ACTIVE AGEING AS LIFESTYLE ON CROATIAN ISLANDS

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ABSTRACT: The main feature of Croatian islands, in addition to their beautiful nature, is the fact that they are demographically and sociologically one of the most threatened areas affected by ageing. The ageing of the island population is the result of a long-term depopulation caused by the continuous emigration of the younger working-active population over the past hundred years, but also by the retirement return migration in the last thirty years. The most critical situation is on small islands where the majority of population is aged over 60 and this has a significant impact on all aspects of island life.

The research conducted on small islands in the Šibenik archipelago in 2011 has shown that older people live alone, with no significant health problems limiting their daily activities, in their own households (homes), on modest pensions, and many of them supplement their income through agriculture. They very often financially help their children, who live mostly in nearby mainland cities. The necessity of self-reliance, due to the lack of younger generations, forces the inhabitants of Croatian island to lead an active life until their old age. Although they are no longer actively employed, they still continue to contribute significantly to the family and society through their involvement in various community activities.

KEYWORDS: Croatia, islands, active ageing, migration, retirement

INTRODUCTION

The main feature of Croatian islands, in addition to their beautiful nature, is the fact that they are demographically and sociologically one of the most threatened areas affected by ageing. According to the 2011 Census results,
there are 47 inhabited islands in Croatia\(^1\), populated by 124,955 people, with the average age of 45.1. Croatian islands reached the pinnacle of their population in 1921 when 174,994 inhabitants lived in this area. However, the emigration induced by the collapse of the vine industry as the foundation of the island economy, acquired mass characteristics by the end of the 19\(^{th}\) century and became the most important factor in long-term demographic development of the islands.\(^2\) While in the first half of the 20\(^{th}\) century the island migration mainly focused on overseas countries (USA, Argentina, Chile and Australia), after the Second World War European countries and cities in Croatia have become the destinations of island emigrants for the most part. Increased emigration was a response to the inadequate economic policy of island areas. The inhabitants were massively leaving the island due to better employment opportunities and social benefits available in urban centres on the mainland. In addition to emigration, a negative natural change has been another significant factor of negative demographic trend. It appeared in 1960s as a result of an intensive and long-lasting departure of the reproductive-age population [Lajić 1992]. Due to all these unfavourable demographic processes, the islands had been undergoing a strong depopulation until 1991 when the census recorded population growth that continues to this day. However, the reason for this demographic growth is to be found in the fictive numerating of the population that lives on the islands only part of the year, and these are mostly emigrant islanders and second home owners. Research on the Šibenik islands has revealed that up to 30\% of the registered permanent residents are only temporary island inhabitants [Podgorelec and Klempić-Bogadi 2013].

Despite the statistical indicators of demographic growth, the island population is continuously getting older, and this is particularly critical in small Croatian islands\(^3\) among which are the Šibenik islands, where the majority of population is aged over 60 (51.5\%), while 9.9\% are 80 or more years old and this has a significant impact on all aspects of island life. Although some larger and bridged\(^4\) islands have shown positive demographic processes in certain intercensus periods, small islands have been areas of demographic extinction for decades so that a complete cessation of permanent settlement occurred in some of them. In the last thirty years, there has been a trend of return of emi-

\(^1\) The inhabited Croatian islands are: Krk (19,383 inhabitants), Korčula (15,522), Brač (13,956), Hvar (11,077), Rab (9,328), Pag (9,059), Lošinj (7,587), Ugljan (6,049), Čiovo (5,908), Murter (4,895), Vis (3,445), Cres (3,079), Vir (3,000), Pašman (2,845), Šolta (1,700), Dugi otok (1,655), Mljet (1,088), Lastovo (792), Iž (615), Sipan (419), Prvić (403), Silba (292), Zlarin (284), Vrgada (249), Lopud (249), Molat (197), Kaprije (189), Ist (182), Krapanj (170), Koločep (163), Susak (151), Drvenikveli (150), Olib (140), Rava (117), Žirje (103), Unije (88), Drvenikmali (87), Ilovik (85), Premuda (64), Sestrunj (48), Zverinac (43), Rivanj (31), Ošljak (29), Kornati (19), Biševo (15), Vele Srpakane (3) and Male Srpakane (2).

