on the mainland coast, combined with the phenomenon of daily or weekly worker commuting (circulation). Yet, the housing policy by which workers from the islands received flats in the mainland centres in which they were employed, and inadequate links with the mainland, represented push-pull factors in the emigration of populations from coastal islands, such as Zlarin, which, due to its proximity to Šibenik, should have been treated as one of the city's neighbourhoods (districts)¹³, i.e. as a "city" island. Thus, even though the island was in an ideal position for daily commuting, many people from Zlarin decided to relocate permanently to Šibenik. The emigrant exodus brought about a reduction of the total population and therefore, also a termination of many crafts and services on

¹³ By ship the distance is a little less than 30 minutes sailing-time and, as some respondents told us, it is much faster to arrive from Zlarin to Šibenik than to get from one end of Šibenik to the other by public transportation. Only since the 1990s was Zlarin linked to Šibenik with four daily connections during weekdays.

je pridonijela i koraljarska tradicija. Ipak, zlarinski turizam obilježava izrazita sezonalnost, neodgovarajuća i nedostatna struktura smještaja, nedostatak sadržaja i kvalitetnih kadrova. Od 2001. prosječna turistička posjećenost kreće se između 3 000 i 10 000 turista u sezoni,¹⁴ od čega su otprilike dvije trećine strani turisti. Relativno mali broj stacionarnih turista zadnjih godina značajno nadopunjuju nautičari¹⁵ i jednodnevni izletnici. Na otoku je relativno malo smještajnih kapaciteta namijenjenih turistima. Postoji svega jedan mali hotel sa 60 soba, zatim 58 soba i apartmana u privatnom smještaju i 105 mjesta za kampiranje.¹⁶ Prema podacima popisa 2011. godine od ukupno 840 stambenih jedinica na otoku, 389 su bili stanovi za stalno stanovanje, a od ostalih je većina stanova za odmor i rekreaciju.¹⁷ Dakle, velik je broj turista koji ljetuju u svojim kućama za odmor. Mnogi od njih kupili su stare kuće i obnovili ih u skladu s autohtonom otočnom, pretežno, ruralnom arhitekturom pa, usprkos određenom broju obnovljenih i izgrađenih kuća u neskladu sa zlarinskim tradicijskim graditeljstvom, naselje još odiše dojmom očuvanosti autentičnog otočnog ambijenta.

Relativnu nerazvijenost zlarinskoga stacionarnog turizma jedan ispitanik u anketnom istraživanju objasnio je sljedećim riječima: "Zlarin je bio bogat nekada, Zlarinjani zato nisu htjeli turiste, nisu htjeli ni marinu. Bili su školovani, i na neki način sebični. Nije bilo intencija za unapređenje života na otoku" (M, 91). Na pitanje čine li turisti svojim dolaskom i donošenjem drugačijih običaja i navika Zlarin boljim ili lošijim mjestom za život, dvije trećine ispitanika drže da turisti unaprjeđuju život otoka.

¹⁴ Promet turista u primorskim gradovima i općinama 2003.-2007., DZS, Zagreb.

¹⁵ Otok nije adekvatno infrastrukturno opremljen za velik broj brodova koji dnevno u sezoni pristaju u Zlarinski zaljev pa postoji opasnost značajnog zagađenja okoliša.

¹⁶ Podaci za 2007., Promet turista u primorskim gradovima i općinama 2007., DZS, Zagreb.

¹⁷ Kod podataka o broju stambenih jedinica opet je uočljiv metodološki problem. Na Zlarinu je 2011. zabilježeno 840 stambenih jedinica, od toga 389 za stalno stanovanje. Istovremeno je popisano stalno stanovništvo u 144 kućanstva. Iz navedenog je vidljivo da je realno znatno manji broj stanova za stalno stanovanje nego što popis 2011. prikazuje, dok je znatno veći broj stanova za odmor i rekreaciju. Iz samog uvida na terenu jasno je da je vrlo mali broj napuštenih stanova i stanova u kojim se obavlja djelatnost (isključen turizam).

the island, which led to further emigration. By the 1970s, when a more intense development of tourism on Croatian islands began, many of the latter were already in a phase of advanced depopulation.

Zlarin has a relatively long tradition of tourism. Its advantage as a tourist destination has always been its proximity to Šibenik, and during the last twenty years or so another advantage has been its comparatively well-organised ship connection and, during the season, the availability of more varied cultural and catering offers in relation to other islands of the Šibenik archipelago. The coral diving tradition undoubtedly contributed to the recognisability and attractiveness of the island, especially for one-day tourists. Nevertheless, tourism on Zlarin is marked by pronounced seasonality, inadequate and insufficient accommodation structures, lack of contents and first-rate personnel. From 2001 the average tourist presence ranged between 3,000 and 10,000 tourists in a season¹⁴, approximately two-thirds of which were foreign tourists. A relatively small number of stationary (i.e. full-season) tourists during the last years have been significantly complemented by boaters¹⁵ and one-day excursionists. There are relatively few accommodation capacities intended for tourists on the island. There is only one small hotel with 60 rooms, 58 rooms and apartments in private accommodation, and 105 places for camping.¹⁶ According to the 2011 census data, out of a total of 840 housing units on the island, 389 were places for permanent residence, and among the others the majority were holiday and recreation facilities.¹⁷ Therefore, there are large numbers of tourists who spend summers in their vacation homes. Many of them purchased old houses and renewed then in conformity with indigenous island, mostly rural, architecture and so, in spite of a certain

¹⁴ Tourist turnover in coast towns and municipalities 2003-2007, DZS, Zagreb.

¹⁵ The island is not adequately equipped in infrastructure for the large number of boats/yachts that arrive each day in Zlarin bay during the season, so there is a danger of considerable environmental pollution.

¹⁶ Data for 2007, Tourist turnover in coast towns and municipalities 2007, DZS, Zagreb.

