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THE ROLE OF VOLUNTEERING IN REMOTE COMMUNITIES

The Exploration of Intrinsic Motives and Social and Economic Benefits of Volunteering

DOCTORAL THESIS

Mentor: Dan R. Ebener, PhD.
Co-mentor: Julia Perić, PhD.

Osijek, March 2021.

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Rino Medić

ULOGA VOLONTIRANJA U UDALJENIM ZAJEDNICAMA

Istraživanje intrinzičnih motiva te socijalnih i ekonomskih koristi volontiranja

DOKTORSKA DISERTACIJA

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Volunteer activities provide one effective way for remote communities to overcome the risks of their isolation. It offers psychological benefits to the people who are volunteering as well as social and economic benefits to the community and to those who receive the help.
This dissertation explores evidence of intrinsic motivators for volunteering as well as the social and economic benefits from volunteering in two small Adriatic communities. The research employed rigorous qualitative methodology, including focus groups, one-on-one interviews and direct observation.
The seven intrinsic motivators are culture, altruism, meaning, social connection, progress, choice and competence. The two social benefits found are social capital and cultural amenities and the five economic benefits are jobs, food, housing, health care and education.
Evidence demonstrated an annual cultural shift that occurs each year, from a collectivist nature in the winter to a more individualist culture in the summer. That shift has a major consequence on many aspects of life in these areas, including the helping behavior.
Globalization and tourism seem to be eroding the culture of helping in these areas. This dissertation offers some recommendations about entrepreneurial activities that might reconcile the development of tourism with their collectivist culture, such as working together through clusters and cooperatives.

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Volonterske aktivnosti omogućavaju udaljenim zajednicama da jednostavnije prevladaju probleme koje nosi izoliranost. Volonterstvo u tim zajednicama povećava razinu psiholoških, ekonomskih i društvenih koristi za korisnike volonterskih usluga, ali i za one koji volontiraju. Ova disertacija istražuje unutarnje motive za volontiranje, kao i društvene i ekonomske koristi od volontiranja u dvije male udaljene zajednice na Jadranu. Za potrebe istraživanja korištena je etnografija kao kvalitativna metodologija koja je uključivala fokus grupe, pojedinačne intervjue i izravno promatranje.
U disertaciji su istraženi unutarnji motivi za volontiranje (kultura, altruizam, značenje, društvena povezanost, napredak, izbor i kompetencija), te društvene (socijalni kapital i kulturne pogodnosti) i ekonomske koristi od volontiranja (posao, hrana, stanovanje, zdravstvena zaštita i obrazovanje).
Rezultati istraživanja su pokazali zanimljivi kulturni fenomen koji se događa svake godine - kolektivizam koji je većinom prisutan zimi se, tijekom ljetnog perioda, mijenja u individualizam što značajno utječe na razne aspekte života na ovim područjima, uključujući i kulturu pomaganja. Ovaj kulturni fenomen rezultat je rastuće globalizacije i fokusiranosti na turizam kao najznačajnijeg, a ponekad i jedinog izvora prihoda tamošnjim stanovnicima. Ova disertacija nudi i niz preporuka koje bi mogle pridonijeti prebacivanju fokusa s individualističke na kolektivističku kulturu tijekom ljetnih mjeseci, te time dovesti i do većeg značaja volontiranja u ovim malim udaljenim zajednicama.

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ABSTRACT

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Evidence demonstrated an annual cultural shift that occurs each year, from a collectivist nature in the winter to a more individualist culture in the summer. That shift has a major consequence on many aspects of life in these areas, including the helping behavior.

Globalization and tourism seem to be eroding the culture of helping in these areas. This dissertation offers some recommendations about entrepreneurial activities that might reconcile the development of tourism with their collectivist culture, such as working together through clusters and cooperatives.

Keywords: volunteering, intrinsic motivators, social and economic benefits, collectivism

SAŽETAK

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Ključne riječi: volontiranje, unutarnji motivi, društvene i ekonomske koristi, kolektivizam

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To those who believed in me.

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and friends while also continuing to spread the message of this dissertation and publish pieces of it elsewhere.

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"Whoever wants to be great among you must be your servant"

Matthew 20:25-27

PREFACE

"Why are these people volunteering? Why they are doing that?" These were the questions that I asked my family friend and now the mentor for this dissertation during my first visit to US, where I found many people engaged in different kind of volunteering activities. I found that they were volunteering in soup kitchens, during the sports events, in public parks and during many other occasions. I found myself truly interested in this helping behavior. This question that I asked prof. Ebener became the initial point for my dissertation. I felt some kind of true curiosity about this topic.

Most economies in the world today are based on a monetary system, where goods and services are valued by some certain amount of money. Monetary transactions represent connections between supply and demand in order to satisfy the needs among people. From this perspective, volunteerism looks counter-intuitive. The existing economic system of capitalism seems at direct odds with volunteerism. The capitalist system teaches that the more capable you are, the more you will earn and the more you will have. It encourages competition and pushes people forward to give their best.

However, not everything that makes sense in the real world. Not everything fits the definitions and explanations of economic books and theories. Within the competitive system of the economy, there are people who wonder: What is happening with the people who are left behind in today's society? What happens to those who are ill, lonely, homeless, or outside of the system? What happens to those who are not capable to earn enough money to ensure the basic things of life?

On the other hand, there are those who wonder: Perhaps that is because they are not putting in enough effort. Perhaps they lack the education and training to succeed in the economic life. Perhaps they are just lazy. Perhaps it is not the economic system but the fault lies with the individual who has these unmet needs.

Regardless of which reason, it is important to some people to care for those who are left behind in today's economy. Perhaps the real question is not who is guilty but who is responsible for their destiny? Perhaps it is a question of placing the emphasis on the dignity and worth of each human being. The current economic system is the best we know so far. It helps us to live in the competitive world where the education, knowledge, efforts and work are reasonably valuable and helps us to ensure that life continues. But also, this economic system is not the perfect one and many people are left apart for many reasons. And it is not

a question of why they were left apart. The main question is how we can help those which basic needs are not satisfied.

Many people have more money than they can spend and more goods than they actually need. Many people have the time and energy to use to help the ones who need help. Some people like the good feeling that comes from caring for someone else's needs. They do the small things which improve life and correct some imperfections of the economic system. It can lead to a better life for themselves and their fellow citizens in this world.

In a world where most things are measured by money, it seems that the cheapest thing is what you pay for it. When you buy something, you are clear to that person or organization. It is a clear money transaction where you are avoiding many misunderstandings. You provide or get the service or goods and you are getting or paying the certain amount of money for that. This is the way our economy functions and it seems completely reasonable. But what we are avoiding when we rely only on money transactions? Are we missing something?

As a part of my regular job, I spent some time in a small remote community where I noticed some things which made me curious. People are closer to each other and willing to help without even being conscious that they are helping. They are helping each other without expecting anything in return. They rely on each other and they are taking care of others. All of these things made me curious and I asked myself again, "Why they are doing that?" I connected my first curiosity about volunteering in the US with the life which regularly exists in small remote areas in the Adriatic. And the journey continued.

I started to read books and scientific articles about volunteering. I started to speak with professionals and academics about it. In order to find more about volunteering, I spent two months in the library at St. Ambrose University in Davenport, Iowa, where I found many interesting articles about this topic. It helped me to became more familiar with this topic and to get more deeper into it. I found that intrinsic motivation is at the heart of volunteering, that people live longer when they help others and that some forms of motivation are completely altruistic.

I found many articles about different kind of benefits from volunteering. Some said that we are receiving when we are giving, that the part of the brain that is responsible for dopamine levels is the same part that is activated when we help someone, and that that there are many explanations for intrinsic motivation. I found these and many other interesting facts which just made me more excited about this topic and increased my level of my own intrinsic motivation to research this. I knew that I was on the right track. The journey continued.

Reading the books and scientific articles about volunteering and its impacts introduced me into the world of helping and helped me to become familiar with this topic. At one moment, I realized that it would not be enough just to read the books and scientific articles. I asked myself what value my research will have if it is just written by the findings from the books and scientific papers. I realized that I needed to immerse myself into the experience of volunteering.

I made a huge step forward and decided to leave my permanent job in order to personally experience what I am writing about. I left my place of living and lived for five months, including the winter period, within two Adriatic communities where my research was conducted. The decision to leave my permanent job and spend five months in two small remote Dalmatian places during the winter period was very stressful at that moment. I did not know if I was doing the right thing and what the result would be. I just knew that I needed to do that and experience what I am writing about.

The personal experience allowed me as a researcher to conduct research through the method of observation. I personally observed the impact of volunteering. That experience now seems invaluable. The knowledge I could gain from various scientific papers and books on the impact of volunteering in small remote environments would certainly be of value. But the personal experience I gained while living in these two small communities seems to me to be something that is hard to replace with anything.

Experiencing life in these Adriatic communities during the winter months has helped me not only to learn many things but what is most important, it helped me to comprehend life there. This experience allowed me to comprehend the volunteering behavior of people in these areas. I believe that the anthropological approach that I used is something that will strongly contribute, bring important value and add more quality to this scientific project. I felt that the journey is continuing and became more excited about that.

The journey which started with just one regular everyday question five years ago has become something extraordinary for me. It led me to a different kind of path that I could not have imagined. I learned so many things, experienced unforgettable experiences and met many wonderful people. It made me richer inside. The journey is still continuing and I am feeling more excited all the more as I am going forward. By that, I know I am on the right track and that this journey will continue, even when I finish this dissertation.

This dissertation research is just one step toward something bigger. It has introduced me into the world of volunteering and allowed me to understand better these helping behaviors. This journey has brought me knowledge and skills about volunteering. What is

even more important, it has brought me a greater understanding of helping behavior so I can make more sense of it for others.

There are many people who are left behind in this fast, money-oriented and sometimes cruel world. But during this journey, I found that there are many people who will take care of those who are left behind, for whatever the reason. There are many people who are willing to give their time, money and energy to help those who need that help. The answer on the question what I asked at the beginning of my journey now could be "*Why <u>not</u>* volunteer? *Why <u>not</u>* help someone who is in need?" Let the journey continue.

INTRODUCTION

Helping others is one of the greatest human virtues and volunteering plays an important role in today's society. Jesus preached that *"whoever wants to be great among you must be your servant"* while Martin Luther King stated that *"everyone can be great because anyone can serve"*.

Remote Adriatic communities, such as the island of Vis and the peninsula of Pelješac, are unique in terms of culture, history, economic resources and environment. They also face unique challenges which are a result of their remoteness, especially during the winter, when life becomes more difficult. Some authors suggest that the lower quality of life in remote communities is caused by such things as inadequate health facilities, lack of communication networks and the lack of quality housing (Roberts, 2004; Liarakou, Gavrilakis and Flogaitis, 2014).

In a time when governments are cutting their support for rural communities, especially remote areas, demand for volunteering activities becomes even more important. Gieling and Haartsen (2016) believe that communities in these areas can fill the gap left by state organized services because they have a strong sense of social solidarity. Brennan (2007) suggests that people in these communities need to do more with less.

Remote areas, such as Vis and Pelješac, are facing depopulation and reduced services. Volunteer activities can help to maintain some services which would otherwise not exist, especially during the winter period. In many ways, volunteers contribute to the local community by providing services needed by the local people.

Much has already been researched about what volunteers do, how a community benefits and what volunteerism looks like in urban areas. It has also been documented that volunteerism tends to be higher in rural communities than in urban areas (Aydinili, Bender and Chasiotis, 2013). This dissertation will provide a rich source of data to describe how geography and different annual life dynamics can impact volunteerism.

People in urban areas can be motivated to volunteer in order to gain certain technical skills, to advance their career, or by some altruistic reason. Given the isolation, loneliness and aging in remote areas, the motivation of their volunteers may be somewhat different as it can become more of a practical necessity.

This dissertation proposes five intrinsic motivators for volunteerism in these rural communities: (1) meaningfulness, (2) choice, (3) competence, (4) progress and (5) social connections (Thomas, 2009; Ryan and Deci, 2000; Bass, 1990). The first four of these

factors are derived from self-determination theory, by Ryan and Deci (2000), and from the model of intrinsic motivation, by Kenneth Thomas (2009). Three of these factors – meaningfulness, competence and social connectedness – are very similar to the Bass (1990) model of transformational motivation.

This dissertation also proposes two additional intrinsic motives for volunteering - culture and altruism - which emerged unexpectedly during the research process.

This dissertation also explores social and economic benefits of volunteering, which is an important way for people to connect with one another and increase their social capital (Putnam, 2000). Volunteering has a special role in the formation of social capital and is influenced by formal and informal social ties (Warburton and Winterton, 2017; Onyx, Leonard and Hayward-Brown, 2003). Social capital contributes significantly to sustainable economic development. According to Putnam (1993), and Minnigaleeva (2017), social capital is a fundamental driver for volunteering.

Remote communities may lack social, cultural and economic resources to provide for the needs of a community. For example, they can rely on volunteering to meet such needs as libraries, the arts, music and entertainment (Medić, Medić and Ebener, 2017). Volunteerism offers a way to address these needs, especially in remote areas, and helps those whose needs are not being met (*Volunteering in Under-Resourced Rural Communities Report*, 2004).

Research also shows that urban volunteering can be beneficial because it strengthens the social bonds between people. This is expected to also be true in the remote areas of Croatia; however, the social capital that can be advanced through volunteerism is expected to be even more critical in remote areas where it can be difficult to survive the winter.

Sometimes the bonds of community are not strong enough to protect the weakest members of society – the poor, hungry, ill, lonely, un-educated and homeless. A small, rural community might lack the economic resources to provide basic needs of health care, housing, jobs and education. Hospitals, clinics, schools, restaurants, food stores, bakeries and other forms of commerce are less accessible in more remote areas. In remote areas, sometimes it can be hard to find meaningful work to support a family (*Volunteering in Under-Resourced Rural Communities Report*, 2004).

Dissertation goals and research questions

The goals of this dissertation are to explore the intrinsic motivators for volunteering as well as the social and economic benefits from volunteering in two small Adriatic areas during the winter months.

The three research questions (RQ) in this dissertation are:

(RQ 1) What are intrinsic motivators for volunteering in the winter in these remote Adriatic communities?

(RQ 2) What are the social benefits of volunteering in the winter in these remote Adriatic areas?

(RQ 3) What are the economic benefits of volunteering in the winter in these remote Adriatic locations?

The structure of the dissertation

Literature review. The first section of this dissertation consists of a literature review on the findings of previous research related to this topic. The first part of this literature review is a special focus on the remote islands as the communities which are characterized by the challenges like loneliness and isolation which is a result of their remoteness.

The next part of the literature review explains the term social capital and the connectivity between social capital and volunteerism. It also describes social capital and volunteerism in remote communities. It also explains the history of volunteering and different approaches to it, from a sociological, psychological to the economic point of view. It also reviews the impacts of volunteering on the economic, sociological, psychological and health impacts on the individual and group level.