\(^2\) Although former sporadic emigration from Croatian islands became considerably more massive and continuous by the end of the 19\(^{th}\) century, it took several decades to reflect on the total population decrease because natural increase has managed to compensate for emigration losses.

\(^3\) Small islands are: Ilovik, Male Srpakane, Vele Srpakane, Susak, Unije, Silba, Olib, Premuda, Ist, Molat, Zverinac, Iž, Rava, Sestrunj, Rivanj, Ošljak, Vrgada, Prvić, Zlarin, Kaprije, Žirje, Krapanj, Kornati, Drvenikveli, Drvenikmali, Biševo, Sipan, Lopud and Koločep.

\(^4\) Čiovo, Vir, Pag, Murter and Krk are the islands connected to the mainland by bridge whereby they have lost some basic features of islandness.
grant islanders’ who had spent their working life on the mainland and upon retirement returned to live on the island. Even though retirement migration has a positive impact on the total number of island inhabitants, it also contributes significantly to island population ageing.

Table 1. Demographic indicators of ageing, Census 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Average age</th>
<th>Ageing index (60+/0–19)</th>
<th>0–19</th>
<th>20–59</th>
<th>60+</th>
<th>80+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Croatia</td>
<td>4,284,889</td>
<td>41.7</td>
<td>115.0</td>
<td>896,605</td>
<td>2,356,911</td>
<td>1,031,373</td>
<td>168,704</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Croatian Islands</td>
<td>124,955</td>
<td>45.1</td>
<td>172.1</td>
<td>22,232</td>
<td>64,469</td>
<td>38,254</td>
<td>6,518</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small Croatian islands</td>
<td>4,587</td>
<td>55.4</td>
<td>575.9</td>
<td>410</td>
<td>1,816</td>
<td>2,361</td>
<td>457</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The aim of this paper is to confirm the hypothesis of the islands as a space for active ageing by analysing some aspects of life of the elderly population on the Šibenik islands. For this purpose, the paper will be an analysis of the collected survey data on: health condition and functional status, financial status (paid employment, pensions as income and housing conditions as a source of independence), experience of participation in the community by way of insight into the nature and way of spending free time of the respondents, level of mobility, and assessment (comparison) of the quality of life of the elderly on the island and their counterparts on the mainland.

ACTIVE AGEING ON THE ISLANDS

As far as the population ageing of modern societies is concerned, active participation of older people in various aspects of everyday life (in leisure, social, cultural and spiritual\(^5\) activities) within the family and community has become one of the leading concepts of social policies. Numerous studies confirm that to be continuously active during life or to re-activate (upon retirement) is the best way for old people to preserve the acquired knowledge and skills, to continue to build good relationships with the environment at all levels and to keep the sense of self-esteem, which altogether provides a higher quality of life in older age. Depending on the area/s of life in which an active lifestyle of the elderly as well as the outcomes of such a lifestyle on the society are being observed and promoted, the scientists discuss partially different concepts of the active, creative, successful and/or productive ageing [Ranzijn 2002].

For the purposes of this paper, we will use the concept of active ageing employing it, relying on the definition of several authors, as a multidimensional concept used to explain the value/importance of different types of activities and level of participation of older people in their communities to the overall

\(^5\) Research on the Kvarner and Dalmatian islands have confirmed that everyday going to church, which apart from spiritual component contains also a form of sociability, is particularly important to older women on the island [Babić, Lajić and Podgorelec 2004; Podgorelec 2008].
quality of life of individuals and society. Thus, according to the definition by
the World Health Organization [2002: 12] active ageing is the process of opti-
mizing opportunities for health, participation and security in order to en-

hance the quality of life as people age. As stated by Avramov and Maskova
[2003], the concept of active ageing includes a continuous active contribution
to domestic tasks, active patricipation in community life and active leisure
activities of individuals. Therefore, research on the activity level of older in-
dividuals (pensioners) in a community “should incorporate broader lifestyle
issues and address individual participant needs, as multiple factors influence
people’s experience of retirement” [Richardson 2003].

Since we are aware of the danger that the definition of certain types of
activities (e.g. participation in the labour force) or of certain areas of life of
individuals may exclude part of the old population from observation (those in
poor health or in the most advanced age) and thus marginalize this big and still
important numerous group in the island life, we advocate for the definition
according to which active ageing exceeds the obvious physical potentials of
the individual. More precisely, the individual should be viewed through active
involvement in various aspects of everyday life, regardless of individual health
or other restrictions [Rowe and Kahn 1997].