¹⁷ In regard to data on the number of residential units, again there is a noticeable methodological problem. In 2011, 840 residential units were recorded on Zlarin, of which 389 for permanent housing. At the same time, 144 households of permanent residents were registered. On the basis of this information, it is obvious that the actual number of permanent housing facilities is much smaller than the 2011 census shows, while the number of holiday and recreation residences is much larger. From direct insight into the location, it is clear that the number of abandoned residences and accommodations for conducting economic activities (excluding tourism) is very small.

Dio mlađih ispitanika turiste doživljava kao "ljude s novim idejama, drugačijim pogledima i stavovima, ljude s ambicijama" (Ž, 30), "ti koji dolaze uglavnom su kvalitetni i dobri ljudi, u ovu konzervativnu zajednicu donose kulturnije običaje" (M, 34). Turisti su ih "prisilili da uređuju mjesto, jer su mnogi 'vikendaši' kupili stare kuće koje bi inače propale te ih lijepo i uredili" (Ž, 62). Specifičnost zlarinskog turizma ogleda se i u činjenici što je većina turista na neki način povezana s otokom: "Promjene su uvijek dobre, nije tako dosadno. Svi vole taj šušur liti. A i nema turista koji nisu povezani sa Zlarinom. Dolaze dugi niz godina zaredom. Mnogi su naši prijatelji, svi budu kao domaći" (M, 28). Boljitak Zlarina dolaskom turista dio ispitanika vidi u gospodarskom prosperitetu i višoj razini zaposlenosti stanovnika tijekom sezone, ali i u činjenici da ih turisti "prisiljavaju da se otvaraju kao zajednica" (M, 48).

Premda je turizam danas glavna gospodarska grana mnogih hrvatskih otoka, on je nerijetko i pokretač socijalnih napetosti. Tako i jedna trećina ispitanika iskazuje veliku zabrinutost zbog zagađenja koje donosi tako veliki broj ljudi i brodova: "Donose smeće, gužvu i svađe" (M, 56), ali i neslaganje s nametanjem drugačijeg stila života za koji češće okrivljuju domaće turiste: "Domaći turisti previše gospodare, ne znaju se ponašati autohtono, trebamo ih i ne trebamo, stranaca je na žalost malo" (M, 71). Objektivna je poteškoća pritisak na neadekvatnu otočnu infrastrukturu koju tijekom godine koristi u prosjeku 200 otočana, a u ljetnim mjesecima, prema procjenama stanovnika, i do 2000. Stoga turizam izaziva i određene napetosti unutar otočne zajednice, poglavito zbog prostora oko kojeg se natječu (i zarađuju) oni koji sudjeluju u turističkoj ponudi i, kad je Zlarin u pitanju, velik broj nezainteresiranih za bilo koji oblik turističke privrede. Postoje nesuglasice između stanovnika koji žele promjene i koji u turizmu vide mogućnost za otvaranje otoka i gospodarski prosperitet te onih koji ne žele nikakve promjene. Većina onih koji se osjećaju *otočanima* željeli bi imati čvrstu kontrolu nad odlukom tko dolazi na otok. Opiru se promjenama koje donose *stranci* – došljaci i to prije svega turisti, tj. ljudi koji na otoku borave kratko, isključivo tijekom turističke sezone.

number of renewed and constructed houses that do not conform to the Zlarin building tradition, the settlement still gives the impression of a preserved authentic island setting.

The relative underdevelopment of stationary (full-season) tourism on Zlarin was explained by one respondent in our questionnaire survey in the following words: "Zlarin was rich once; the people of Zlarin therefore did not want tourists; they did not even want a marina. They were educated, and in a certain way selfish. There were no intentions to improve life on the island" (M, 91). In answer to the question whether tourists, by their arrival and import of different customs and habits, make Zlarin a better or worse place to live in, two-thirds of the respondents felt that tourists improve the life of the island. Some of the younger respondents experienced tourists as "people with new ideas, different views and attitudes, people with ambition" (F, 30), "those that come are mostly first-rate and good people; they bring more cultured customs into this conservative community" (M, 34). Tourists "forced them to organise the place, because many 'weekenders' bought old houses that would otherwise be ruined and they also fixed them up nicely" (F, 62). A specific quality of Zlarin tourism is also reflected in the fact that most tourists are somehow connected to the island: "Changes are always good, it is not so boring. Everybody likes that hustle and bustle. And also, there are no tourists who are not connected with Zlarin. They have been coming here for years. Many are our friends; everybody feels at home" (M, 28). Some respondents see the well-being of Zlarin as a result of the arrival of tourists in economic prosperity and in a higher level of employment of the inhabitants during the season, but also in the fact that tourists "force [them] to open up as a community" (M, 48).

Although tourism today represents the main economic branch on many Croatian islands, it frequently incites social tensions as well. Thus, one third of the respondents also expressed great concern for pollution brought on by such large number of people and boats: "They bring garbage, hustle and quarrels" (M, 56), but there is similarly disagreement with the imposition of a different lifestyle, for which domestic tourists are most often blamed: "Domestic tourists behave too much like lords; they do not know how to behave like natives; we need them and we don't need [them]; there are unfortunately few foreigners" (M, 71). An objective difficulty lies in the pressure on inadequate island infrastructures, which are used by 200 islanders on average during the year, and in the summer months, according to the estimates of the inhabitants, by up