The literature review also explores the intrinsic benefits of volunteering, including motivation theories and their development through history. The special focus is on intrinsic motivation and its relation to volunteering. This section presents five intrinsic motivators for volunteering which are developed from the self-determination theory by Ryan and Deci, a model of intrinsic motivation by Kenneth Thomas and a model from transformational motivation by Bass. This section also explains two additional intrinsic motives which emerged unexpectedly during the research - culture and altruism.

The last part of the literature review covers the social and economic benefits from volunteering, and the positive impacts they have on the life of the people who live in distanced areas such as these two Adriatic communities.

Methods. The next section of the dissertation is about the methods used to collect and analyze the data. The first part of the methods section is about case selection, which presents information about the two small Adriatic areas selected for this research, explaining why these areas were selected.

In selecting these two areas, special attention was dedicated to the challenges with which these two Adriatic areas are facing, including the different annual life dynamics throughout the year. This is strongly present in both areas and the challenges that both areas are facing are mostly related to strong depopulation and aging. Also, big attention is paid to the lack of services and goods encountered by the population in these areas, which reflect their remoteness and isolation.

The final part of the methods section is about collecting the data. The field research methods are focus groups, direct observation and one-on-one interviews. By employing three research methods, two investigators, two coders and two cases, this dissertation aims to increase the "triangulation" of the data.

Analyzing the data. The third section of this dissertation presents the collected data for analysis for both selected cases and for analysis across the cases. This part of the dissertation presents tables of collected results for seven intrinsic motives for volunteering as well as the results for seven social and economic benefits from volunteering.

Discussion of the data. The fourth section of this dissertation is where all gathered and analyzed data are discussed based on all three research questions. This section presents data which confirms or disagrees with the expected responses to the research questions based upon the collected data. It also presents some new thoughts about the research questions through un-expected findings. Special attention is paid to the annual cultural shift from a more collectivist nature of the community in the winter to a more individualist culture in the summer, and the impact this has on volunteering.

Contributions and recommendations. The fifth section in this dissertation is about recommendations. This is where all the findings of this dissertation are used in order to suggest some possible solutions to the main challenges that these Adriatic areas are facing.

Limitations. The next section is about the limitations of this dissertation which was conducted in two small remote areas in Croatia, and by that represent just a small part of the locations where these researched questions could be studied. Although the research was done

at the remotest island in Croatia and another of the most remote places on the Croatian coast, it cannot be generalized to the whole remote places in Croatia and especially to the remote areas abroad.

Future research. Suggestions in this section are made to further explore some of the more intriguing results of this dissertation. This section provides some propositions about the unexpected findings in this dissertation and suggests some possible directions for future research that needs to be done to ensure a better picture of researched problems.

Major findings. This section highlights the main findings of this dissertation. This was done to emphasize the most important findings in this dissertation.

Conclusion. The last section in this dissertation is a conclusion focuses on the possible entrepreneurial strategies for infusing some collectivism into the tourist business. This section also summarizes all findings and provides some thoughts about the future of these remote Adriatic communities.

1. LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL CONCEPT

Introduction

This section presents concepts that are key in this dissertation and seeks to provide a literature review of the previous research. The first part provides an overview of the literature on remote communities and distant islands. The second part presents concepts such as volunteering and social capital and provides an overview of the connections between these concepts. The last part of this section presents a review of the literature on motivation with special emphasis on five intrinsic motivators in the volunteering process. The very end of this section presents a review of two intrinsic motivators that appeared unexpectedly during the research process.

Communities

There are different definitions which describe the term "communities". Many of them consider communities as a group of people with shared sense of place who interact between themselves. In fact, community is much more than geographic location. It is an entity that consists of people, place and relationships that exists there (Wilkinson, 1991; Bridger and Luloff, 1999; Theodori, 2005; Brennan, 2007). Some authors describe community as a group of people "in relationships structured around social networks of ties that legislate exchange of ideas and modes of action within and beyond the geographic boundaries of a community" (Mtika and Kistler, 2016, p. 84). Others suggest that community includes locally oriented actions, geography and human life dimensions (Wilkinson, 1991; Luloff and Swanson, 1995; Luloff and Bridger, 2003; Brennan, 2006; Brennan, 2007).

Sociologists describe "community" in three ways. First, it can refer to a group of people within the same location who interacts within itself. Second, it can be organizations or groups of organizations through which people meet their needs. Third, it might refer to a group of people who share the same ideas, identity or values (Flora and Flora, 2008). For the purpose of this dissertation, the first definition which includes shared location, common identity and social system will be applied.

Remote communities

Remote communities have their own specific characteristics and they are unique in terms of culture, history, economic resources and environment. They face certain challenges which are a result of their remoteness.

The Volunteering in Under-Resourced Rural Communities Report (2004) suggest that "disconnection and isolation, and issues such as transportation, affordable and reliable child care, healthcare, and living wage jobs not only affect the well-being of rural families, but also impact the ability of rural residents to engage in community activities" (p. 2). Some authors consider the small population size, distance from urban centers and loss of local employment as key themes in rural communities (Joseph and Cloutier-Fisher, 2005; Wiersma and Koster, 2013).

Remote communities seem to be especially vulnerable to these external factors but a lot of them survived hundreds of years despite many negative factors that they were facing. In fact, remoteness does not have just negative implications on the life in these areas. Some authors suggest that "many isolated communities have not been seriously affected by damage linked with a modern way of life such as the over-exploitation of natural resources, pollution, the disappearance of traditions and cultures, and extensive construction, while their natural capital and traditions often remain unharmed" (Liarakou, Gavrilakis and Flogaitis, 2014, p. 8).

There are different definitions of what area is considered "remote" across the world. For this dissertation, which will be conducted in the Adriatic, probably the most appropriate definition would be the European definition which says that "a region can be labeled as remote if at least half of its population lives more than 45 minutes by road from any city of at least 50,000 inhabitants" (Dijkstra and Poelman, 2008 cited in Liarakou, Gavrilakis and Flogaitis, 2014, p. 4).

Islands as remote communities

One specific case of remote areas would be Adriatic islands. Cambridge Dictionary define an island as "a piece of land completely surrounded by water".[1] At first sight, that sounds like an obvious fact, but it signals what probably has the most influence on islands

[1] Cambridge Dictionary, https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/island , accessed at July 16, 2019.

and the life on them. An island's size, geographical position and the fact that they are physically divided from the mainland contributes to the feeling of remoteness. Nejašmić and Mišetić (2006) suggest that separation from the mainland and other islands is the characteristic that most determines life on an island. It could be said that the main characteristic of islands is that they are determined in isolation from the sea which surrounds them. This fact has a strong influence on social, economic, psychological, cultural and many other aspects of an island's life.

People in isolated areas such as the Croatian islands and some other small places on the coast are faced with different kinds of challenges which are a result of their remoteness and isolation. One of the main challenges that they are facing is a problem of depopulation. Some authors suggest that the main reasons for island depopulation are difficulties in transportation to the mainland, unreliable health care, higher prices of goods, lack of economic resources and workplaces and problems in the education system (Rudan, 2006). These findings are consistent with more recent findings which suggest five main reasons why young people move from the islands. According to that research, young inhabitants state the following reasons for leaving the islands and moving to the mainland: (1) search for better employment, (2) improving living standards, (3) better education, (4) richer social life and (5) better health and social care (Barada and Vakanjac, 2014).

"At the beginning of the 20th century, there were 167,000 inhabitants on the Croatian islands, which was about 5.3 per cent of the total population in Croatia while at the end of the 20th century there were 117,000 inhabitants, which was 2.8 per cent of the total population in Croatia" (Nejašmić and Mišetić, 2006, p. 284). It is also important to emphasize that population density on the Croatian islands is lower than on other Mediterranean archipelagos. Podgorelec and Klempić Bogadi (2013) suggests that there is a "high likelihood that small island communities will continue to die out in the next decades" (p. 188) because of these negative demographic trends and unfavorable age structure. Some even suggest that "…the islands, particularly the smaller ones, are dying out demographically" (Friganović, 1962 cited in Nejašmić and Mišetić, 2006, p. 284). This sounds dramatic but it is not far away from the truth. Many remote areas are facing with this kind of challenges and among them are also the island of Vis and Pelješac peninsula in Croatia.

Social capital in remote areas

Many strategies, laws and incentives are oriented to different kind of resources and sometimes are not considering social capital which already exists in these areas. That social capital succeeded to maintain life there for thousands of years despite many historical challenges. The Volunteering in Under-Resourced Rural Communities Report (2004) suggests that "the culture of independence and self-sufficiency speak to the inherent strength and resilience of rural areas and celebrates community" (p. 2). Concern for neighbors, high quality of the environment, strong work ethic and low crime rates are just some of the valued norms which can be found in remote communities and could be sources for potential challenges of these areas (Miller, 1995; Liarakou, Gavrilakis and Flogaitis, 2014). Social capital is a place where the richness of these small Adriatic areas lies and where can be found solutions for many challenges that these areas are facing, especially during the winter months.

What is Social Capital?

Some authors describe social capital as "the glue that holds societies together and without which there can be no economic growth or human well-being" (Grootaert, 1998; p. III). This term was first noticed by Alexis de Touqueville, the French aristocrat of the 19th century. Although he did not use the term social capital, during his visit to US he noticed that Americans are engaged and organized in different kind of activities what we would today call civil society. These collective actions were accomplished by building social capital through "promoting interaction that strengthens members commitment to particular values and goals, in seeking to carry out those goals, forging the common identity" (Flora and Flora, 2008; p. 122).

Emile Durkheim and Pierre Bourdieu were two French sociologists who researched and described this term more precisely. Bourdieu argued that "social capital is a form of credit that allows him or to her to claim certain elements of those resources when they are needed" (Flora and Flora, 2008; p. 119). Some authors suggest that "social capital comprises both structural aspects (i.e. social networks) as well as cultural aspects (i.e. trust and social norms and values)" (van Deth 2003 cited in Gundelach, Freitag and Stadelmann-Steffen, 2010; p. 629).

Robert Putnam, an American political scientist, was a person who popularized this term. According to him, "social capital is formed through networks of trust and common values that people have with one another, including both formal organizations and informal networks (Putnam, 2000, 2001 cited in Lee and Brudney, 2012; p. 161).

In his famous book, *Bowling Alone*, Putnam (2000) shows the decline of social capital in the US at the second part of 20th century with many negative consequences for society. He was using the metaphor with bowling to show how much less Americans are playing this game together. Instead, they are bowling alone which is a sign of strong decline social capital in society. He was arguing that people are spending less time with friends and neighbors within the community (Putnam, 2000).

Today, it could be said that Americans not only are bowling alone but that they no longer do bowling at all. This simple metaphor with bowling shows that the social connections among people are becoming even weaker. It is also interesting to mention that the big majority of people in modern and developed world today have more material wealth than did their parents. Despite this fact, the percentage of people who are happy has decreased dramatically and depression rates have risen dramatically (Post, 2005; Easterbrook, 2003).

Social capital and volunteerism

There are many findings which suggesting that volunteer behavior is especially an important element of social capital. According to some suggestions "volunteering and social capital are empirically linked" (Onyx, Leonard and Hayward-Brown, 2003, p. 61). The Value of Volunteering in Canada (2018) report suggests that social capital has a positive impact on volunteering and that participation in volunteering activities, especially informal one, is strongly determined by social capital (Lee and Brudney, 2012).

Volunteering is an important way through which people connect with one another and increase their social capital. Some authors are arguing that volunteering is an expression of identity, "a feeling of being linked to those who will benefit from one's labor" (Musick and his colleagues, 2000, p. 1540 cited in Lee and Brudney, 2012, p. 162). It could be said that the social capital is created by changes in the relationships among the persons. According to some authors, volunteering has a special role in the formation of social capital and is influenced by formal and informal social ties (Warburton and Winterton, 2017; Onyx, Leonard and Hayward-Brown, 2003).

Also, there is some evidence that social capital contributes significantly to sustainable development. Some authors find that "social connectedness is better predictor of altruistic behaviors, including volunteering, than the human or physical capital" (Putnam, 2001 cited in Lee and Brudney, 2012, p. 162). According to Putnam (1993), and Minnigaleeva, (2017), social capital is a fundamental driver for volunteering.

Many findings suggest that volunteering activities fill the gap in services and programs that support individuals and communities. According to some authors, volunteering activities are "directed at changing the status quo and creating systemic change and long-term solutions to social problems" (Snyder and Omoto, 2008, p. 2).

Volunteering in rural communities

In a time when many governments are cutting their support for remote areas, demand for volunteering activities seems to be even more important. According to some authors, participation in these areas "can be identified as a community's capacity to safeguard residents' needs and desires" (Joseph and Skinner, 2012 cited in Gieling and Haartsen, 2016, p. 579). The same authors also believe that communities in these areas are able to fill the gap left by state organized services because they have a strong sense of self-sufficiency and social solidarity.

According to Bekkers (2012), "when people get together, organize group activities, collaborate to reach collective goals endorsed by many fellow group members and share their experiences, they create a sense of community for themselves and for others" (p. 225). Some authors are considering volunteerism as a response to external changes that leave rural communities vulnerable (Joseph and Clouter-Fisher, 2005; Skinner and Joseph, 2007, 2011; Wiersma and Koster, 2013).

As many remote areas are facing depopulation, and reduced services, volunteering activities can help to maintain some services which would otherwise not exist. In many ways, volunteers contribute to the local community by providing services needed by the local people. According to some authors, volunteering is more frequent in rural than in urban, and in a less wealthy context (Aydinili, Bender and Chasiotis, 2013). Woolovin and Rutherford (2013) also found higher rates of volunteering in rural areas compared to urban areas.

Some authors suggest that, unlike urban communities, rural communities are characterized by "high context culture", which means that people are sharing many aspects of their lives with more frequent contact within their community (Chase-Ziolek and Striepe,

1999; Wenger, 1992). Some reports suggest that rural communities are usually characterized by the higher levels of social capital and volunteering (Fast, de de Jong Gierveld and Keating, 2008; Liu and Besser, 2003; Warburton and Winterton, 2014; Warburton and Winterton, 2017) and that these two things present the panacea for these communities (Lovell, 2009; Winterton and Warburton, 2017).

Volunteering in remote communities (especially informal volunteering) can become a critical part of life. The community residents rely on each other to meet many critical needs. When volunteering, people in these remote areas are helping themselves and each other, whether they are conscious of it or not. They are helping each other for a variety of reasons. Perhaps it is just a natural way of life for them. Perhaps they just think it is the "right thing to do". The individual and community benefits may be an un-intended consequence. They are doing these activities sometimes in formal way and sometimes in informal ways.

The person volunteering can be adding to their quality of life by gaining more connections with others (social capital). The people receiving the volunteer services are meeting some specific needs. The community is enhanced as some of the social and economic needs of the community are met and because the people are more connected to each other, thus promoting commerce and providing greater measures of social capital (Woolovin and Rutherford, 2013).