A perspective that has proved extremely useful in observing the ways of
life of old islanders [Podgorelec 2008] is the lifecourse perspective that incor-
porates the idea that the level of activity in the old age is determined by the
individual’s lifestyle and activities dealt with during the earlier period of life.
Research on the ways and quality of life of the population of Croatian islands
[Podgorelec 2008; Podgorelec and Klempić-Bogadi 2013] have found a high
activity of the older inhabitants precisely because of the specific way of life
which the island area has dictated in the last seventy years, including all limi-
tations (limited resources, underdeveloped economy, rural area, traffic iso-
lation, lack of educational institutions, lack of young people and working-age
population, inadequate policies, etc.) and/or advantages (sea, ecologically pre-
served area, climate, traditional customs, language, etc.). The type and level
of the individual’s activity patterns change during the life cycle, depending on
the decline or loss of certain skills or finding new strategies for continued ac-
tive involvement in the life of the family or the community. Therefore, the
researchers [Malanowski 2009, in: Boudiny 2013: 1094] argue for an under-
standing of the dynamic structure of the active ageing process watching it over
the four periods of age: “… preretirement (with distinction between those in
good and those in poor health), independent living as a retiree, early dependent
living and dependent living up until death”. The lifestyle of the islanders, ac-
cording to research on the Šibenik islands as well as on the Zadar, Kvarner and
Split islands [Babić et al. 2004; Podgorelec 2008] confirm the above-mentioned
dynamic structure, with particular emphasis on three phases: preparing to
return to the island in the pre-retirement stage (by adapting parent house or
building their own housing, and more frequent arrivals to the island in order
to maintain the position in the community and in the existing social network),
a high level of independent living in retirement until old age (despite health,
financial and social\(^1\) difficulties) and, in the case of dependence, a significant help of family and community members (mostly neighbours).

Boudiny \cite{2013:1089} argues that three principles should be included in the strategy and the active ageing policy planning respectively, and we find them to be equally important during the evaluation stage activities of elderly individuals in the community: adaptation to changes throughout life, human factor or observation of the degree of individuals' participation in social networks (narrowing of the wide network in young years toward emotionally close relationships in old age), but also the exceptional value of solitary activities\(^2\) and “primacy of agency over age-related structural barriers”.

Studies on island population lifestyle\(^3\) \cite{2001; Podgorelec and Babić; Podgorelec; Podgorelec and Klempić-Bogadi, 2013} have confirmed that old people, regardless of their age and health, put enormous energy into various forms of usefully spending their time by active participation in the community and mutual assistance respectively, participation in “work actions” (water front landscaping, construction of fire roads, etc.), cultural and artistic events, and neighbour help; in other words, they value to a great degree the closeness, the solidarity and the mutual support they feel living in a small island community, which gives them a sense of security\(^4\).

METHODS AND SAMPLE

Research on changes in the way of life in small island communities over the last fifty years was carried out from February to May 2011, applying the questionnaire method. The study was conducted on the combined deliberate and disproportionate quota sample that included a total of 249 respondents on five islands\(^5\) of the Šibenik archipelago – Krapanj, Prvić, Zlarin, Kaprije and Žirje. The selected islands represent typical examples of small Croatian islands and small island communities in terms of their size, population, distance from the land, way of life, economic (under)development and other indicators. According to the last 2011 census, there were 1,149 registered residents on the Šibenik islands, out of whom 403 on Prvić, 284 on Zlarin, 189 on Kaprije, 170 on Krapanj and 103 on Žirje.

\(^1\) The problem of living alone and loneliness owing to emigrant younger members of the family and losing friends.

\(^2\) The research has confirmed that more than a third of respondents live in single households and the activities they are engaged in during leisure time they usually perform by themselves. The structure of the sample was the following: 74 or 60.7% were married, 42 respondents (34.4%) were widows or widowers, five respondents were single/unmarried and one divorced. The number of single-person households and widows/widowers, as expected, increases with age (in the group 60–69 years only 7.6%, while in the groups 70–79 and 80+ it is 55%), and most of them are older women (42 out of 37 women).