Prometna povezanost

Otok je s kopnom, radnim danom, povezan brodom s četiri dnevna polaska za Šibenik i povratka na otok,¹⁸ te tri povratne veze s Vodicama. Putovanje brodom na relaciji Šibenik-Zlarin traje nešto kraće od pola sata. Zadnjih godina Zlarin s kopnom dva puta tjedno tijekom cijele godine povezuje i trajektna linija Šibenik-Zlarin-Kaprije-Žirje. Umirovljenici i učenici imaju pravo na besplatan prijevoz, a otočani imaju pravo i na povlaštenu mjesečnu kartu za parkiranje automobila na obali, jer na otoku nije dopušten automobilski promet. Ispitanici iskazuju relativno zadovoljstvo povezanošću s kopnom. Ističu potrebu uvođenja dodatnih dviju linija nedjeljom¹⁹ i praznicima zbog brojnih "vikendaša" i izletnika, i to u ranijim poslijepodnevnom i kasnijim večernjim satima.²⁰ Relativno velik broj stanovnika spominje problem nepostojanja redovite kasnije večernje linije tijekom cijele godine koja bi im omogućila posjet kulturnim i zabavnim sadržajima u Šibeniku. Osim prilagođavanja voznog reda brodova, poneki ističu problem njihove zastarjelosti, česta kvarenja i neprilagođenost za prijevoz određenih roba. Drže i da je nedopustivo da ne postoji uređeno natkriveno mjesto za čekanje broda u Šibeniku. Premda je Zlarin iznimno blizu grada Šibenika, sadašnja prometna povezanost sigurno je jedno od bitnih ograničenja njegova društvenog i gospodarskog razvoja.

Osjećaj pripadanja i sigurnosti u zajednici i otočni identitet

Jedan od elemenata otočnosti je i osobni doživljaj sigurnosti pojedinca s obzirom na zajednicu u kojoj živi.²¹ Najveći dio ispitanika (91%) osjeća se sigurnim na otoku, što najčešće objašnjavaju sljedećim razlozima: mala zajednica u kojoj postoji čvrsta međusobna povezanost i kontrola, odsutnost klasične privatnosti i visoka razina intimnosti. Tako ispitanici

¹⁸ Četiri linije Zlarin povezuju direktno, a jedna preko Vodica. Izvan sezone polasci za Šibenik su u 5.25, 7.00, 12.40, i 18.40, a za Zlarin u 9.30, 13.30, 15.30 i 19.30.

¹⁹ Otok je nedjeljom i praznicima povezan samo dva puta dnevno s kopnom.

²⁰ Mogućnošću dužeg ostanaka na otoku ostvario bi se i veći prihod u ugostiteljskim objektima, poglavito od relativno velikog broja jednodnevnih izletnika iz Šibenika i okolice.

²¹ Doživljaj zaštićenosti, osobna sigurnost od kriminala i sl.

to 2,000 people. Thus, tourism also provokes certain tensions within the island community, primarily because of the area around which participants in the tourist offer compete (and earn) and, when Zlarin is in question, along with them a large number of persons not interested in any form of tourist income. There are disparities between inhabitants who desire changes and see a possibility in tourism for opening the island to economic prosperity, and those who do not want any changes. Most people who regard themselves *islanders* would want firm control over the decision on who comes to the island. They resist changes brought on by *foreigners* – newcomers and, above all, tourists, i.e. people who reside on the island briefly, only during the tourist season.

Transportation connections

On weekdays the island is connected with the mainland by ship, with four daily departures for Šibenik and returns to the island¹⁸, and three return links with Vodice. The voyage by ship from Šibenik to Zlarin lasts a little less than half an hour. In recent years Zlarin has also been connected with the mainland twice a week, all year round, by the ferry line Šibenik-Zlarin-Kaprije-Žirje. Pensioners and pupils are allowed free passage, and islanders are entitled to a reduced monthly fare for parking their cars on the coast, given that automobile transportation is not permitted on the island. Respondents express relative satisfaction in regard to the connections with the mainland. They stress the need to introduce two additional lines on Sundays¹⁹ and holidays due to numerous "weekenders" and excursionists, earlier in the afternoon and in later evening hours²⁰. A relatively large number of inhabitants also mention the problem of a lack of regular later-evening lines throughout the year, which would enable them to partake in cultural and entertainment events in Šibenik. Apart from adjustments to ship timetables, some people emphasize the problem of the old age of vessels, their frequent breakdowns and their inadequacy for the transportation of certain goods. They also consider it impermissible that there is no

¹⁸ Four lines connect Zlarin directly, and one by way of Vodice. Off-season departures for Šibenik are at 5:25, 7:00, 12:40, and 18:40 h, and for Zlarin at 9:30, 13:30, 15:30, and 19:30 h.

¹⁹ On Sundays and holidays the island is connected with the mainland only twice a day.

²⁰ With the possibility of a longer stay on the island, a greater income could be earned in catering facilities, primarily from a relatively larger number of one-day excursionists from Šibenik and the surrounding area.

izjavljuju: "mirno je i svi se poznamo" (M, 91); "zajednica je čvrsta, k'o komuna smo" (Ž, 61); "jedan pazi na drugoga" (M, 62); "osjećam se kao da je cijeli otok moj dnevni boravak" (Ž, 48); "ne zaključavam se ni noću" (Ž, 78); "sigurnost i bliskost je svakome potrebna" (Ž, 78). Sigurnost otočanima pružaju "ljudi, društvo, to što nema stranaca, nema ljudi koji dolaze po loše" (M, 19).