Volunteerism

Volunteerism is a complex phenomenon which includes different types of activities and it varies in different organizations, cultures and regions. This term was appeared in the 16th century and was described as "one who offers himself for military service," from Middle French *voluntaire*, meaning "voluntary".[2] The word "volunteer" describes one of the main characteristics of volunteerism and comes from the Latin word voluntārius, which means willingness, "voluntary, of one's free will".[3] Some authors suggest that the adjective 'voluntary' means that the provided work is free and that there is no financial reward for that work (Cuskelly and Brosnan 2001, p. 101 cited in Bittman and Fisher, 2006). Others suggests that the term 'volunteer' describes "a person who provides services or benefits to others for motivations other than financial or material reward" (Cordingley 2000; Dingle and Heath 2001 cited in Bittman and Fisher, 2006, p. V).

[2] The Saurus.com, https://www.thesaurus.com/browse/volunteer , accessed at July 18, 2019.
[3] Dictionary.com, https://www.dictionary.com/browse/voluntary , accessed at July 18, 2019.

During history, this phenomenon has changed, from the time when volunteers were soldiers who joined by their free will to the army, to the present time when volunteerism is considered as a fundamental basis of civil society (Ellis and Noyes, 1990; Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy, 2010; Medić, Medić and Ebener, 2017). Also, there are different meanings of this phenomenon across the world. For example, in Russia there is no word for this term while in India, instead of volunteerism, the term "social work" is used (Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy, 2010).

There are a lot of definitions of volunteerism and most of them are focused on different aspects of helping others without receiving material rewards. Some authors suggest that volunteerism is "any activity in which time is given freely to benefit another person, group or organization" (Wilson 2000, p. 215 cited in Gundelach, Freitag and Stadelmann-Steffen, 2010, p. 628). Other authors suggest that the core of volunteering is in participation of individuals in spontaneous and freely chosen activities which bring common welfare (Caslavova et al., 2014; Duben, 1996). However, there seems to be a common consensus among many definitions that volunteerism consists of four major components: (1) behavior characterized by free will, (2) lack of cash prizes, (3) the goal of helping others and (4) that it takes place in a formal setting (Haski-Leventhal, 2009; Medić, Medić and Ebener, 2017).

Informal volunteering

The above definition covers almost all major components of volunteerism but excludes one which is important and occupies a large part of volunteering activities. That is volunteering which does not take place in a formal setting and is called "informal volunteering". Einolf et al. (2017) define informal volunteering "as unpaid, voluntary work not coordinated by an organization or institution" (p. 2). Other authors suggest that "informal volunteering refers to activities such as helping and supporting friends, neighbors, acquaintances and relatives (outside of one's own household) that take place directly between the people involved and outside of any formally organized structure" (Gundelach, Freitag and Stadelmann-Steffen, 2010, p. 627).

Informal volunteering is probably the most common type of human helping behavior. It is an important part in volunteering activities and should be considered when talking about volunteerism. One of the definitions that mostly covers the phenomenon of volunteerism comes from the International Labor Organization (ILO) which says that "volunteerism is an unpaid non-compulsory work; that is, time individuals give without pay to activities

performed either through an organization or directly for others outside their own household "(*Manual of Measurement of Volunteer Work*, 2011, p. 13 cited in Medić, Medić and Ebener, 2017, p. 183). This definition includes work that is unpaid and non-compulsory, whether it is direct help or organizationally based. Usually, the term volunteering refers to activities that are led by civil responsibility and concern for people, especially for those who suffer.

Economic, social and psychological views of volunteerism

The phenomenon of volunteering has intrigued researchers over the world for a long time and it was researched from many different perspectives. That is why there are a lot of different meanings and functions to volunteering depending on which discipline it is researched, such as economic, sociological and psychological perspectives. Some authors suggest that economists assume rational behavior on part of all individuals who volunteer, that sociologists focus on their social determinants of prosocial behavior and that psychologists call attention to individual differences in psychological characteristics of volunteers (Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy, 2010).

"According to the economic point of view, volunteering is a paradox" (Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy, 2010, p. 8). It opposes one of the to the economist's main assumptions which means that human behavior will be self-interested and rational. In other words, they will not take activities where their costs exceed their benefits which is not exactly what is happening during the volunteering activities (Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy, 2010). Some authors suggest that the labor market assumes that the labor supply is limited by the decision-making between the utility of leisure time and the utility of the product person can buy if sacrifices some leisure time to a working activity to earn money (Caslavova et al., 2014).

Economists provide several explanations to this irrational behavior. One economic paradigm considers volunteering as "unpaid work" where volunteers undertake this activity as an investment in their human capital which has a calculable economic value (Hustinx, Cnaan, and Handy, 2010; Freeman, 1997). Other economists are trying to explain this behavior by two models, private benefits model and public good model. The first model suggests that volunteers will receive some intrinsic benefits by doing volunteering activities. The second one is assuming that individuals donate their time to increase the provision of social and economic goods (Hustinx, Cnaan, and Handy, 2010; Freeman, 1997).

Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy (2010) suggests that volunteering contributes to individuals' social integration and that it is an indicator of community belonging and group identity.

From a sociological point of view, volunteerism is a phenomenon that involves patterns of social relationships and interactions and it is considered an essential form of social solidarity that binds society together (Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy, 2010). According to some authors, sociologists have been mostly preoccupied with understanding who and why volunteers (Musick and Wilson, 2008; Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy, 2010). For sociologists, volunteering is "an expression of core societal principles such as solidarity, social cohesion, and democracy" (Putnam, 2000; Wuthnow, 1998; cited in Hustinx, Cnaan, and Handy, 2010, p. 4).

Some authors suggest that the psychological perspective of volunteering is focused with "the identification of personality traits that distinguish volunteers from non-volunteers and relate to various aspects of volunteer behavior" (Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy, 2010, p. 13). Others are suggesting that "Even when the choice situation involves no material or social incentives, there are still people who seem to have an eye for the 'other(s)' in a social dilemma" (Bekkers, 2004, p. 27 cited in Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy, 2010, p. 13).

As was mentioned before, volunteering is a multidimensional phenomenon and in order to provide a better understanding it would be valuable to consider it from different perspectives at the same time. Some authors argue "that good theory is multidimensional and that the best theories are hybrids, resulting from combining different approaches to theory" (DiMaggio, 1995 cited in Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy, 2010, p. 4).

In recent times, many researchers are using this approach in order to provide a better understanding of this interesting phenomenon. Even many of researchers have different points of view about volunteerism depending from which perspective are researching it, what is common for all of them that they all share fascination with it. So, for instance, some authors consider volunteering as expression of core human values (Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy, 2010; Wuthnow, 1991). The volunteering phenomenon sometimes stands out as something unique, paradoxical and atypical in many ways.

There are many studies which are suggesting the importance and value of volunteering, as for the community as well for individuals. A lot of previous researches highlights different kind of benefits where volunteerism leads to individuals benefits as well to community benefits. These studies are usually focused on economic, social and psychological benefits of volunteerism.

According to one estimate, there are about 1 billion people around the world who are volunteering every year (Salamon, Sokolowski and Haddock, 2011). To put that into context, if these volunteers compromised one country, it would be the second largest country in the world, based on the number of citizens. This huge number of people are doing different kind of activities by their free will and producing a lot of different kind of values.

The value of volunteerism from the economic point of view is sometimes questionable because it is not an activity which is motivated and valuable by money. Because of that, it could be said that volunteerism is a paradox from the economic point of view. It provides benefits which can be somewhat measured in terms of money but at the same time it's not driven by money rewards. In fact, there is some evidence of decreased motivation in volunteers when they were offered money rewards for their work (Deci, 1972).

The monetary value of volunteering

Volunteering activities provide a lot of benefits which can be measured by money. In today's world, which puts big emphasis on economic realities, giving a better picture of the economic impacts of volunteering can be a good starting point which will provide some important things about this phenomenon. One of the main characteristics of volunteering is that is unpaid activity which means that there are no monetary transactions.

Because of that, it is somewhat hard to measure the economic impact of volunteerism and because of that, it's sometimes ignored by the official economic statistics. But one thing is common to paid and unpaid work and that is the time spend to get something done. The value of time needed to make something done can be easily expressed through the price per hour typical for that type of activity. This is usually the most common way how various volunteer activities are expressed by economic valuation

Many volunteer activities can be valued as the price per hour that is characteristic for that activity. The most common approach to measure economic impact of volunteering activities is by adding money value to each volunteer hour. According to some data, both organization-based and direct volunteering contribute with the 1.348 trillion USD to the total economic value of the world's economy which could be enough to put volunteering activities as seventh largest economy in the world (Salamon, Sokolowski and Haddock, 2011). Just in the US alone, approximately 61.8 million people volunteer each year and contribute about 8 billion working hours, which is equivalent to about 162 billion USD (Medić, Medić and Ebener, 2017).

About 32.1 percent of the population in Europe participate in volunteer work that is the equivalent of 4.5 million full-time jobs (Meier and Stutzer, 2014; Anheier and Salamon, 1999). Some authors suggest that volunteering contributes to the UK economy with 50 billion £ which represents 3.5% of annual UK GDP (Haldane, 2014). The Value of Volunteering in Canada (2018) report suggests that Canadians who volunteer contribute about 56 billion USD to their GDP which represents about 2.6% of total economic activity. According to some authors, the voluntary welfare services are worth more than double the value of services provided by all levels of government in Australia (Bittman and Fisher, 2006).

These data show that even though volunteerism is not included in monetary transactions and is not driven by money rewards, it takes an important place in today's economies. Also, it has a strong economic impact across the world. It is also interesting to mention that economic impacts of volunteerism are not captured into the country GDP no matter what they bring a big value to economy. Sometimes the strong influence and big impact on an economy could have things which are not measured by usually economic statistics data like GDP.

Intrinsic benefits of volunteerism

Former US president candidate Robert F. Kennedy once said, "GDP measures neither our wit nor our courage, neither our wisdom nor our learning, neither our compassion nor our devotion to our country, it measures everything in short, except that which makes life worthwhile".[4] Indeed, these activities not only contribute to the country's economy more than is viewed on first sight, but they also make life worthwhile.

The economic impact of volunteerism is just one of the impacts that this phenomenon has on life in today's world. This impact is significant and maybe one of the easiest to capture, but there are also other impacts which could be even more important. What is interesting to mention that even Adam Smith, the author of famous book, *The Wealth of Nations*, and also known as the father of modern economics, or father of capitalism, saw helping others as the way to higher well-being: "Concern for our own happiness recommends to us the virtue of prudence: concern for that of other people" (Smith, 1759, p. 385 cited in Meier and Stutzer, 2014, p. 2).

[4] The Guardian, https://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/2012/may/24/robert-kennedy-gdp , accessed at July 20, 2019.

While volunteer activities are done with the goal of helping others, there is also a common belief that *those who give also receive*. Morrow-Howell, Hong and Tang (2009) suggest that a primary goal of volunteering is to serve others and the community, but there are secondary gains as volunteers experience personal benefits. Wilson and Musick (2000) suggest that "there can be little doubt that individual volunteering benefits are usually unintended consequences of behavior that is motivated not by extrinsic but intrinsic rewards" (p. 167). Helping others sometimes can bring a lot of benefits to the donor and to the recipient at the same time.

One of the major characteristics of volunteerism is that there is no material reward for that type of activity. However, this does not mean that the person who volunteers does not receive any other rewards as a consequence of its behavior. According to the report, *The Health Benefits of Volunteering: A Review of Recent Research* (2007), there are recent studies on the relationship between health and volunteering and they are demonstrating that the benefits of volunteering are not limited to the recipients of the volunteer services (Dulin and Hill, 2003; Brown et al., 2005; Brown et al., 2003; Liang et al., 2001; Morrow-Howell et al., 2003; Midlarsky and Kahana, 1994; and Schwartz et al., 2003). Over past decades, there were a lot of studies which emphasize the importance of intrinsic benefits for volunteer itself. These benefits could be different kind of psychological benefits as well as social benefits for the individual.

Many reports suggest intrinsic benefits from volunteer activities for the individual. A report from UnitedHealth Group (2017), which was conducted in US among 2,705 adults age 18 and over who volunteered over last 12 months, suggests many intrinsic benefits for volunteers. According to this report, 94% of volunteers reported an enriched sense of purpose in life, and 75% reported that volunteering has made them feel more physically healthy. Also, 79% of respondents experienced lower stress levels while 78% said they feel that they have greater control over their health and well-being.

Many studies report that volunteerism benefits older adults. For example, The Health Benefits of Volunteering: A Review of Recent Research (2007) demonstrate that "volunteering leads to better health and that older volunteers are the most likely to receive physical and mental health benefits from their volunteer activities" (p. 2). Also, many authors researched the relationship between volunteering and physical and mental health, and most of this research provides evidence that volunteering and health are correlated (Morrow-Howell, Hong and Tang, 2009; Musick, Herzog and House, 1999; Lum and Lightfoot, 2005; Morrow-Howell, Hinterlong, Rozario and Tang, 2003; Fried et al., 2004;

Musick and Wilson, 2003; Arnstein, Vidal, Wells-Federman, Morgan and Caudill, 2002; Van Willigen, 2000).

Some longitudinal studies found that doing volunteer activities can lead to increased perceived self-esteem and self-efficacy which was connected to lower risk of morbidity (Handy and Mook, 2011; Musick and Wilson, 1999; Wilson 2000).

Some authors suggested that participation in volunteering activities can reduce mortality (Tabassum, Mohan and Smith, 2016). Some evidence suggests that participants who volunteered lived longer but only if their intentions were truly altruistic.[5] In addition, some research shows that individuals who volunteer after some diseases, like heart attack, reported reduction in despair and depression, two factors which have been linked to increased mortality in this type of patient (Grimm, Spring and Dietz, 2007; Sullivan and Sullivan, 1997).

It is interesting to mention that "neuroscientists have found that the part of the brain active when a person donates is the same part of the brain responsible for producing dopamine-one of the brain chemicals associated with happiness" (Moll et al., 2006 cited in Handy and Mook, 2011, p. 412).

These and many other studies just confirm what was previously mentioned. Both individuals and communities receive many benefits from volunteering activities. These benefits are sometimes unintended consequences of volunteering activities but need to be taken seriously because their impacts can be significant. No matter if the benefits are economic, social or psychological (intrinsic), these impacts provide many solutions for different challenges that today's human is facing. They can help to overcome some imperfections of today's life and can lead to improved social and economic conditions. In this sense, volunteerism can have a significant contribution to the economic and social conditions of people who live on remote areas, such are island of Vis and peninsula of Pelješac.

Motivation

One way to explain the intrinsic benefits of volunteerism is to consider how volunteerism is a product of intrinsic motivation, i.e. why would somebody be motivated to volunteer? What do they get out of it? If monetary rewards, which are extrinsic motivators,

[5] Harvard Health Publishing, https://www.health.harvard.edu/blog/volunteering-may-be-good-for-body-and-mind-201306266428 , accessed at July 20, 2019.

are not present during volunteerism, it makes sense to look at what intrinsic benefits might be motivating to the volunteer. What are the reasons behind the visible impacts that volunteering can have?