\(^3\) Studies of researchers dealing with environmental gerontology prove that the environment in which older people live, in this case the island with all its elements that define islandness, significantly affects the maintenance of an active lifestyle and social inclusion \cite{Peace et al. 2007}.

\(^4\) The sense of security frequently decreases with age due to the loss of close persons and stronger experience of loneliness among older people.

\(^5\) The island of Murter has not been included in the survey because it is connected to the mainland by bridge.
For the purpose of this paper, results of the research referring to the activity level of older island population have been selected and analysed. The survey comprised 122 residents aged 60 and over, of which 39 respondents were on Zlarin, 32 on Prvić, 18 on Krpanj, 20 on Kaprije and 13 on Žirje. Age limit for the group of older islanders (aged 60 and over) was chosen because in the Republic of Croatia over the last 30 years the population has often went into retirement earlier than the anticipated legal limit of full age pension, primarily due to the many economic problems that have resulted in the collapse of a large number of industrial enterprises in the country. The same situation is to be found on the islands, especially on the small and medium ones, because their inhabitants were employed on the land in large numbers. Therefore, although age and retirement are not synonymous in many ways, the fact is that a large number of the retired, having finished their working period, changed their lifestyles, the level and type of activities, responsibilities and habits. When we are talking about the islanders who had emigrated earlier, a significant part of them returned from the land to the island.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Health and functional status

Although we advocate for more active involvement of old islanders in everyday life, and application of knowledge and potentials they have regardless of their age and health, health status and functional capacity of the elderly is an important requirement, on the one hand, to realize their desire to participate in various aspects of community life including the possible projects for the revitalization of island life, and, on the other, to perceive their vitality and abilities.

It is obvious from the collected data that younger respondents (aged 60–69) visit the doctor more rarely (less regularly), but still no statistically significant difference regarding the respondents’ age has been established. To those who have been to the doctor in the last three months, a question was asked about any health problems. The answers confirm that older islanders usually go to the doctor for check-ups (23.8%) and regular treatment of chronic diseases respectively.

Increase in the intensity of difficulties with the respondents’ age has been established in responses to the question about health problems limiting their everyday activities. Thus, 41% of the respondents do not feel any trouble or have little difficulties, and the majority of these are at the ages of 60 to 69. Most among those 28% who have large difficulties and very large problems that indicate possible problems with the autonomy/independence of the individual are the old islanders aged 80 and over.

6 Out-migrant returnees mention the need for return to true values, to what is essential in life, stressing the environmental benefits and simplicity of life on the island. “The island is my home, I was forced to leave because there was no job, but I was always dreaming about return – back to this beauty, but also the rigours of the landscape, the closeness I feel toward neighbours with whom I live” (74, woman, returnee from Switzerland).
The respondents highly value the term “good” health, so that in answers to the question which are the three greatest advantages of living on the island they stress components of the environmental quality: peace (72.1%), purity and beauty of nature (48.4%), followed by a healthy lifestyle, which allows them a high activity level even in the old age. Among the three biggest deficiencies of life on the island, convincingly in the first place (39.3% of responses) is the lack of health care on the island, which would help them preserve functional status.

In spite of a considerable number of single-person households (30.3%) and the established relatively high level of individuals’ independence, older persons who live alone are exposed to greater risk of not having anybody to provide them care and support inside their home when they need it, as well as to the feeling of loneliness, often present at older singles. It is a particular problem on the islands where usually there is no organized formal care, yet it is still successfully replaced by a high level of closeness between members and preserved community solidarity, as confirmed by this research [Podgorelec and Klempić 2007; Podgorelec and Klempić-Bogadi 2013].

The ability to use public transport is an important indicator of the functional status of the individual. Older islanders are forced to travel to the mainland and they do it mostly by public transport – by ship or ferry (86.1%). The reasons for travel are usually grocery shopping (49.2%), going to the doctor (30.3%) and visiting friends or family on the land (7%). Younger elderly travel, as expected, significantly more often (at least two to three times a week and more often) than old older respondents ($\chi^2 = 30.474; \text{df} = 10; \text{p} = 0.001$). The frequency of travel confirms the preservation of functional ability of a large number of older islanders.