Granice otoka i malenost njihovih društava kreiraju specifičan osjećaj pripadanja koji se temelji na osobnim odnosima, obiteljskim odnosno rodbinskim, često ojačanim čvrstim moralnim kodeksom i ritualima ili specifičnom snažnom osjećaju pripadnosti, kulturom i jezikom. Na pitanje u kojoj mjeri drže da je važno osjećati se otočaninom, odnosno dijelom otočne zajednice, dvije trećine ispitanika, bez obzira na migracijsku povijest, otočana i doseljenika, smatra da je to važno za pojedinca. Objasnjavaju to izjavama poput: "Važno mi je da živim tu, pripadam cjelini koja je mala, značajna, čim dođem na otok osjećam se doma. Dobro je oputovati, maknuti se, al' jedva čekaš doći doma" (M, 19, Zlarinjanin, student); "otok je moj dom, bila sam prisiljena otići jer nije bilo posla, ali uvijek sam sanjala povratak" (Ž, 74); "ne znam za drugo, to (otok, op. a.) me ispunjava, daje mi neku osobnost" (Ž, 48); "otok je prostor na kojem sam ja svoja, nisam urbani tip" (Ž, 65); "otok ostaje u čovjeku za cijeli život, to je ta (međusobna, op. a.) bliskost" (Ž, 65). Neki osjećaju da zajednica više nije čvrsta koliko je bila nekada. Idealizirana međusobna povezanost, suradnja i solidarnost postupno uzmiču u nekim aspektima svakodnevnice komunikacije ulaskom na otok novih običaja, vrijednosti, tehnologija. Ispitanici osjećaju sukob između tradicionalnog i modernog u raznim aspektima života zajednice: "Otočani su nekad bili dio čvrste zajednice, danas je to oslabilo, malo smo se svi povukli" (M, 47); "nekada smo svi sudjelovali u radnim akcijama, sami smo se organizirali, davali i novce i svoj rad, a danas toga više toga nema" (M, 68); "u zadnje vrijeme osjeća se neka pasivnost u zajednici, ljudi se teško dogovore oko neke ideje, teško se pokreću za zajedničko dobro" (Ž, 62). Otočani se sve češće osjećaju u procjepu između zatvorenosti kojom se štite i bliskosti bez koje ne mogu, između tradicionalnog i suvremenog.

U malim sredinama, zajednicama s malim brojem članova, ograničena mogućnost socijalne komunikacije čini pojedinca osjetljivijim prema subjektivnom doživljaju prihvaćenosti

roofed-over place for waiting for ships in Šibenik. Although Zlarin is exceptionally close to the town of Šibenik, current transportation connections certainly represent one of the essential limitations to its social and economic development.

The feeling of belonging and security in the community and island identity

One of the elements of insularity is also the personal experience of security among individuals in regard to the community in which they live²¹. The greatest proportion of respondents (91%) feel secure on the island, which they most often explain with the following reasons: a small community in which there is strong mutual cohesion and control, an absence of classical privacy and a high level of intimacy. Thus respondents state: "it is peaceful and we all know each other" (M, 91); "the community is strong, we are like a commune" (F, 61); "One [person] looks after another" (M, 62); "I feel as if the entire island is my living room" (F, 48); "I don't lock the doors, not even at night" (F, 78); "security and closeness is necessary for everyone" (F, 78). Security is provided to the islanders by "people, society, by there being no foreigners; there are no people arriving with bad intentions" (M, 19).

The limits of the islands and the smallness of their societies create a specific feeling of belonging, which is often based on personal relationships between family members or relatives, and reinforced by firm moral codes and rituals or specific, strong feelings of belonging through culture and language. When asked how much it matters to feel as an islander or as a part of the island community, two thirds of the respondents – islanders and immigrants – regardless of their migration history, felt this to be important for an individual. They explained this by statements such as: "It is important to me that I live here, that I belong to an entity that is small, significant; as soon as I come to the island, I feel at home. It is good to travel, move away, but one can hardly wait to come home" (M, 19, a student from Zlarin); "the island is my home, I was forced to leave since there was no work, but I have always dreamed of returning" (F, 74); "I do not know about anything else, it (the island, *authors' note*) fulfils me, it gives me a particular personality" (F, 48); "the island is an area in which I am myself, I am not an urban type" (F, 65); "the island remains in a person all through life, this is the (mutual, *authors' note*) closeness"

²¹ The experience of being sheltered, personal security from crime, etc.

u zajednici. Kada je riječ o Zlarinu, bez obzira na to je li netko rođeni otočanin ili doseljenik, ispitanici se u najvećem broju (82%) osjećaju u potpunosti ili uglavnom prihvaćenima od zajednice. Svega se njih četvero, među kojima su i rođeni na otoku i došljaci, osjeća uglavnom ili u potpunosti neprihvaćenima.

Pojam otočni identitet obuhvaća razne socijalne i kulturne obrasce koji definiraju sličnosti odnosno razlike otočne zajednice spram kopna i odnos otočana spram došljaka/stranaca. Uvriježeni su stereotipi o temperamentu, o nekim karakterističnim osobinama ličnosti koje su formirane tijekom stoljeća specifičnog života u relativno zatvorenoj zajednici. No otočne zajednice izložene su danas više nego ikada prije utjecajima "izvana". Otočani migranti seljenjem postaju "kozmpolitima koji nastanjuju različite svjetove i s identitetima konstruiranim njihovim iskustvom života u više od jedne geografske, kulturne i socio-ekonomske okoline" (CONNELL, KING, 1999: 7), ali rijetko postaju "manje" otočani nakon migriranja. Identitet otoka i otočana u odnosu na migraciju u stalnoj je promjeni. "Migracija uključuje razmjenu ideja i vrijednosti: dakle, niska stopa migracije može biti važan čimbenik doprinosa osjećaju otočnosti i identiteta zajednice" (MARSHALL, 1999: 98).

Bez obzira na međusobnu različitost otočana, postoje neke karakteristike koje su im zajedničke i koje oni sami, ali i doseljenici vrlo često ističu. "Krajolik – more, ribolov, koralji i ljudi – dobri i zločesti, ali sve u ravnoteži" (M, 19, otočanin); "škrtoš, zatvorenost, skloni smo ogovaranju" (M, 51, otočanin); "otočna zatvorenost, štedljivost, upućeni sami na sebe" (Ž, 65, otočanka – povratnica); "nisu više gostoljubivi kao nekad, nikad me ne bi zvali na ručak, ali ako dođem, ponudit će me" (M, 88, otočanin – povratnik); "zatvoreni, egoistični, čudni" (M, 63, otočanin – povratnik); "zatvoreni, svoje neće reći, a tuđe sve hoće znati" (Ž, 71, doseljenica); "svatko o svakome zna sve, neograničena znatiželja i svak svakome kaže svašta, ništa nas ne može šokirati" (Ž, 48, otočanka); "zatvoreni i nepovjerljivi" (Ž, 55, doseljenica); "štedljivost zbog teških životnih prilika, žene su bile užasno jake na otoku, Zlarin poznat po matrijarhatu, konzervativna smo zajednica" (M, 34, doseljenik); "vrijedni" (Ž, 73, dnevni cirkulant iz Šibenika). Dakle, Zlarinjani se, prije svega doživljavaju kao zatvoreni i donekle nepovjerljivi, s jedne, ali i znatiželjni i skloni upletanju u intimu drugoga,