To be motivated means to be "moved" to do something (Thomas, 2009). Motivation could be described as a force which appears within and leads us into some action. Some authors suggest that internal force that energize and determines the direction of action are the things which are present in most definitions about motivation (Pardee, 1990; Russell, 1971). Others describe motivation "as the willingness of an individual to do something and conditioned by actions to satisfy needs" (Whiseand and Rush, 1988 cited in Yusoff, Kian and Idris, 2013, p. 18).

Many definitions of motivation describe motivation as something which moves people to act in order to achieve a specific goal. According to Ryan and Deci (2000), "a person who feels no impetus or inspiration to act is thus characterized as unmotivated, whereas someone who is energized or activated toward an end is considered motivated" (p. 54).

Theories of motivation

Motivation has been a central research question in psychology for many years. One of the first and probably the most famous theories is "The Theory of Motivation" by Abraham Maslow, an American psychologist from the 20th century. According to Maslow, the human needs are classified in a five-tier model of human needs, usually described as hierarchical levels within a pyramid (Aruma and Hanachor, 2017).

This model assumes that the most basic needs are physiological needs which are settled at the bottom of pyramid. The second most basic need is psychological, such as the need for security and safety, followed by social needs such as love and belonging. Near the top of the pyramid are self-fulfillment needs such as the need of self-esteem. Finally, at the very top is the need of self-actualization. Self-actualization needs stay on the top of the pyramid as the highest human need.

Maslow suggests that people are motivated by unmet needs which are in a hierarchical order which means that the upper needs cannot be fulfilled unless all lower level needs have been met previously (Pardee, 1990). According to this theory, people will first strive to satisfy the lower needs and then the ones above them. He also suggested that

motivation comes only from unsatisfied needs because a satisfied need does not create tension and therefore does not create motivation. (Pardee, 1990; Burke, 1987).

Another famous theory about motivation comes from an American psychologist Frederick Herzberg. It is called hygiene-motivation theory or the two-factor theory of motivation. This theory assumes that satisfaction and dissatisfaction are not opposite the ends of the same continuum, but two separate continuities associated with different factors. According to this theory, there are two different categories of motivational factors: (1) extrinsic or hygienic and (2) intrinsic, or motivators.

Motivation factors including achievement, recognition, the work itself, responsibility, advancement and growth. The presence of these factors will motivate people to perform better. In other words, if these higher needs are satisfied that will lead to employee motivation. On the other hand, hygiene factors are salary, security, relationships, work conditions, policies and supervision, and no presence of these factors will cause amotivation with employees. It interesting to mention that, according to this theory, the presence of these factors will not increase motivation and encourage workers to perform better. In other words, motivation factors operate to increase job satisfaction while hygiene factors work to reduce job dissatisfaction (Alshmemri, Shahwan-Akl and Maude, 2017; Herzberg et al., 1959).

McClelland's "Need for Achievement" theory suggests that every individual, no matter the gender, culture, or age, has these three types of motivational needs: (1) a need for achievement, (2) a need for affiliation, and (3) a need for power (Royle and Hall, 2012). This theory suggests that needs are learned through our culture and life experiences and that each person will ty to satisfied needs only if the need for satisfaction is strong (Pardee, 1990).

One of the reasons why motivation is so interesting to researchers is because of its impacts on different aspects of everyday life. Ryan and Deci (2000) suggest that motivation is highly valued by different type of leaders, managers, clergy, coaches and even parents because of its consequences. One of the most important consequence of motivation is that motivation produces action (Thomas, 2009). In today's life, when almost everything is oriented toward productivity and efficiency, it is not strange that the phenomena of motivation attract so much attention.

Intrinsic and extrinsic motivation

There are different types and levels of motivation, but the most common differentiation is by the reasons which move us toward action. Sometimes the reasons are

expected extrinsic rewards while sometimes the reward is that the work itself is intrinsically motivating. In other words, some actions expect some external rewards (or expect to avoid punishments) while others are intrinsically interesting, inspiring or enjoyable (Thomas, 2009).

That is the distinction between extrinsic and intrinsic motivation. The most basic distinction between is by "rewards" that are received by doing some activity. "While extrinsic motivation leads to a separable income, intrinsic motivation refers to doing something because it is inherently interesting or enjoyable" (Ryan and Deci, 2000, p. 55). Doing something which is not motivated by satisfying our initiate need or for receiving some reward began to interest scientists in the middle of the 20th century. They noticed that some animals perform some activities which are not motivated by their biological needs or desire to get some extrinsic reward. It was interesting to see that the tasks which they were doing was because they were interested in it. From that time to today, many authors were researching intrinsic motivation. From that point, scientists have been trying to understand intrinsic motivation which leads to behavior where the reward is the work itself (Thomas, 2009).

According to some authors, people will look to do things they find interesting or enjoyable which means that intrinsic motivation is a natural human tendency (Legault, 2016; Thomas, 2009). Ryan and Deci (2000) provided a nice description of intrinsic motivation where they suggest that "no single phenomenon reflects the positive potential of human nature as much as intrinsic motivation, the inherent tendency to seek out novelty and challenges, to extend and exercise one's capacities, to explore, and to learn" (p. 70).

According to some authors, intrinsic motivation is associated with various benefits like enjoyment, persistence, and psychological well-being and is considered as the most optimal form of motivation (Legault, 2016; Deci and Ryan 2008; Thomas, 2009). Some authors suggest that the essence of intrinsic motivation is a feeling of free choice and commitment (Deci, 1972; DeCharms, 1968; Thomas, 2009). As stated earlier, it is interesting to note that one of the main characteristics of volunteerism is a free will which can lead us to think that volunteerism and intrinsic motivation are strongly connected. In fact, intrinsic motivation is an essential part of volunteering and it could be said that intrinsic motivation is in the heart of the volunteering activity (Thomas, 2009).

Five intrinsic motivators for volunteerism

This dissertation proposes five intrinsic motivators for volunteerism: (1) meaningfulness, (2) choice, (3) competence, (4) progress and (5) social connections (Thomas, 2009; Ryan and Deci, 2018; Bass, 1990).

The first four of these factors are derived from both self-determination theory, by Ryan and Deci (2018), and the model of intrinsic motivation, by Kenneth Thomas (2009). The first, third and fifth ones are very similar to the Bass (1990) model of transformational motivation.

The first one, meaningfulness, is also very similar to the first factor of the Bernard Bass (1990) model of intrinsic motivation, which he calls "inspirational motivation". It suggests that human beings have an intrinsic need for purpose and meaning in their lives (Thomas, 2009), which is why so many organizations are driven to write mission, vision or core values statements. According to self-determination theory, one of the most basic human psychological needs is to feel a sense of purpose in what one does (Ryan and Deci, 2000).

The second idea, choice, means that people are more intrinsically motivated when they have freedom of choice in the matter. This is a foundational principle of volunteerism, that people are not coerced but are choosing to volunteer. The more choice the volunteer has in the volunteer activity, the more motivated they will be. According to self-determination theory, a need to feel autonomous is an innate psychological need of humans and it is about feeling that a person has a choice in what one does and not being controlled by others (Ryan and Deci 2000).

The third factor, competence, suggests that people will be more intrinsically motivated in their volunteer experience if they see themselves developing certain skills that they find useful for their lives (Thomas, 2009). This is similar to the Bass (1990) factor called "intellectual stimulation". When the volunteer enjoys the volunteer activity, and can master the skill needed to perform it, this is intrinsically motivating to the volunteer. Self-determination theory also addresses the human need to be competent as an innate human need, which suggests that it is about feeling competent in one's abilities, as a good fit with the extent of the challenge, which results in a feeling of achievement (Ryan and Deci 2000).

Cognitive evaluation theory, which is considered a sub-theory of self-determination theory, suggests that feelings of competence and sense of autonomy are related. In other words, feelings of competence will not increase intrinsic motivation if it is not connected with a sense of autonomy (IPLOC; de-Charms, 1968, Ryan and Deci 2000).

The fourth factor, progress, means that in order to sustain intrinsic motivation for some task, the volunteer needs to see steps being made in the right direction (Thomas, 2009). The more motivating the purpose of the volunteer activity is, the more likely that progress will be a major factor in sustaining that person's involvement. For example, if one is volunteering to help a young child learn to read, the volunteer will be intrinsically motivated by seeing the young person begin to read. The thrill of finishing one task can provide motivation for taking on the next steps in the process (Thomas, 2009).

The fifth factor, social connection, is part of self-determination theory (Ryan and Deci, 2000) and is associated with the Bass (1990) factor he calls "individual consideration". The idea is that people are intrinsically motivated to volunteer in order to make personal connections and develop personal relationships with other people, which could be the person who is receiving services, or it could be other volunteers (Putnam, 2000; Thomas, 2009). This factor will become very important to this dissertation because of the isolation and loneliness that is common to remote locations (Rudan, 2006). This dissertation suggests that the human connectivity that results from volunteerism will be another factor in explaining why volunteers are motivated to serve in the remote areas – and one of the social and economic benefits of volunteerism.

Additional intrinsic motivators for this research

Among the five intrinsic motivators which were set during the literature review process, two more factors surprisingly appeared during the field research. The participants of the focus groups and interviews expressed these two facts as important reasons for why they are volunteering. These two new terms were added to the existing five intrinsic motivators and are explained separately in the next section. One of these new intrinsic motivators we named as "culture".

Culture. The term "culture" is very broad, and it is difficult to find a common definition. The definition usually depends on the perspective that culture is observed. Many disciplines define culture differently and it can be viewed from a social, psychological, political or anthropologic point of view. There is no common agreement between them which definition is right, and it is best to observe this term from the various discipline to get the complete picture of it.

Culture usually refers to the way of life in some specific geographic area where people share the same values and norms. According to some authors, culture "is defined as

a set of values and beliefs, or a cluster of learned behaviors that we share with others in a particular society, giving us a sense of belongingness and identity" (Lebrón, 2013., p. 126). Others suggest that "the most common understanding of culture is one that imagines a high level of internal uniformity within a social system" (Rathje, 2009., p. 35). Gill (2013) describes culture "as a system of knowledge, beliefs, procedures, attitudes, and artifacts that is shared within a group" (p. 71). Lebrón, (2013) said that the "culture is the unique characteristic of a social group; the values and norms shared by its members set it apart from other social groups and is influenced by conscious beliefs" (p. 126). It is not necessary that one culture is right and the other one is wrong. They are just different and those differences are usually culturally rooted.

This dissertation is focused on volunteering and its impacts in two small remote areas in Adriatic. The remoteness of these areas has an impact on the people's behavior there. For many years, the people in these areas were left to themselves which had a strong influence on life there. It could be said that the remoteness and isolation contributed to the development of the specific culture in these areas. As the term culture covers many aspects of everyday life, this dissertation will look just upon the connection between culture and its impacts on volunteering behavior. The cultural life of these remote areas has been maintained for hundreds of years despite many challenges throughout history.

As members of the focus groups and interviews expressed, the helping behavior that is common for these areas from the past times has continued to be a major part of their culture. It became the reason for helping without people being conscious that they are doing that. During the focus groups and interviews, participants mentioned many times that they are helping because that is a normal way of life there. Statements like the one that follows is an example of what we are defining as "culture" from the focus groups and interviews:" *That habit from the old days teaches that you need to help your first neighbor still exists in this area. People here have always lived by this way of life, of helping each other".*

Many participants said that they are helping because of their tradition and religion. Because the tradition and religion are an important part of their culture, we incorporated religion and tradition as fitting our definition of culture for the purpose of this research.
Some authors suggest that "with the advent of the Internet and the increasingly economical telecommunications and airfares, we find ourselves participants in what is becoming a truly global society" (Hofstede, Pedersen, and Hofstede, 2002 cited in Lebrón, 2013. p. 129).

In today's connected world, it is difficult to imagine that some areas are still isolated. The small Adriatic areas that are the cases for this research experience the same internet

connection as virtually every corner of the world. Information from all over the world is available on just a few clicks. Also, the travel connections regarding ferries and roads are much better than it was before.

However, although they are not as isolated in terms of availability of information, goods and services as it was in past times, we think these areas are still facing some challenges which are the result of their remoteness. These challenges are less visible during the summer period when these areas are crowded with tourists and when the connections to the mainland are even better.

During the summer period, these areas are becoming less isolated and the visitors that are coming bringing the new globalized behavior. The globalization effects are more present, especially during the summer period, and these effects are having an impact on the culture in these two small remote areas. The cultures of these remote communities are changing as they are being influenced by the effects of globalization.

Altruism. The next term which surprisingly emerged very often during the field research is what we are calling "altruism". The participants of focus groups and interviews emphasized altruism as a reason why they are helping. In fact, they did not necessarily use the word altruism, but they rather used phrases like: *"I am not obligated to give back that help that I received but now I am more aware of the situation when somebody else needs help. It is not reciprocal. It is just that I understand these kinds of situations when somebody is in trouble."*

Perhaps altruism could be viewed as part of the culture in these areas. It could be part of the religion also. In fact, many of the intrinsic motivators we are identifying in this research are inter-related. Altruism is part of the culture and religion there but identifying it as altruism gives us a better and deeper understanding of volunteering behavior, so it will be marked as altruism and separated from culture and religion in this dissertation.

While the term volunteerism comes from the Latin word *voluntarious,* which means *"by its own will",* the term altruism comes from the Latin word "alter" which means "other". The term altruism was coined by French philosopher and author of *Positivism,* Auguste Comte, who argued that altruism is placing others above self (Campbell, 2006). Simplified, it is unselfish concern for other people.

The term altruism is opposite to egoism and some authors describe an altruist "as a person who does something for the other and for the other's sake, rather than as a means to self-promotion or internal well-being…" (Post, 2002, p. 53 cited in Mattis, et al., 2009, p. 2). Others define altruistic behaviors "as actions that are (1) voluntary, (2) undertaken

without an a priori interest in receiving internal or external rewards, and (3) intended to enhance the welfare of others" (Mattis, et al., 2009, p. 2).

There are many similarities between altruism and volunteerism and the main common thing is that they are oriented to helping others. The main distinction is that altruism is oriented to helping others without expecting anything in return while volunteerism brings some intrinsic benefits for the person. There is a constant debate whether pure altruism exists at all. Scientists and philosophers over time argued whether altruism exists because there are intrinsic rewards for helping. This dissertation will not go into that debate but will accept that helping behavior can be motivated for self-benefit or for the altruistic benefit of others. Altruism is not only an expression of love for humans, it can be viewed by some as an expression of love to God, such as stated in the golden rule: "*Do unto others as you would have them do unto you*" (Luke 6:31 and Matthew 7:12).

People in these small remote places expressed being satisfied when they could help someone else. Many of them said the only thing they got is a good feeling because they were helping someone. They said they were motivated by their heart, and a *"thank you"* what they received was enough for them. They help without expecting anything back. This term appeared so many times during research process that it was necessary to include it into the analysis.