Material situation – the condition of independence

Improvement of health care, and pensions as a secure source of income, enable the development of social activities in the newly acquired free time of the elderly, and thus the space for what unites the phrase active ageing.

Of the 122 respondents, 110 receive a pension, 97 are employed and 3 unemployed. The main material income of older islanders is the pension, the same as it is in the majority of the elderly in Croatia. Thus, one third of the respondents live in households with monthly revenues between 520€ and 780€, a fourth has between 260€ and 520€, while nearly a quarter of households have only 260€ income per month. Despite the fact that their pensions are relatively low, older people often point out that they provide them a certain level of financial security because of their regularity. Aggravating circumstance for a decent material standard of life is also a high cost of living on the islands, because food is on average up to 30% more expensive than on the mainland. The respondents (26.2%) stress expensiveness as the main aggravating condition of island life (second rank, immediately after inadequate health care), which is why they are forced to go to the mainland to do the shopping and in

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7 At the age of 60 to 64 only four are employed and that is the reason why we chose 60 years as the lower limit to the group of old islanders.
this manner save some money. At the same time, the respondents are aware of
the advantages of living on an island that allows them to realize natural income
by working in their gardens and fields, by fishing as well as by tourism. Thus,
15.6% of respondents have stated that they have in-house space dedicated
exclusively to tourism.

Although the majority of respondents were not able to save significantly
during their work-age years to ensure financially for old age, the ownership of
the flat/house gives them financial security and independence. Almost all
respondents (99.2%) are owners of the dwellings in which they live. The stand-
ard of living is satisfactory: more than 90% of dwellings have a kitchen, a
bathroom with running water, telephone, etc. The problem is that as much as
63.9% of dwellings were constructed before 1945 so it is not surprising that
41% of the respondents believe that it would be necessary to carry out major
repairs to dwellings.

Despite modest financial incomes, older islanders live in their homes
mostly on their own and are financially independent. At the same time, they
often point out that they help their adult emigrated children, in the first place
with agricultural products but financially as well.

Active leisure activities

Researches on the islands have confirmed [Podgorelec 2008; Podgorelec
and Klempić-Bogadi 2013] that old people, regardless of their age and health
condition, invest enormous energy in useful ways of spending the newly gen-
erated time realized after entering into pension.

The choice of leisure activities in old age largely follows the activities in
which an individual was involved in the earlier stages of life, generally only
the intensity of the practice and the amount of time dedicated to the activity
have changed. According to Ekerdt [1986], the active lifestyle of many retirees,
as is the case with islanders in particular, is a result of working ethics which
encourages an active lifestyle and allows such kind of leisure that brings ben-
efit (like working in the back garden) and fulfills the individual (various forms
of participation in the community).

As revealed by studies on other Croatian islands [Podgorelec 2008], the
Šibenik archipelago older residents also usually estimate to have enough free
time (over 80%) which they carry out in physical activities such as working in
the field, garden or olive grove (26.7%) and fishing. The following are watch-
ing television programmes (24.7%), reading (8.7%), handicraft (8%), sports,
singing and dancing in the cultural and artistic society, playing cards in the
pensioners’ club, solving crossword puzzles, writing, going to church etc. Sta-
tistically significant difference has been established ($\chi^2 = 32,419; \text{df} = 20;
p = 0.039$) in relation to the respondents’ age and the amount of physical effort
required by a certain hobby, whereas, as expected, older respondents (particu-
larly those aged 80 and over) are considerably rarely engaged in agricultural
activities, fishing or dancing in the folklore society. Around 15% of respondents
complained that they were still working too much, and these are mostly the
respondents aged 60 to 69 (12 of them) and 70 to 79 (7 of them).
When asked what they were doing of physical activity in the past week, nearly 60% mentioned working in the back garden or in the olive grove (even 40% were engaged in agriculture among the elderly 80+), 17.2% went fishing (10% among 80+) and 32% did the housework.

More than a third of the sample (36.1%) usually spend their free time alone and most of them are older than 80 years (over 60%). A third of the respondents spend their time in the company of friends (34.4%), then with partners/spouses (32.0%) and neighbours (17.2%). Married couples usually spend their leisure time in joint activities (51.4%) and they often emphasize it as an element that fulfills their life with satisfaction. Similar findings have been confirmed by other studies as well [Podgorelec 2008].