(F, 65). Some feel that the community is no longer as strong as it once was. Idealised mutual cohesion, cooperation and solidarity are gradually retreating in some aspects of daily communication due to the arrival of new customs, values, and technologies on the island. Respondents feel the conflict between the traditional and the modern in a number of aspects of community life: "Islanders were once part of a strong community, today it has weakened; we have withdrawn a little" (M, 47); "once we all participated in work actions, we organised ourselves, we also gave money and our work, and today there is no more of that" (M, 68); "lately a certain passivity can be felt in the community; people find it difficult to agree on some ideas, it is difficult to move them towards the common good" (F, 62). Islanders increasingly feel that they are in some rift between closing in to protect themselves and closeness (intimacy), without which they cannot survive, i.e. in a rift between the traditional and the modern.

In small settings, communities with a small number of members, limited possibilities of social communication make the individual more sensitive towards a subjective experience of acceptance into the community. In the case of Zlarin, the greatest number of respondents (82%), regardless of whether they were born on the island or migrated to it, feel completely or mostly accepted by the community. Only four of them, among them both natives of the island and newcomers, feel mostly or completely unaccepted.

The concept of island identity includes various social and cultural forms, which define similarities or differences between the island community and the mainland, as well as the relationship of islanders towards newcomers/foreigners. Typical are stereotypes about the temperament and certain characteristic personality features which were formed during centuries of a specific type of life in a relatively closed community. However, today island communities are more exposed than ever before to influences from the "outside". By moving, island migrants become "cosmopolitans inhabiting diverse worlds and with identities constructed by their experiences of living in more than one geographical, cultural and socio-economic environment" (CONNELL, KING, 1999: 7), but rarely do they become "less" islanders, after migrating. The identity of islands and islanders in relation to migration is constantly changing. "Migration involves the exchange of ideas and values: hence a low rate of migration might be an important factor contributing to a sense of insularity and community identity" (MARSHALL, 1999: 98).

s druge strane. Skromni su, štedljivi i vrijedni,²² što objašnjavaju teškim životom na otoku u posljednjih gotovo stotinu godina.

Kako tu toliko naglašavanu zatvorenost doživljavaju doseljeni neotočani? Doseljenici žive u specifičnom savezništvu s otočanima i uglavnom se osjećaju prihvaćenima, premda osjećaju određenu socijalnu distancu koju nameću starosjedioci: "Specifično za mala mjesta (domaći, op. a) osjećaju se ugroženima od došljaka, osjeća se njihov strah, posebno ako si uspješan. Ako si siromah svi te vole. Ipak, Zlarin je poznat kao mjesto koje prihvaća došljake" (M, 51, doseljenik); "teško primaju došljake, a da im nije došljaka potopili bi se u more" (Ž, 75, doseljenica); "ne primaju došljake, kažu nam: šubri doplivali, negostoljubivi, nisu za počastiti" (M, 58, doseljenik). Svi primjeri otpora otočana prema doseljenicima mogu se djelomice objasniti strahom od nepoznatog i otporom na promjene, koji je sigurno jedan od elemenata otočnosti. S druge strane, taj otpor starosjedilaca promjenama može imati korijen u nastojanju zadržavanja/očuvanja kulture koja vrednuje stabilnost okoliša, vrijednost i važnost obitelji i podijeljenu (zajedničku) odgovornost. Tako je nekima najvažnije da se došljaci nastoje prilagoditi i pokažu svoju ljubav prema otoku: "Otočanin je svatko tko svoje djelovanje iskoristi za dobrobit otoka, bez obzira koliko je dugo tu" (M, 19, otočanin).

Dakle, na razini zajednice kao općeg pojma postoji određena socijalna distanca između autohtonih otočana i doseljenika – u podjednakom omjeru jedni i drugi iskazuju određeno nepovjerenje jedni prema drugima, ali kada se pitanje povjerenja spusti na razinu susjedstva, ona je gotovo apsolutna – 73,1% imaju povjerenje u svoje susjede u potpunosti, a 23,9% uglavnom.

Uvriježeno je mišljenje da su otočne zajednice zatvorene prema doseljenicima, te da pokazuju strah od novog, nepoznatog i drugačijeg. Suprotno tome, rezultati provedenog istraživanja pokazuju da su Zlarinjani skloniji ideji trajnog doseljavanja na otok negoli privremenom boravku turista. Svjesni su svoje malenosti, demografskog, a onda i gospodarskog propadanja pa populacijski opstanak vide u doseljavanju. Podjednako su otvoreni prema mogućnosti useljenja građana iz drugih dijelova Hrvatske (58 ispitanika odobrava

²² Ispitanici prije svega naglašavaju vrijednost Zlarinjanki koje su, kako smo to već naglasili i ranije, desetljećima hrabro nosile teret cijelih obitelji, ali na neki način i cijele zajednice.