Social and economic benefits to the community

This dissertation will also try to explain how volunteerism adds value to a local community in remote Adriatic areas by meeting some of its unmet social, cultural and economic needs. These needs may vary from one community to the next, but this dissertation will look specifically at the community needs in two remote areas in the Adriatic: the island of Vis and the peninsula of Pelješac (see the section on case selection for an explanation of why these two areas were selected).

Sometimes the bonds of community are not strong enough to protect the weakest members – the poor, hungry, ill, lonely, un-educated and even homeless (Gieling and Haartsen, 2016). A small, rural community might lack the economic resources to provide the basic needs of health care, housing, jobs and education (Roberts, 2004; Liarakou, Gavrilakis and Flogaitis, 2014). Hospitals, clinics, schools, restaurants, food stores, bakeries and other forms of commerce are less accessible in remote areas. Sometimes it can be hard to find meaningful work to support a family.

At other times, a community may lack resources to provide for the social/cultural needs of a community, and it relies on volunteering (formal and informal) to meet these needs, such as libraries, the arts, music and entertainment (Medić, Medić and Ebener, 2017). Volunteerism offers a way to address these social/cultural needs of a community at remote areas and helps those who are left behind or whose needs are not being met (Gieling and Haartsen, 2016).

Volunteers may be motivated by meaningfulness, choice, competence, progress or social connections. In the process, the result of their efforts to serve others helps to restore social and economic justice. It can even make the community a better place for them as well for their fellow citizens. After all, it can have a crucial impact on decisions to leave or to stay at the remote areas such as the island of Vis and peninsula of Pelješac.

2. METHODS

Case selection

To select the two remote areas for this dissertation was an interesting challenge. The Croatian islands are among the most remote areas of Croatia. The Croatian part of the Adriatic Sea consists of 1,246 islands, islets and rocks (Nejašmić and Mišetić, 2006; Duplančić Leder et al., 2004). Only 47 of these islands are inhabited, and only about 100,000 people live on these islands (Rudan, 2006). Those 47 inhabited islands have their own specific socio-demographic and geographical characteristics, which distinguishes them from the others. Some of them are bigger than the others (island of Cres, island of Brač), some are more populated (island of Krk, island of Korčula), some are more connected to the mainland (island of Ugljan, island of Šolta), some are closer to the mainland (island of Rab, island of Murter) and some of them are even connected with the mainland by bridge (island of Pag, island of Krk). The islands can be grouped by their geographical positions. There are northern Adriatic islands and southern Adriatic islands. According to Croatian legal classification, the Pelješac peninsula is considered an island and it will be included in this dissertation.

In addition, some authors suggest that important factors which distinguish the islands are ”the number of ship lines, the presence (or non-presence) of certain economic subjects on the island, the presence (or non-presence) of education institutions for children of school and pre-school age, the level of organization of health care and social security, the quality of social interaction (islanders-newcomers), the intensity of cultural events and the level of satisfaction of the inhabitants with every individual element of daily life are some of the factors which distinguish the islands” (Podgorelec and Klempić Bogadi, 2013; p. 181).

Distance from the mainland

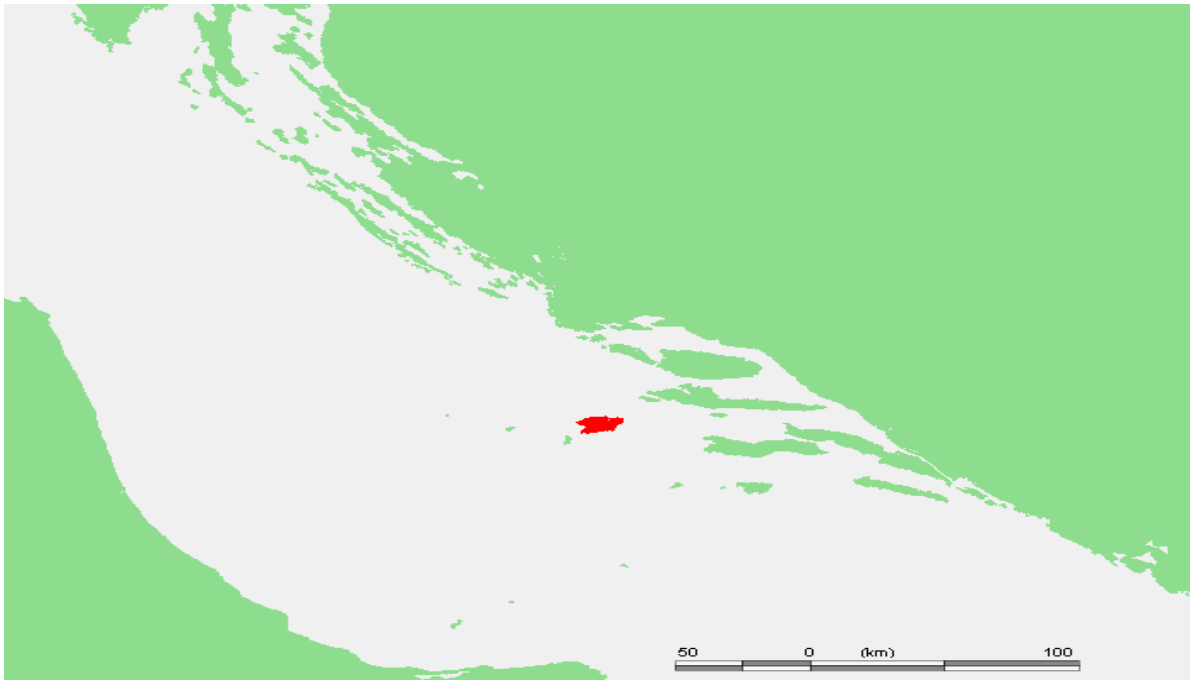
Throughout the history of the islands, the geographical position of an island has had a significant impact on its life. If the island was on the main trade routes, that contributed to its development. Also, if the island was an important strategic place, that increased its attractiveness. In the past, the Croatian islands were more independent and self-sufficient, while today the islands are much more dependent on the mainland in many aspects of daily

life. Because of that, the distance from the mainland center to which they gravitate has probably the biggest impact on life at these small remote areas today. The distance from the mainland centers was one of the main criteria for choosing the communities for this dissertation.

The island of Vis

The island of Vis is a very remote island and has been chosen for this dissertation. According to the last census, there are 3,460 inhabitants who live on the island of Vis.[6] The island has two towns, Komiža on the west coast and the city of Vis on the northeastern coast of the island. The majority of inhabitants are concentrated in these two towns, while the rest of the island's population is scattered in 19 small settlements mostly in the interior of the island. The island of Vis is located in the middle of Adriatic Sea and belong to the group of Dalmatian islands. The picture below shows the position of the island of Vis in the Adriatic Sea

Picture 1: Position of the island of Vis in Adriatic Sea[7]



[6] Croatian Bureau of Statistics, https://www.dzs.hr/default_e.htm, accessed on July 17, 2019.
[7] One Croatia, https://www.one-croatia.com/central-dalmatia/vis/ , accessed on January 31, 2020.

The island of Vis has a Mediterranean climate that means that the summers are hot and dry while the winters are mild and rainy. There are no rivers on the island of Vis, but the island has enough of its own sources of fresh drinking water. That fact combined with the new recently build solar plant contributes to its self-sufficiency.[8] Vis Island has about 2,700 sunny hours per year, which makes it one of the sunniest islands in the Adriatic and a pleasant place for living.

History of Vis

The City of Vis is considered the oldest city in Croatia. The Greeks established it when Dionysius the Great established a Greek "polis" Issa in 397, BC and was constantly populated from that period until now.[9] The city of Vis existed as an independent Greek city – polis until 47 years B.C., when it became a Roman city. From that time until now, different countries, empires and kingdoms were changing in this area. During the early Middle Ages, Slavic people came to the island and adopted naval skills and knowledge of the cultivation of Mediterranean cultures from the local people. In the 15th century, the island came under the rule of the Venetians while from that period until 20th century, the French, the English and the Habsburgs have been alternating in the reign of the island.[10] Probably the most prosperous period for the island was during the Renaissance and Baroque period, when the island was experiencing economic and cultural flourish.

In the first part of the 20th century, the island of Vis was a part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians. After World War II, the island became a part of the Republic of Yugoslavia, while considered a part of the Republic of Croatia from 1992 until now. During the Yugoslavia period, the island was a strategic military base and was closed for foreign visitors. This has largely determined its development. The island did not get a chance to develop like other places in the Adriatic. This fact, which was considered as an obstacle in the past, appears as an advantage today. Because of its closing during the Yugoslavia period, the island avoided the fate of overbuilding that was so characteristic for many other places in the Adriatic. By this, the island remains preserved which is a great advantage in today's touristic offerings.

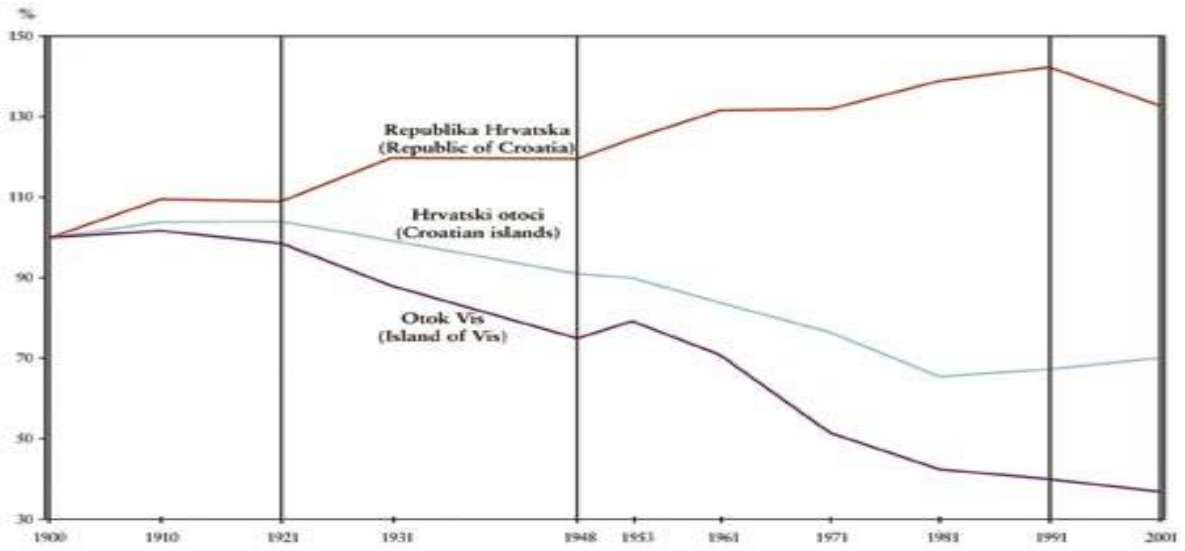
[8] Jutarnji hr, https://www.jutarnji.hr/domidizajn/eksterijeri/na-visu-pri-kraju-izgradnja-najvece-solarne-elektrane-na-mediteranu/9723367/ , accessed at February 19, 2020.
[9] The City of Vis, http://www.gradvis.hr/povijest-i-kulturna-bastina/ , accessed at July, 17, 2019.
[10] The City of Vis, http://www.gradvis.hr/povijest-i-kulturna-bastina/ , accessed at July 17, 2019.

A strategic geographical position, nice climate, fertile land in the interior, fresh water and many fish in the sea around the island probably contributed to the attractiveness of this area for life during the past. Greeks, Romans, Venetians, French, English and Austrians were the nations who were in charge for some time in this area. Their goals were different, but what was common for all of them that they recognized the beauty and importance of this island. From the moment of its establishing, till the present time, Vis and its inhabitants passed through many different periods which were demanding and challenging. What is important to mention that all of these invaders had some impact on this area and left some influence that is now historical and cultural heritages of the island. The life in this area exists from the ancient times until today and was preserved despite different kinds of challenges in the past. How is situation today?

Challenges of Vis

As was mentioned before, Vis is facing the same challenges as many other Croatian islands. The main problem is a problem of depopulation. Data below shows that Vis was strongly affected by depopulation during the 20th century. The highest number of inhabitants was recorded in 1910, when Vis was one of the most populated Dalmatian islands and had about 10,000 inhabitants (Nejašmić and Mišetić, 2006). If we compare that to today, when the island has 3,460 inhabitants, we can see a significant decrease of population in the last century.

Chart 1. Movement of the population of the Republic of Croatia, the Croatian islands and the island of Vis in the period from 1900 to 2001;



Source: Nejašmić and Mišetić, (2006): Depopulation of Vis Island, Croatia, p. 292

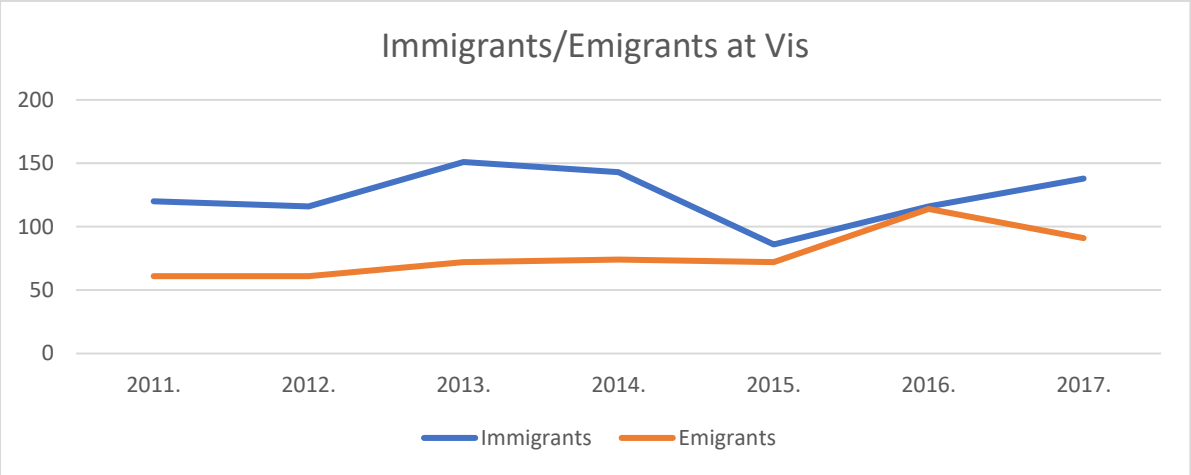
The chart above shows the movement of the population of the Republic of Croatia, the Croatian islands and the island of Vis in the period from 1900 to 2001. According to this, we can see that the island of Vis was particularly vulnerable to the problem of depopulation "In the period from 1900 to 2001, the number of inhabitants decreased by 63.2 per cent, which is twice as much as on Croatian islands in general (which recorded a decrease of 30.0 per cent); at the same time, Croatian population increased by 32.9 per cent" (Nejašmić and Mišetić, 2006; p. 292).