Active leisure, as being conducted in a number of older islanders, has an impact on improving health and well-being, a sense of one’s own usefulness in relation to the family and the local community, and all these together prove their vitality and the need to become involved in programmes with which they themselves will also contribute to a higher quality of the island life.

Conclusion

Since their youth, the population of small Croatian islands is accustomed to a life with limited opportunities: economic (poverty and underdeveloped economy), cultural and social (continuous emigration of young people and impoverishment of social capital) and they are forced to live actively relying on their own strength, on the individuals and the local community alike. Notwithstanding all difficulties and limitations of island lifestyle, older islanders, comparing their personal quality of life with that of their peers on the mainland, estimate in large number (44.3%) that older people on islands live better just because of an active lifestyle that the space of the island allows (19.7% of them estimate to live equally well, and 36% worse due to the aforementioned shortcomings).

The ratio of the number of young and old people on Croatian islands requires that the elderly should be equally included as partakers at the local level in all phases of economic and social activities. Even though strategic documents comprise an active ageing component, there are still no concrete measures that could enable elderly islands’ population to actively join various activities primarily in its local community. Still, even without the implementation of certain measures and policies, the way of life of island area residents predisposes them to a high level of activities and participation in old age.

REFERENCES:

INTERNET SOURCE


ОРИГИНАЛНИ НАУЧНИ РАД

АКТИВНО СТАРЕЊЕ КАО ЖИВОТНИ СТИЛ НА ХРВАТСКИМ ОСТРВИМА

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САЖЕТАК: Основна особина хрватских острова, уз њихове природне лепоте, је да су то демографски и социолошки један од најугроженијих простора захваћених старењем. Старење островског становништва последица је дуготрајне депопулације подстакнуте континуираним исељавањем млађег радноактивног становништва у протеклих стотинак година, али и повратничких миграција након пензионисања...
у последњих тридесетак година. Најкритичније је стање на малим острвима где већину популације чине старији од 60 година што значајно утиче на све аспекте острвског живота.

Истраживање спроведено 2011. на малим острвима у Шибенском архипелагу показало је да старије становништво живи самостално, без значајнијих здравствених тегова које ограничавају свакодневне активности, у властитим домаћинствима, од скромних пензија уз које велики број остварује допунски приход из пољопривреде, те врло често финансијски помажу своју одраслу децу која углавном живи у оближњим градовима на обали. Нужност осланјања на сопствене снаге због недостатка млађих генерација присилава становнике хрватских острва на активан живот до дубоко у старост. Иако они више нису у активном радном односу, и даље значајно доприносе породици и друштву кроз улаз у одрасле децу која углавном живе у оближњим градовима на обали.

КЉУЧНЕ РЕЧИ: Хрватска, острва, активно старење, миграција, пензионисање

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SAŽETAK: Temeljna je značajka hrvatskih otoka, uz njihove prirodne ljepote, da je to demografski i sociološki jedan od najugroženijih prostora zahvaćenih starenjem. Starenje otočnog stanovništva posljedica je dugotrajne depopulacije potaknute kontinuiranim iseljavanjem mlađeg radno aktivnog stanovništva u proteklih stotinjak godina, ali i povratničkim umirovljenim migracijama posljednjih tridesetak godina. Najkriteričnije stanje je na malim otocima gdje većinu populacije čine stariji od 60 godina što značajno utječe na sve aspekte otočnoga života.

Istraživanje proveđeno 2011. na malim otocima u Šibenskom arhipelagu pokazalo je da starije становништво živi samostalno, bez značajnih zdravstvenih tegov sa koje granicavaju svakodnevne aktivnosti, u vlastitim kućanstvima, od skromnih mirovina u kojih veliki broj ostvaruje dopunski prihod iz poljoprivrede, te vrlo često financijski pomažu svoju odraslu djecu koja uglavnom žive u obližnjim obalnim gradovima. Nužnost oсланjaњa na vlastite snage zbog nedostatka mladih generacija prisiljava stanovnike hrvatskih otoka na aktivan život do duboku starost. Premda oni više nisu u aktivnom radnom odnosu, dalje značajno pridonose obitelji i društvu kroz uključenost u različite aktivnosti zajednice.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: Hravtska, otoci, aktivno starenje, migracija, umirovljenje