Regardless of the differences between islanders, there are some characteristics that both they themselves and migrants to the island emphasize very often. "The landscape – the sea, fishing, corals and the people – good and bad, but all in balance" (M, 19, islander); "stinginess; we are closed and prone to gossip" (M, 51, islander); "island closure, frugality; we are oriented to ourselves [= we must depend on ourselves]" (F, 65, islander – returnee migrant); "they are no longer as hospitable as before; they would never invite me to lunch, but if I arrive, they will offer [to join in]" (M, 88, islander - returnee migrant); "closed, egoistic, strange" (M, 63, islander – returnee migrant); "closed, they will not talk about themselves, but they want to know everything about others" (F, 71, immigrant); "everyone knows everything about everyone; unlimited curiosity and everyone says everything to everyone, nothing can shock us" (F, 48, islander); "closed and distrustful" (F, 55, immigrant); "frugality due to difficult living conditions; women were extremely strong on the island; Zlarin was known for [its] matriarchate; we are a conservative community" (M, 34, immigrant); "hard-working" (F, 73, daily migrant from Šibenik). Therefore, the people of Zlarin are, on one hand, primarily experienced as closed and somewhat distrustful, and, on the other hand, as curious and prone to meddling in intimate matters of others. They are modest, frugal and hard-working²², which is explained by the difficult life on the island during almost the last hundred years.

How do non-islanders experience the so-often stressed closure (inaccessibility) of the islanders? Immigrants live in a specific alliance with the islanders and mostly feel accepted, although they feel a certain social distance imposed by the natives: "Specifically in small places, (the natives, *authors' note*) feel endangered by newcomers; fear of them is felt, especially if they are successful. If you are poor, everyone likes you. However, Zlarin is known as a place that accepts newcomers" (M, 51, immigrant); "they accept newcomers with difficulty, and if there were no newcomers they would sink into the sea" (F, 75, immigrant); "they do not accept newcomers, they tell us: the buoys have floated in, they are inhospitable, they do not welcome guests [offer treats]" (M, 58, immigrant). All examples of resistance by islanders to immigrants can be partly explained by fear of the unknown and resistance to change, which is certainly one of the elements

²² Respondents primarily emphasized this value among Zlarin women, who, as we have already pointed out earlier, for decades bravely carried the weight of entire families, but in a certain sense also of the entire community.

trajno doseljavanje) kao i prema strancima – građanima iz inozemstva (56 ispitanika).

Ispitanici, kako autohtoni otočani tako i doseljenici, opravdavaju prijeku potrebu useljenja sljedećim izjavama: "svatko tko dolazi za trajno je dobro. Nije dobro da ljeti bude 3000 turista, a ne ostane ništa, samo smeće. Tko dođe za stalno, s radnim mjestom, to je dobro jer se izbjegava demografska propast" (M, 61, doseljenik); "(doseljenici, op. a.) su ljudi koji vole Zlarin i s kojima smo se dobro našli, smatramo ih našima" (M, 19, otočanin); "da se otvore radna mjesta – to je jedina perspektiva na otoku, nema posla i nema djece" (M, 56, otočanin); "donose nove vrijednosti" (M, 45, doseljenik); "svi koji dođu su dobri, stalno su skupa s domaćima, ljudi dolaze jer to vole i spremni su se prilagoditi" (M, 28, doseljenik); "pametnog čovjeka došljaci obogaćuju na svaki način" (M, 51, doseljenik); "samo da ima ljudi, i oni će postati Zlarinjani, samo da ne izumre naš otok" (Ž, 53, otočanka); "samo neka nas ima, što više djevojaka" (M, 48, otočanin); **"trebaju nam ljudi, nema nas"** (Ž, 78, doseljenica); **"treba nam ljudi i to vrijednih"** (Ž, 75, doseljenica); **"što više i što mlađih"** (M, 58, doseljenik); **"trebaju nam ljudi zbog novih ideja"** (Ž, 30, otočanka); "mi smo svi doseljeni od nekud" (M, 88, otočanin); "stranci se više trude prilagoditi nego neotočani iz Hrvatske, zato radije strance, donijeli su više dobrog" (i u gradnji/uređenju kuća) (M, 34, doseljenik); "stranci se više trude očuvati autentičnost nego domaći" (Ž, 62, doseljenica); "ne smetaju me, tolerantna sam, mislim da je dobra mješavina mentaliteta" (Ž, 65, otočanka). Dakle, kvalitetnije povezivanje otoka, prometno i putem suvremenih tehnologija, potrebno je i korisno za ostvarenje kvalitativnih društvenih i gospodarskih pomaka, ali od središnje je važnosti socijalna interakcija stalnog stanovništva – otočana i doseljenika međusobno te demografsko osnaživanje zajednice otvaranjem i prihvatom novih doseljenika.

of insularity. On the other hand, this resistance of natives to changes may have roots in efforts to maintain/preserve a culture that esteems stability, values and the importance of family and shared (joint) responsibility. Thus, for some people it is most important that newcomers make efforts to adapt and show their love for the island: "Everyone is an islander who uses his [or her] actions for the welfare of the island, regardless of how long he [or she] is here" (M, 19, islander).

Therefore, on the level of the community as a general concept, there exists a certain social distance between indigenous islanders and immigrants – in about the same proportion, both express a certain mutual distrust, but when the question of trust is lowered to the level of neighbours, it is almost absolute – 73.1% have complete confidence in their neighbours, and 23.9% mostly have confidence.

It is typically thought that island communities are closed to immigrants, and that they display fear towards what is new, unknown and different. Yet, on the contrary, the results of the conducted research show that the people of Zlarin are more favourably disposed towards permanent immigration than towards temporary residence of tourists.

Far more people on Zlarin accept the notion of permanent settlement on the island than the temporary residence of tourists. They are aware of their small size, demographic and economic decline, and thus see survival of the population in immigration. They are equally open to the possibility of immigration of citizens from other parts of Croatia (58 respondents approved such permanent settlement), as well as to the immigration of foreigners – i.e. citizens from abroad (56 respondents).