These data show that Vis was especially vulnerable to the threat of depopulation in the last century. It seems that many invaders during history did not bring such a threat to this island as much as the depopulation that happened during the last 100 years. The reasons for depopulation were different - political reasons, economic reasons, post Second World War emigration, negative demographic trend, etc.

In today's world, when technology is so developed that it allows connection almost in every part of the world, being remote or isolated seems almost impossible. In other words, isolation in such a connected world might not seem like a big challenge. Some reports suggest that many remote areas are becoming "less remote" through connection to global networks that occur because of communication technologies (Liarakou, Gavrilakis and

Flogaitis, 2014., p. 6). New data shows that the depopulation trend slowed down in a recent period and that there are some positive trends when it comes to immigration to the island (Nejašmić and Mišetić, 2006). According to data from the Croatian Bureau of Statistics, 325 more people immigrated to the island compared to ones who emigrated in the period from 2011 until 2017.

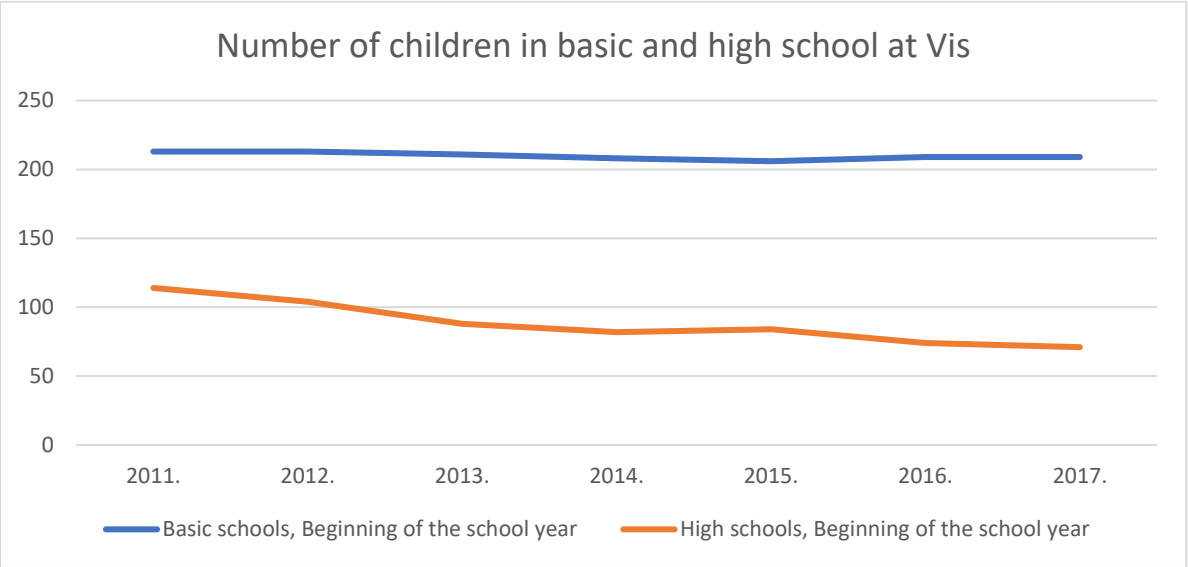
Chart 2: Immigrants and emigrants trends at Vis from 2011. until 2017.



Source: Croatian Bureau of Statistics, https://www.dzs.hr/default_e.htm , accessed on July 17, 2019, chart created by author

Development of tourism and better economic conditions at the island could be some of the reasons for this reverse this in demographic trend. However, even the numbers encouraging some recent research suggests that every fourth young adult from Vis has plans to leave the island permanently (Barada and Vakanjac, 2014). It can be said that challenge and threat of depopulation is still present. Below is the trend of basic and high school beginners from 2011. until 2017.

Chart 3: Number of children who enrolled the basic and high school at Vis from 2011. until 2017.



Source: Croatian Bureau of Statistics, https://www.dzs.hr/default_e.htm, accessed at July 17, 2019, chart created by the author

According to the chart above, the number of children in basic school are constant in the period from 2011 until 2017, while the number of children enrolled in high schools dropped almost 63% in the period from 2011 until 2017. It shows intention of children for leaving the island as soon as they reach some age.

Another big challenge is aging. On Vis Island, every fourth inhabitant is 65 years old or over. The mean age of the population is 44.3 years, which is five years above the mean age of the overall Croatian population (Nejašmić and Mišetić, 2006). This fact has a consequence on different aspects of everyday life at the island. What also needs to be mentioned, and which is directly correlated with the two previously mentioned challenges, is the negative natural movement that is present at the island. Data from the Central Bureau of Statistics shows that more than twice as many people die than are born in the period between 2011. and 2017.

Table 1. Natural movement of population between 2011. – 2017. at Vis

Year	Born	Died	Natural Movement
2011.	24	66	-42
2012.	35	55	-20
2013.	25	56	-31
2014.	27	60	-33
2015.	17	60	-43
2016.	18	51	-33
2017.	28	56	-28
Total	**174**	**404**	**-230**

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics of the Republic of Croatia, https://www.dzs.hr/default_e.htm accessed on July 17, 2019, and table created by the author

In the period from 2011 until 2017, 230 more people died than were born in Vis. This negative movement of population almost completely canceled the positive immigration effect in the last five years. Some of the basic demographic characteristics of Vis, and some of its main challenges, are the negative movement of population, the unfavorable age structure of the population and the threat of emigration of working-age population. Although its total population decline has stabilized a bit through positive immigration, these other threats remain as concerns for this Adriatic area.

Croatia has been experiencing a kind of touristic flourish in the last 10 years and attracts more and more tourists from all over the world every year. Island of Vis is no exception of that. Preserved environment, nice climate, rich cultural and history heritage and beautiful beaches attracts foreign and domestic tourists every year. That contribute to the economic development of this area. Table below shows constant increase of tourist arrivals and tourist nights in last 5 years for the city of Vis.

Table 2. Tourist arrivals and tourist nights in the city of Vis from 2014. until 2018.

Year	Tourist arrivals	Tourist nights
2014.	22037	134275
2015.	23767	139030
2016.	26861	161978
2017.	28090	162881
2018.	31294	172222
Total	**132049**	**770386**

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics of the Republic of Croatia, https://www.dzs.hr/default_e.htm accessed at July 17, 2019 and table created by the author

According to data from the Croatia Bureau of Statistics, the tourist arrivals increased almost 50% in the last 5 years.[11] This strong increase represents an opportunity for this area and brings many positive things to the inhabitants of this area. The island of Vis is very attractive to the nautical tourists and the tourist season lasts from May until the end of October. During that period, the city is crowded with tourists, the beaches are full of people and many bars and restaurants are open. The whole area becoming very lively and dynamic. The city officials are aware of the depopulation challenge and they are investing money earned from tourism in many facilities what they are missing. By that, they are trying to provide better living conditions and to encourage young families to stay at the island. Money earned during the touristic season contribute to the economic development of the island and it could be good base for demographic recovering. However, each story has its other side, so the development of tourism brings certain challenges for this Adriatic community. When touristic season is finished and when the tourists and other visitors leave another life begins in this area. It is a life during the winter period when the remoteness and loneliness are more expressed, and when the challenges of depopulation and aging are even more pronounced.

The lack of services and goods at Vis. The city of Vis is 55 kilometers away from the city of Split, which is its regional center at the mainland. The city of Split has infrastructure that is characteristic for a big city. It has hospitals, universities, theaters, cinemas, galleries, courts, different kind of shops and services, many restaurants, bars, sports facilities, cultural

[11] Croatian Bureau of Statistics, https://www.dzs.hr/default_e.htm, accessed on July 17, 2019.

and social facilities, regional administrative offices and many other amenities which are an integral part of urban areas. The city is connected to the other parts of Croatia and world by a modern highway, airport and railways. The island of Vis gravitates to the city of Split and is connected with ferry and catamaran lines.

Connections. The distance of 55 kilometers to Vis may not initially seem like such a big distance, especially in the global point of view. Considering that ferry ride from Vis to Split last almost 3 hours, which can be a serious obstacle for citizens of Vis. There is no other such a case in Croatia where the regional center is distanced almost 3 hours' drive. Also, it should be considered that during the summer season (which lasts from June till the end of September), the ferry connects Vis and Split three times per day, but during the winter season (October till the end of May) the ferry connects these two places only two times per day – weather permitting. The catamaran drive is faster but depends very on weather conditions.

During the winter, weather conditions sometimes extend the duration of the trip, and sometimes the weather does not allow the ferry and catamaran to sail at all, leaving the island completely isolated from the mainland for a while. During those times, many needs and aspects of regular life on the island need to be satisfied among the island citizens. The fact that they cannot go to the mainland whenever they want and need, and even sometimes, they cannot go at all, strongly contributes to the feeling of remoteness of the citizens in this area. It also has reflection on many social, psychological and economic aspects of life.

Education. As it was mentioned before, every forth citizens at the island is 65 years or older. Losing single young people represents a strong challenge for the future of the island. One of the most important preconditions for keeping young people at the island is a good and appropriate education system. The local authorities are very aware of this and they are trying to provide better education conditions for the young who live there. Because of that, the city of Vis recently built the new high school. They built a new kindergarten also. Both facilities are well equipped, modern and provide good conditions to their participants.

These investments show a strong commitment and willingness of local authorities to provide good education conditions for the young people in the city. They are trying to keep them in this area as long as it is possible. Providing good conditions in kindergarten and schools might be stimulus to young families to come to live at the island that is another goal of the local authorities. They are trying to improve demographic situation by keeping the young in the city and bringing the new young families to live there.

Beside these two educational institutions, there is also an elementary school in the city. As it was mentioned before, the number of pupils in elementary school is stable in last few years and this encourage and brings optimism when it comes to demographic situation at the island. The situation is not the same when it comes to the number of students in high school and its number constantly declined in last few years. Local authorities believe that the new high school will stimulate pupils to stay at the island as well as the new kindergarten will encourage young families to stay or even to move to the island. The fact that the kids and pupils have a good condition for basic education at the island, encourages them and their families to stay, at least until they finish their high school.

The challenge starts when the young people need to make decision about their future studying. Because there is no university at the island, the students who want to continue their education are forced to choose some of the universities at the mainland. The fact that many of them are deciding to leave the island for studying and not to come back after they graduate has a strong impact on demographic structure and consequently on many aspects of life on the island also. Temporary student migration, which is sometimes weekly or monthly, often becomes permanent migrations in long term.

This is precisely why the local authorities are trying to ensure better conditions for basic education and to keep the young at the islands as long as they can. In that case, they are not forced to leave the island at such a young age and it increase their feeling of belonging to the island's community. By that, it increases the possibility that they will come back after they finish their faculty education and build their life on the island.

Health services. Health care at the Croatian islands is an issue that has caused many debates over the last few years. The reliable health care system is probably the most important thing what people consider when they need to make decision to stay or to leave the island. In addition, this fact is probably the most important in the decision of the people who are considering decision to move at the island. The fact that there is just the basic health care at islands combined with the remoteness and the fact that you depend on weather conditions to reach the hospital at the mainland represent the true challenge at many Croatian islands.

Because the island of Vis is Croatia's most remote island, the unreliable health care represents the biggest challenge for life in this area. The ambulance in the city of Vis is well equipped and provides the basic health care for its citizens. However, any additional medical examinations need to be made in the city of Split and that represents an obstacle for the citizens at the island. This is especially challenging for the older citizens whose health care

needs are more demanding. The mitigating fact is that there is a pharmacy in the city that is equipped with the basic medicals so the citizens are not forced to go to Split to by some medicals.

Keeping in mind that the island is sometimes completely divided from the mainland because of the weather conditions, especially during the winter period, combined with the fact that the number of citizens in the city of Vis is usually doubled during the summer, requires solutions that will enable the fast connection to the hospital at the mainland in emergencies. This solution needs to be reliable at any time and regardless of the weather conditions.

The authorities, both at national and local level, recognized this challenge and they are trying to mitigate the negative aspects of remoteness and incomplete health care at the islands by establishing the fast and reliable medical helicopter connection between the islands and the mainland. This service is organized in cooperation with Croatian army and covers Croatian islands and peninsula of Pelješac. It provides good and fast connections to the hospitals at the mainland. Just in 2018, 885 patients have been transported to the hospitals at the mainland.[12] This system is very effective and gives the citizens in isolated and remote areas a feeling of safeness. They are aware that they can rely on this system in emergencies and this is sometimes a crucial fact in their decision to leave or to stay in this area. In addition, many people are considering this fact when they make decision to move to the islands.

One negative aspect of this system is its high cost and this represents a true challenge, especially to the doctors who need to make decision will the helicopter transport be arranged or not. There is no doubt in emergencies but the problem arises when the situation is doubtful and when the doctors need to make decision to call or not for the helicopter transport. That decision, which is conditioned by the transport costs, can sometimes make the difference between life and dead.

Administrative services. The city of Vis belong to the Dalmatia County and the main administrative services are settled in the city of Split, which is a county center. Many offices for different kinds of administrative services for island of Vis are located in Split. In Vis, there are just the basics services when it comes to the administrative services. Therefore, there is a police office in Vis as well the permanent service of the misdemeanor court. In addition, some services are available in the offices of the Vis City Office. Except for basic administrative services, almost all other administrative services for island of Vis are located

[12] Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Croatia, https://www.morh.hr/helikopterima-hrz-a-u-2018-prevezeno-885-pacijenata/ , accessed at February 16, 2020.

in the city of Split. Reaching them represents a true obstacle, especially for the older population that represent one third of population in Vis. This represent another challenge for living in this area.

Social and cultural facilities. The central places for maintaining different kind of social and cultural events in the city of Vis are the renewed building of Hrvatski Dom and the city library. Hrvatski Dom is building with the nice hall and it main purpose is to provide place for maintaining different kind of social and cultural events in the city, especially the bigger ones. It is recently renewed and equipped with modern technical equipment. During the winter, it is a place where the city cinema operates and screen the movies twice per week. In addition, it is a place where local amateur theater prepares and performs their shows. The biggest celebrations and ceremonies, such as the celebration of the day of the town of Vis, are usually held there.

The city library is another place where different kind of social and cultural activities, usually the smaller one, are happening. The poet evenings, books presentations, journal promotions and similar activities are events that are usually happening in the city library. In addition, it is a place where people come for reading and socializing. It is important place where lot of social and cultural activities are happening, especially during the winter period.

These two places represent the central points where almost all social and cultural activities in the city are happening. When it comes to the sport, there is just one organized sports club at the whole island and that is a football club Vis. The purpose of this club is to bring kids together to socialize and to have some psychical activities. It has more of a social purpose than a competitive purpose.

Everyday amenities. The remoteness and isolation that the island is facing has many influences on regular daily life on the island, especially during the winter period. For example, many bars and restaurants work just during the summer period and there are just few of them that are open during the winter. There is one mechanic in the city but for more complicated repairs, the citizens need to go to Split. There are no shops with some other goods such are furniture, electronics and clothes. There is no car washer at the whole island. Newspapers arrive late during the day.