Respondents, both native islanders and immigrants, justified the necessity of immigrants with the following statements: "every permanent arrival is good. It is not good that there are 3,000 tourists during the summer, and nothing remains except for garbage. Whoever arrives permanently, with a job, that is good, since demographic ruin is avoided" (M, 61, immigrant); "(immigrants, *authors' note*) are people who love Zlarin and with whom we are getting along nicely; we consider them our own" (M, 19, islander); "opening up workplaces – they are the only prospects for the island; there are no jobs and no children" (M, 56, islander); "they bring new values" (M, 45, immigrant); "all who come are good; they are constantly together with the natives; people arrive because they like it and they are ready to adapt" (M, 28, immigrant); "newcomers enrich a wise man in every way" (M, 51, immigrant); "just so that there will be people,

Zaključak

Desetljeća nepovoljnih društveno-gospodarskih prilika na malim hrvatskim otocima ostavili su "duboke rane" u demografskom razvoju, što je za posljedicu imalo starenje stanovništva koje se ogleda u svim aspektima života malih otočnih zajednica. Većinu stanovnika u ovim zajednicama, pa tako i na Zlarinu, danas čine stari ljudi, uglavnom umirovljenici koji su svoje radno aktivne godine proveli na kopnu. Oni jedini i osjećaju određenu ekonomsku sigurnost na otoku jer imaju stalan prihod u obliku mirovine, a uz nju se bave i poljodjelstvom (posebice se sve veći broj vraća uzgoju maslina). Radom na okućnici i u polju ekonomski poboljšavaju svoju materijalnu situaciju, a usprkos uglavnom vrlo malim primanjima i dalje financijski pomažu svoju djecu (novcem i poljoprivrednim proizvodima) koja uglavnom žive u obližnjim obalnim gradovima.

Istovremeno, mlađe, radno aktivno stanovništvo koje nema stalni izvor prihoda prisiljeno je i dalje seliti s otoka u potrazi za poslom ili, relativno rijetki, cirkuliraju dnevno ili tjedno između Zlarina i Šibenika ili mjesta u njegovoj blizini (primjerice Vodica), gdje su zaposleni. Zlarin kao i drugi mali otoci ima usku ekonomsku osnovu i ta vrsta gospodarske ograničenosti, trenutno ne daje mogućnosti za otvaranje određenog broja radnih mjesta u različitim djelatnostima, čiji nedostatak automatski poskupljuje troškove temeljnih usluga i roba široke potrošnje. Iznimno je malen broj stanovnika koji su zaposleni na otoku, pa tako se procjenjuje da na Zlarinu postoji ukupno dvadesetak stalnih radnih mjesta: u jedinom otočnom dućanu, kiosku, Jadrolinijinoj prodavaonici karata, pošti, liječničkoj ordinaciji, "Čistoći", hotelu, nekoliko restorana i kafića koji u sezoni uglavnom unajmljuju neotočnu radnu snagu, u školi te koraljarskoj radnji. Neke stalne poslove poput učiteljice, poštarica ili liječnika obavljaju ljudi koji žive u Šibeniku i dnevno ili nekoliko puta tjedno (liječnik) cirkuliraju na Zlarin.

Ograničenost u stupnju prometne povezanosti, način i učestalost, utječu na sve aspekte društvene i gospodarske svakodnevnice otoka. Pritom podjednako na razvoj pojedinih gospodarskih grana, mogućnosti zapošljavanja izvan otoka, ali i zadržavanje stanovanja na otoku, organizaciju zdravstvene skrbi, kao i na kvalitetu kulturne i zabavne ponude. Zlarin nije iskoristio blizinu

and they will become Zlarinjani; just so that our island does not die out" (F, 53, islander); "just so that we exist; as many girls [as possible]" (M, 48, islander); "we need people; we are no more" (F, 78, immigrant); "we need people, diligent ones" (F, 75, immigrant); "as many and as young [as possible]" (M, 58, immigrant); "we need people because of new ideas" (F, 30, islander); "we are all immigrants from somewhere" (M, 88, islander); "foreigners try more to adjust than non-islanders from Croatia; therefore preferably foreigners, they bring more good" (and in constructing/improving houses) (M, 34, immigrant); "foreigners strive more to preserve authenticity than domestic people" (F, 62, immigrant); "they do not bother me, I am tolerant; I think that a mixture of mentalities is good" (F, 65, islander).

Therefore, well-organised connections with the island via transportation and modern technologies are necessary and beneficial for the achievement of qualitative social and economic shifts. However, social interactions among islanders and immigrants within the permanent population are of central importance, as well as the demographic reinforcement of the community and the acceptance of new immigrants.

Conclusion

Decades of unfavourable socio-economic conditions on small Croatian islands left "deep wounds" in their demographic development, with population ageing as a result reflected in all aspects of life in small island communities. The majority of the population in these communities, on Zlarin as well, is made up of elderly persons today, mainly pensioners who had spent their working years on the mainland. They are the only ones who experience certain economic security on the island since they have constant incomes in the form of pensions, and pursue agricultural activities on the side (especially returning, in increasing numbers, to olive growing). They economically improve their material situation by cultivating house plots and working in the fields and, despite mostly very small incomes, continue to financially help their children (with money and agricultural products), who mostly live in nearby mainland coastal towns.

At the same time, the younger, working population which does not have a constant source of income is still forced to move from the island in search of work or, relatively rarely, commute daily or weekly between Zlarin and Šibenik, or places nearby (Vodice), where they are employed. Zlarin and other small islands have a restricted economic basis, and such a type of economic limitation does not currently offer possibilities for the opening of

Šibenika i mogućnost dnevne cirkulacije te nije srastao s gradom u smislu "gradskog" otoka koji bi funkcionirao kao jedna od sastavnih gradskih četvrti gdje bi bilo moguće stanovanje i odlazak na rad u grad.

Zahvaljujući dugoj migracijskoj povijesti otoka, a u novije vrijeme i suvremenim tehnologijama, stanovništvo Zlarina je usprkos prostornoj ograničenosti i svojevrsnoj izoliranosti, već desetljećima izloženo različitim izvanotočnim utjecajima, što je znatno mijenjalo način njihova života. Zbog želje za demografskim opstankom zajednice, Zlarinjani se sve više otvaraju prema strancima – prije svega doseljenicima, a onda i turistima, u kojima vide nadu demografske i gospodarske revitalizacije. Modernizacija je donijela i određene negativne promjene u mentalitetu i načinu shvaćanja zajednice, koje se ogledaju u smanjenoj solidarnosti članova i izraženijem materijalizmu. "Prije je bio zajednički dobrovoljni rad (toga više nema), danas samo brine svatko za sebe, svatko hoće da mu se plati!" (M, 77, povratnik iz SAD-a).