On the other hand, three nice shops in the city are well equipped with groceries. In addition, there is a butchery in the city. Bakery and farmers market work just during the summer period. It seems that this area is well equipped with the basic needs of modern living but for everything above the citizens are forced to go to the mainland. Having in mind the distance and that sometimes is not possible to reach the mainland because of the weather

conditions, the everyday life in this area can be very challenging and conditioned by remoteness and isolation.

At first sight, the everyday life in the city of Vis seems to be very pleasurable. Nice climate, beautiful environment, easy going atmosphere make the life in this area very pleasant and desirable for living. This area is equipped with almost all basic goods. Nevertheless, to satisfy everything above the basic needs requires a trip to Split, which usually takes one whole day and sometimes even more depending on weather conditions. Having in mind that 25 % of Vis citizens are 65 years or older it makes a life complicated.

These facts combined with the remoteness and isolation, which is usually very expressed during the winter period, makes this city very challenging place to live, especially for the older citizens. Reliable health care for older population and appropriate education for the young represent probably the biggest challenges for living in this area.

Because of its remoteness, distance from the mainland, size, number of inhabitants, distance from the main centers, lack of many facilities and amenities, Vis can be considered as one of the most remote areas in Croatia. Because of these factors and because it is faced with the challenges of isolation, loneliness and depopulation, especially during the winter period, the city of Vis is selected as the first small remote area for case study in this dissertation.

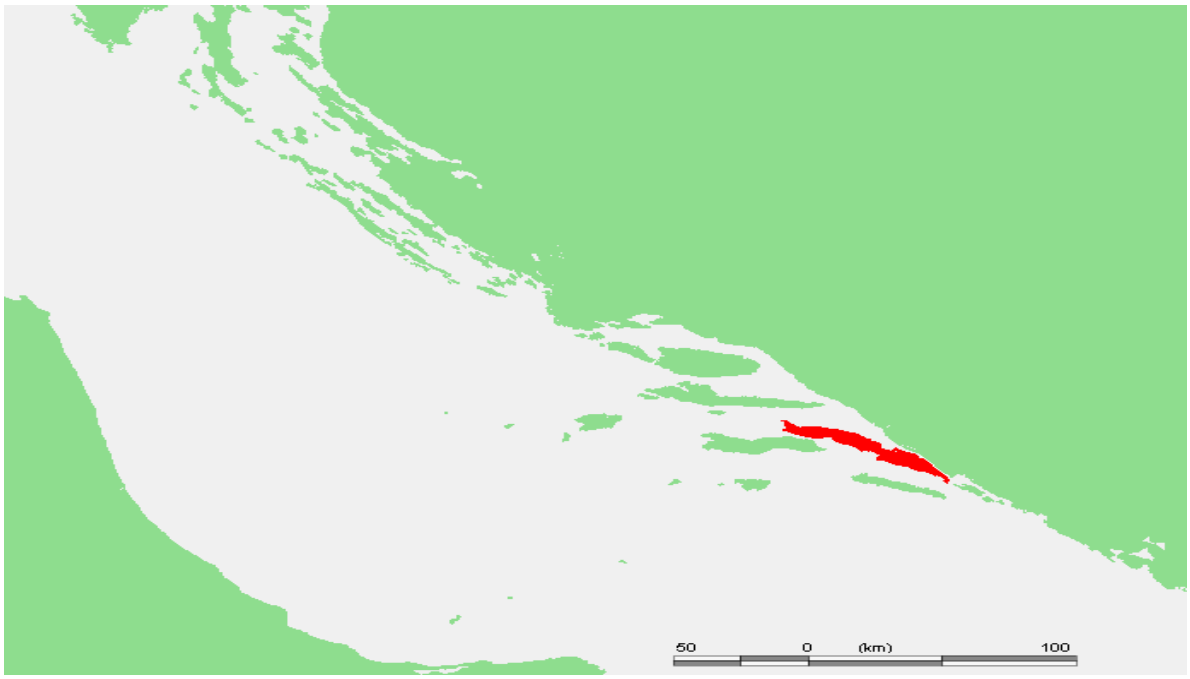
Pelješac peninsula

After selecting the most remote island for this case study, the idea was to select the second area as also remote but located nearer to the mainland. The peninsula of Pelješac has much in common with the islands of Croatia. It is almost as remote and is faced with the same problems of isolation, loneliness, aging and depopulation during the winter months.

Pelješac is the second biggest peninsula in Croatia. It covers 348 square kilometers and is located in the southern part of Croatia.[13] The picture below shows a position of Pelješac peninsula in Adriatic Sea.

[13] Hrvatska enciklopedija, https://www.enciklopedija.hr/natuknica.aspx?id=47422 , accessed at February 18, 2020.

Picture 2: Position of the Pelješac peninsula in Adriatic Sea[14]



Pelješac peninsula is a part of Dubrovnik Neretva County and its regional center is the city of Dubrovnik that has 42,615 inhabitants.[15]

Despite its big surface, there are just 8,234 inhabitants who live on the peninsula.[16] The population density is only 23.7 inhabitants per square kilometer, which is significantly lower than the national average.[17] According to the official legal classification, there are not any towns on the peninsula.[18] The peninsula is consisted of four municipalities, Ston, Orebić, Trpanj and Janjina. Janjina is the smallest one and has just 551 inhabitants.[19] It is located in the middle of the peninsula where the peninsula is narrowest.

History of Janjina

The Janjina area, as well as the whole Pelješac peninsula, was initially inhabited by the Illyrians, who had their own fortress across the peninsula in order to have control over this area. The Illyrians were cattlemen but were also pirates who lurked the Greek ships who

[14] One Croatia, https://www.one-croatia.com/central-dalmatia/vis/ , accessed on January 31, 2020.
[15] Croatian Bureau of Statistics, https://www.dzs.hr/default_e.htm, accessed on July 17, 2019.
[16] Croatian Bureau of Statistics, https://www.dzs.hr/default_e.htm, accessed on July 17, 2019.
[17] Croatian Bureau of Statistics, https://www.dzs.hr/default_e.htm, accessed on July 17, 2019.
[18] Ministry of Justice and Administration of the Republic of Croatia, https://uprava.gov.hr/o-ministarstvu/ustrojstvo/uprava-za-politicki-sustav-i-organizaciju-uprave/lokalna-i-podrucna-regionalna-samouprava/popis-zupanija-gradova-i-opcina/846 , accessed at February 18, 2020.
[19] Croatian Bureau of Statistics, https://www.dzs.hr/ , accessed at July 24, 2019.

were passing through this area. After the Illyrians, the Greeks came to this area and brought the skills of cultivation of olives and vines.

After the Greeks, the Romans settled these areas and the traces of Roman residence could be seen from the numerous tombstones and the rest of the large number of amphorae that can be found in the sea around peninsula. In the year 1333, through a peaceful sale agreement, the Republic of Dubrovnik bought the Pelješac peninsula and immediately began the construction of the town of Ston.[20] In addition, they started the construction of 5.5 km long Ston walls whose purpose was to protect the borders of the Dubrovnik Republic. The Dubrovnik Republic left behind a number of good customs and noble holdings, but the life during its rule was very demanding, not only for the inhabitants of Janjina but also for the inhabitants of the whole of Pelješac.

In the year 1806, the French army occupied the city and it was the end of the Dubrovnik Republic.[21] From that point, the economic boom of the Janjina region started and many amenities that can be visible even today were built during that period. With the arrival of the French army, the construction of the Napoleon Road began. It was the fastest road route across Pelješac, which contributed to the development of this area.

During that period, the first school was opened and that marked the beginning of education in this area. In addition, during this period, the production of sparkling wine started in the area of Janjina. With better education and better transport connections, the area of Janjina was experiencing a kind of economic and cultural flourishing. That was especially visible at the end of 19th century when Janjina was also known as Piccolo Parigi (Little Paris).

During the 20th century, the area of Janjina was strongly affected by different challenges. As was the case with many other Dalmatian islands, this area was also severely affected by a grapevine disease that appeared in the early 20th century. Considering that the majority of the population was involved in the vine cultivation and the wine sale, this had a strong impact for the economy of this area. People were left without their main source of income. Therefore, this led to the strong depopulation. People were forced to leave to many countries across the world just to survive. The consequences of the strong depopulation during that period are visible even today.

The municipality of Janjina was abolished in 1962 when places like Trpanj, Kuna, Janjina and Ston belong to the municipality of Dubrovnik while the city of Orebić is

[20] Janjina.hr, https://janjina.hr/povijest/ , accessed at February 18, 2020.
[21] Povijest.hr, https://povijest.hr/nadanasnjidan/francuzi-okupirali-dubrovnik-da-sprijece-njegov-pad-u-ruske-ruke-1806/ , accessed at February 18, 2020.

associated with the municipality of Korčula.[22] Because it was a part of a big municipality of Dubrovnik, and was located at the edge of it, this area has been a marginal settlement that was quite neglected and left to itself. In May 1997, the Municipality of Janjina was established again as a separate municipality in order to provide better conditions for the life in this area.[23]

Today, the municipality of Janjina comprises five settlements: Janjina, Popova Luka, Drače, Sreser and Osobjava, which makes up 8.3% of the total area of the Pelješac peninsula.[24] According to the latest census from 2011, the municipality population was 583 citizens, which is about 7.5% of the total population of the Pelješac peninsula. This makes this municipality the smallest one on the peninsula.[25] The municipality of Janjina has not achieved much in terms of development of space that would provide a better and more attractive life for younger residents, as the outflow of younger people from this area is evident, which is one of the main challenges that this area is facing today.

Challenges of Janjina

The Pelješac peninsula, like most other Croatian islands and remote areas, is affected by strong depopulation and other negative demographic trends. This trend has been very pronounced during the 20th century, when peninsula population declined drastically. At the beginning of the 20th century, there were 11.642 inhabitants at the peninsula (Kurilj, 2017). If we compare this number with the number of inhabitants in 2011 when the peninsula had 7.801 inhabitants, it is evident that the population has decreased by almost double in the last century (Kurilj, 2017).

There are different reasons that led to this strong depopulation in the 20th century. Probably the two main reasons are related to economic and political reasons. At the end of the 19th century, the peninsula economy was mainly based on vineries and wine producing. Vine diseases that hit Europe during the 19th century caused the shortage of wine in Europe and was an opportunity for this area that was traditionally oriented to wine producing. At that time, this area experienced an economic flourish and the living conditions of peninsula

[22] Janjina.hr, https://janjina.hr/povijest/ , accessed at February 18, 2020.
[23] Janjina.hr, https://janjina.hr/povijest/ , accessed at February 18, 2020.
[24] Central Bureau of Statistics of the Republic of Croatia, https://www.dzs.hr/default_e.htm accessed on July 17, 2019.
[25] Central Bureau of Statistics of the Republic of Croatia, https://www.dzs.hr/default_e.htm accessed on July 17, 2019.

citizens were very good. That is probably the biggest reason why this area had the biggest number of populations at the beginning of 20th century.

What was the big mistake was that the citizens of peninsula did not diversify their economy and the economy of this area was completely based and dependent on wine producing? When the wine disease came to this area, it strongly hit the peninsula economy and caused a strong depopulation. People were forced to leave and move across the world just to survive. Another period when the depopulation was much expressed were the periods during and after the first and second world war. However, as the circumstances that caused depopulation stabilized, the depopulation trend continued during the whole 20th century. In addition, it is still happening now.

The question is whether the peninsula has a future if this trend continues. The peninsula is consisted of four municipalities, Orebić, Ston, Trpanj and Janjina. The data about depopulation among them are slightly different, but all of them has one thing in common - a negative depopulation trend. Janjina is the smallest among these municipalities and was most affected by this challenge of depopulation.

In the year 1900, Janjina had 1,510 citizens and from that period until 2011, there was a constant population decline (Kurilj, 2017). In the year 2011, Janjina had 551 citizens and its population had decreased by almost triple compared to the beginning of 20th century (Kurilj, 2017). Strong depopulation combined with increased population aging represents the biggest challenge for survivor of this small municipality in the middle of Pelješac peninsula.

In Janjina, every third inhabitant is 65 years old or over and the mean age of the population is 53.2 years, which puts Janjina among the top five municipalities according to mean age of the population in Croatia.[26] This has probably the biggest impact on different aspects of everyday life in this area and it is the biggest challenge with which this area is facing.

What also needs to be mentioned, and which is directly correlated with the two previously mentioned challenges, is the negative natural movement that is present in this area. Data from the Central Bureau of Statistics shows that almost five times more people died than they were born in the period from 2011 until 2017.

[26] Dubrovnik Neretva County, http://www.edubrovnik.org/demografski-podaci/ , accessed at February 14, 2020.

Table 3. Natural movement of population between 2011. – 2017. at Janjina Municipality

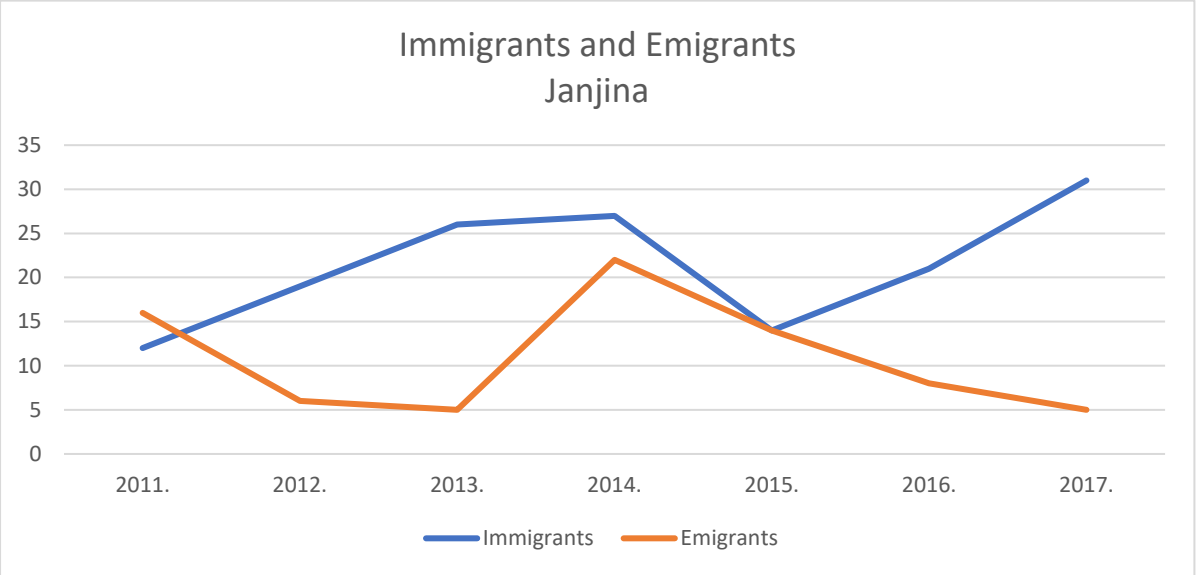
Year	Born	Died	Natural Movement
2011.	2	15	-13
2012.	0	7	-7
2013.	3	7	-4
2014.	1	13	-12
2015.	1	10	-9
2016.	2	6	-4
2017.	2	3	-1
Total	**11**	**61**	**-50**

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics of the Republic of Croatia, https://www.dzs.hr/default_e.htm accessed at July 17, 2019, and table created by author

From 2011. until 2017, 50 more people died than were born in the Janjina municipality. This negative movement of population almost completely canceled the positive immigration effect in the last five years. Some of the basic demographic characteristics of this area, and some of its main challenges, are this negative movement of population, the unfavorable age structure of the population and the threat of emigration of working-age population.