Usprkos velikim društvenim promjenama, određene karakteristike otočnosti, posebice osjećaj pripadnosti zajednici i bliskost članova, ostaju i dalje prisutne. Otok ostaje "čvrsta točka" u životu otočana pa i oni koji žive izvan otoka, zadržavaju snažni osjećaj pripadanja relativno homogenoj i intimnoj otočnoj zajednici u kojoj postoji čvrsti osjećaj povezanosti. Vrlo često mladi ljudi, čiji su roditelji podrijetlom otočani, redovito vikendom dolaze na otok, iako je tada zabavni život u gradu najintenzivniji, jer na otoku imaju razvijeniju društvenu mrežu (prijatelji, rođaci) i osjećaju snažniju pripadnost i veću slobodu u maloj zajednici gdje se svi poznaju, nego u obalnim gradovima gdje stalno žive, ali se vrlo često osjećaju otuđenima.

S obzirom na vrlo nepovoljnu dobnu strukturu i pokazatelje prirodnog kretanja te bez jasne strategije moguće revitalizacije velike su šanse da će se u sljedećim desetljećima nastaviti izumiranje malih otočnih zajednica. Jedina mogućnost za održivi demografski razvitak je optimalna gospodarska valorizacija resursa svakog otoka pojedinačno. Kao neke od mogućnosti ističu se daljnji razvoja turizma, ali i tradicionalna poljoprivreda, posebice u vrijeme popularnosti autohtonih namirnica i mediteranskog načina prehrane. Glavne komparativne prednosti mogućega gospodarskog razvoja malih hrvatskih otoka, pa tako i Zlarina, upravo su, poradi dosadašnje relativne gospodarske

a number of workplaces in various activities, the absence of which automatically raises costs of basic services and consumer goods. An exceptionally small number of inhabitants is employed on the island, so we can estimate that there is a total of about twenty permanent workplaces on Zlarin: in the only shop on the island, in the kiosk, in Jadrolinija's booking-office, in the mail office, in the doctor's office, in the sanitation department, in the hotel and in several restaurants and cafés which mainly hire non-island workers during the season, in the school and in the coral workshop. Some permanent jobs, such as those of the school teacher, postman or doctor, are carried out by people who live in Šibenik and commute to Zlarin on a daily basis or several times a week (the doctor).

Limitations in transportation connections, in their methods and frequency, have an impact on all aspects of daily social and economic life on the island. This equally effects the development of individual economic branches, employment opportunities outside the island, maintenance of residence on the island, organisation of healthcare, as well as quality of cultural and entertainment offers. Zlarin did not make use of its proximity to Šibenik or of the possibility of daily commuting; it did not merge with the town in the sense of becoming a "city" island that would function as one of the city's neighbourhoods, where it would be possible to reside and from there go to work in the town.

Owing to the long migration history of the island, and, in more recent times, to modern technologies as well, the population of Zlarin, despite spatial limitations and specific isolation, has already been exposed to various non-island influences for decades, which significantly changed its way of life. Because of their desire to survive demographically, the people of Zlarin are opening up more and more towards foreigners – first of all to immigrants, and then to tourists, in whom they place their hopes for a demographic and economic revival. Modernisation has also brought about certain negative changes in the mentality and in the way the community is understood, which is reflected in reduced solidarity among community members and in more expressed materialism. "Previously there was joint volunteer work (it does not exist anymore); today everyone is concerned only about himself [or herself]; everyone wants to be paid!" (M, 77, returnee migrant from the USA).

Despite major social changes, certain characteristics of insularity, especially the feeling of belonging to the community and closeness between its members, continue to exist. The island remains

zanemarenosti, znatna očuvanost prirodnih resursa (tla i mora) i tradicijske arhitekture (koje pametnim gospodarenjem treba zaštititi) te vrijednost kulturne baštine i običaja koju otočani trebaju prezentirati na suvremeni, današnjim generacijama turista, zanimljiv način. Još uvijek relativno snažan osjećaj pripadnosti i povezanosti unutar otočne zajednici, ali i prisutna svijest o potrebi njezina otvaranja prema neotočanima-doseljenicima, na određeni način, daju nadu u demografski opstanak malih otoka.

a "strong point" in the lives of the islanders, even among those who live outside of it, and they maintain a strong feeling of belonging to a relatively homogeneous and intimate island community in which there is a strong feeling of cohesion. Very often young people, the children of native islanders, come to the island on weekends, even though this is a time when recreational activities in the city are the most intense, because they have a more developed social network (friends, relatives) on the island and they have a stronger sense of belonging and greater freedom in a small community where they know everyone, rather than in coastal mainland towns where they permanently reside, but in which they very often feel alienated.

In view of very unfavourable age structures and indicators of natural population dynamics, and in the absence of clear revitalisation strategies, chances are high that in the next decades the extinction of small island communities will continue. The only possibility for sustainable demographic development would be an optimal economic valorisation of the resources of each island individually. Among the possibilities, further development of tourism has been emphasised, but also traditional agriculture, especially at the time when indigenous foods and the Mediterranean type of diet have gained popularity. The main comparative advantages for a possible economic development of small Croatian islands, and thus of Zlarin as well, are precisely, due to their relative economic disuse so far, significantly preserved natural resources (soils and sea) and traditional architecture (which smart management should protect), as well as values of cultural heritage and customs that the islanders should present in a modern and interesting way to the present generation of tourists. A still relatively strong sense of belonging and cohesion in island communities, but also the present awareness of the need to open up to non-island immigrants, in a certain way offers hope in regard to the demographic survival of small islands.

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