The recent data shows some small positive changes when it comes to depopulation in this area. According to recent data, it seems that the depopulation process slowed down and that even more people are coming to live in this area compared to those who are leaving. According to data from the Croatian Bureau of Statistics, 74 more people immigrated to the Janjina compared to ones who emigrated in the period from 2011. until 2017.

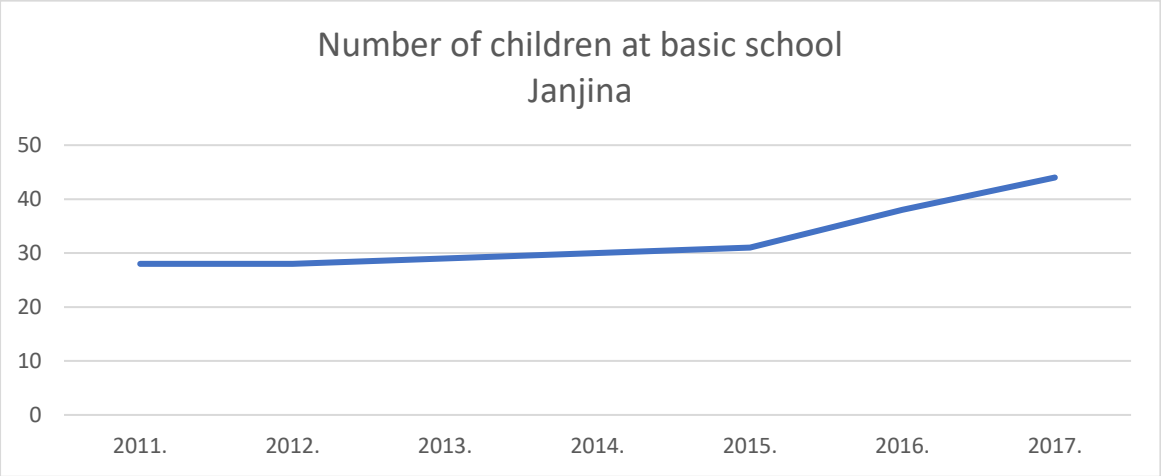
Chart 4: Immigrants and emigrants trends at Janjina Municipality from 2011. until 2017.



Source: Croatian Bureau of Statistics, https://www.dzs.hr/default_e.htm , accessed at July 17, 2019, chart created by the author

One important indicator provides a positive trend when it comes to the depopulation challenge. It is an increased number of children who enrolled in the basic school in the period from 2011 until 2017.

Chart 5: Number of children who enrolled the basic school in Janjina from 2011. until 2017.



Source: Croatian Bureau of Statistics, https://www.dzs.hr/default_e.htm, accessed at July 17, 2019, chart created by the author

According to the chart above, the number of children in basic school raised from 28 pupils in 2011 to 44 in 2017. Having in mind that complete development, which includes economic, social and cultural development, of some area is only possible with changes in demographic structures; this positive trend is a small sign of hope for this area. If an older population in the area is no longer in the workforce, and the young population is decreasing, it will have an impact on various aspects of daily life and consequently on the future of the area. The worst-case scenario in terms of demographics is certainly demographic extinction.

Small but important changes in depopulation trends give signs of hope that this area will not die out completely. At first sight, these numbers look promising and encouraging but should be taken with some doubts. Development of tourism in recent years brought some changes in this area. There is constant raise of tourist arrivals in last 6 years. The data below from the Croatian Bureau of Statistics shows this positive trend when it comes to the tourist arrivals in this area in last 6 years.

Table 4. Tourist arrivals and tourist nights in the Janjina Municipality from 2013. until 2018.

Year	Tourist arrivals	Tourist nights
2013.	4042	35360
2014.	4452	38538
2015.	5333	44484
2016.	6196	50308
2017.	6971	54672
2018.	7535	58383
Total	**34529**	**281745**

Source: Croatian Bureau of Statistics, https://www.dzs.hr/default_e.htm, accessed at July 17, 2019, table created by the author

In the year 2013, there were 4,042 tourist arrivals while in 2018, there were 7,535 tourist arrivals, which represent almost double increase in tourist arrivals.[27] These almost 8 thousand tourists included almost 60,000 tourist nights. Because of that, people are building many new houses and offering accommodation for tourists.

In addition, in order to get some incentives, many of them report their place of residence even though they are not really living in this area. The name "fictitious population" knows this phenomenon and the motivation for this behavior could be linked to lower taxes, non-payment of real estate taxes and different kind of incentives. This led to that people are applying to a place of residence although in reality they do not live in this area. It seems that municipality of Janjina is one of the cases where this custom take place. Because of that, the numbers that shows the positive depopulation trends should be taken with some doubts.

The increased number of tourist arrivals represents an opportunity for this area. The fact that 8 thousand people visiting the area which has 500 inhabitants has many impacts on life there. Economic impacts are visible through the increased revenues while the social impacts are visible through many different kinds of social and cultural events that are happening in this area. However, these impacts are mostly visible during the summer months because the almost all tourist arrivals are from the period from May until October. However,

[27] Croatian Bureau of Statistics, https://www.dzs.hr/default_e.htm, accessed on July 17, 2019.

what is happening when the tourists and other visitors are gone and when the mostly old population stay there? How their life looks during the rest of the year?

The lack of services and goods in Janjina. Compared to life in urban areas, life in a rural remote area such is Janjina at Pelješac peninsula, is quite different. Janjina is 84 kilometers away from the city of Dubrovnik, which is its county center. The city of Dubrovnik has a hospital, university, theater, cinemas, galleries, courts, different kind of shops and services, many restaurants, bars, sports facilities, cultural and social facilities, regional administrative offices and many other amenities which are an integral part of urban areas.

Connections. It should be mentioned that due to its elongation, Pelješac peninsula is divided into two parts that gravitate to the different county centers. The eastern part of the peninsula gravitates to the city of Dubrovnik while the western part of peninsula gravitates to the city of Split. The reason for this is because the city of Split has more amenities than Dubrovnik and it is easier for people who live at the western part of peninsula to reach this city by the catamaran.

Janjina is located in the middle of peninsula and is distanced 84 kilometers from the city of Dubrovnik. Depending on traffic conditions, it takes between one-and-a-half-hour drive (during the winter period) and two-and-a-half-hour drive (during the summer period) from Janjina to Dubrovnik. One daily bus route, except Sundays and public holidays connects Janjina with Dubrovnik. The lack of bus lines between Janjina and other places at peninsula represents another challenge.

It could be said that the life in this area is almost impossible without having a car. Ferry lines to the island of Mljet, the island of Korčula and the city of Ploče are subsidized for permanent residents of the Pelješac peninsula and they are paying the half of the regular price (Kurilj, 2019). Also, the ferry lines are completely subsidized for pupils, students and pensioners. The reason for that is because the Pelješac peninsula is considered as an island according to Croatian law and the Islands Act applies to this area.[28] By this, the authorities are trying to help the most sensitive part of population which are pensioners and youths.

Pelješac Bridge. The Pelješac bridge project which is currently under construction and should be built by 2021, will improve connection conditions. This bridge will connect the peninsula with the mainland and bypass the part of Bosnia and Herzegovina which divides the Dubrovnik Neretva County. The Pelješac bridge will have a significant impact

[28] Zakon. hr, https://www.zakon.hr/z/638/Zakon-o-otocima , accessed at February 17, 2020.

on life at the Peninsula and the islands around it, because it will connect this area to the mainland and shorten the distance to many urban centers. The bridge will have a big importance for Janjina also because it will reduce the distance to the many centers such as the cities of Split, Metković, Mostar and even Zagreb.

Education. Education is one of the preconditions for development. When it comes to education in Janjina, there is an elementary school up to eighth grade. As was mentioned before, the school has a small number of pupils.[29] What is encouraging is that the number of pupils has been constantly rising during the last few years. In the Pelješac area, kindergartens are located in the cities of Ston and Orebić while the kindergarten in Janjina is open only during the summer months. This represents a big obstacle for parents who live in this area during the whole year. It is important to emphasize that there is no high school in the entire Pelješac peninsula and that pupils need to travel to Korčula or to Dubrovnik.

Pelješac peninsula is the only area in Croatia where pupils need to travel to the mainland from the island for educational purposes. Because of that, pupils are forced on temporary migrations which often results with permanent migration in the long term. The position of Janjina and the fact that there are no high schools at Pelješac peninsula represents a real obstacle for the young who live in that area. They are forced to travel almost two hours in each direction every day. That is one of the reasons why many of them are leaving this area.

Health services. The Pelješac peninsula is faced with similar challenges like other Croatian islands when it comes to the health care. The lack of medical services and doctors combined with remoteness and isolation represent a true challenge for the citizens who live in this area. As the smallest municipality with the oldest population at peninsula, Janjina is facing with this issue very intensively. There is an ambulance in Janjina where people can do the basic medical examinations. Also, there is a pharmacy and its working hours are adjusted in accordance with the working hours of doctor's office in the ambulance. The citizens of Janjina can make just the basic medical examinations in the ambulance while for everything else they need to go to the Dubrovnik General Hospital.

What is interesting to mention that there is just one more emergency team at Peninsula which is located in city of Orebić (Kurilj, 2017). If both teams have interventions and are on their way to the Dubrovnik hospital, the whole peninsula area is left without an emergency team during that period. Like other Croatian islands and places at the coast, the

[29] Croatian Bureau of Statistics, https://www.dzs.hr/default_e.htm , accessed at July 17, 2019.

area of Janjina is crowded with tourists during the tourist season. As previously mentioned, data shows there is a constant rise of tourist arrivals in the last few years. The population of this area is almost tripled during the summer. Because of that and because of remoteness this area is covered by the same medical transportation service as other Croatian islands. The municipality built a helipad which allows medical helicopters to transport patients to the hospitals in Dubrovnik or Split. This service makes the life easier for the citizens in this area.

Administrative services. Many offices for different kinds of administrative services for Janjina area are located in Dubrovnik. The Surveying Authority in charge of the cadastral municipalities covered by the Municipality of Janjina is located in Dubrovnik, as well as the Land Registry Division of the Municipal Court. The courts in Dubrovnik are competent for the Janjina Municipality so the lawyer's offices are located in Dubrovnik also. The closest cities where notary services can be obtained are cities of Ploče, Dubrovnik and Korčula.

The Janjina Municipality is under the responsibility of the Administrative Department for Construction Planning in the city of Ploče which are distanced two-hour drive from Janjina. Registrar's Offices in Janjina operate only in certain days during the week. Police office in charge for Janjina municipality is located in the city of Ston which is 30 kilometers away. Almost all administrative facilities for Janjina municipality are located in the cities of Dubrovnik, Korčula and Ploče. All of them are distanced between one and a half and two hours' drive from Janjina. That represents another challenge for living in this area.

Social and cultural facilities. Regarding the social and cultural activities in Pelješac, there is just few amenities which offers such kind of programs at whole peninsula. Some of them are music schools for playing an instrument of folk music in Potomje and Ston. The only organized social activity in Janjina is a mixed church choir. Also, there is no library in Janjina. In fact, there are just two libraries at the whole peninsula and they are located in Orebić and Ston. There are no theaters in Janjina, neither on the whole peninsula, and the closest theater performances can be viewed in Dubrovnik. Also, there is no cinemas at the whole peninsula and closest one is in Dubrovnik also.

The fact that there is no theater, library, cinema, galleries or some organized sports and social activities in Janjina have a strong impact on social and cultural life there. This represents another big challenge for living in this area.

Everyday amenities. There are just two gas stations on the entire peninsula and the closest one to Janjina is located 20 kilometers away. Also, there is one car wash at Pelješac peninsula and it is located in the city of Orebić. The more equipped stores are located at the

mainland, in cities Metković and Dubrovnik. Bank offices available in Pelješac are located in Ston and Orebić. There is just one ATM in Janjina which is often out of use. The post office network is quite good and that fact simplified the life in this area.

There is only one confectionery shop at peninsula and is located in Orebić. It is usually open just during the summer while does not work during the winter months. There are no farmers' markets in Janjina and the closest ones are in Ston and Orebić. Most bars and restaurants are opened only during the summer season. The lack of crafts such are hairdressers, tailors, car painters and opticians also represent a difficulty for life on this area.

Residents of smaller settlements in the Pelješac peninsula, such as Janjina, have significantly more difficulty accessing the most basic services needed for a normal life. They are exposed to traffic marginalization and have daily problems accessing the most basic services and functions. Many daily services can be satisfied only in Dubrovnik which is 84 kilometers away so the life, procurement and any kind of communication is based on owning and driving a car.

Keeping in mind that every third citizen in this municipality is 65 years or older, represents probably the biggest challenge and makes the life in this area even more difficult. From all of the above, even if Janjina is not located on an island, it is clear that life in this area, but also at the whole Pelješac peninsula, is difficult and challenging in every sense of the modern standard of supply and need of the mankind of today, especially during the winter time.

Perhaps, after this current stagnation period, this area will discover a new value of the same geographical location as it was at the end of 19th century and using it properly to restore its former splendor and thus become a more attractive place to stay and live throughout the whole year, not just during the tourist summer months. Development of tourism contributes to the economic recovery that consequently may have many other impacts on different aspects of everyday life in this area.

Because of its size, number of inhabitants, distance from the main centers, lack of many facilities and amenities, Janjina can be considered as one of the most remote areas in Croatia. Because of these factors and because it is faced with the similar challenges as remote areas at islands, the municipality of Janjina is selected as the second small remote area for case study in this research.

Different annual life dynamics

Among many other challenges which are previously explained, there is another specific challenge with which these two small Adriatic areas are facing, and which will be the focus of this dissertation. That is a strong "temporary" migration which happens during the winter when tourists, other visitors and even many inhabitants leave these areas and move back to the big cities at the mainland. This practice has a lot of consequences on the life of the remaining citizens in these areas and could have a negative impact on their future in the long-term (Barada and Vakanjac, 2014).

Many strategies which are enacted for these areas indicate that under-population and aging are seen by local officials as the two largest threats to these small Adriatic areas, which shows that the officials are aware of it. These two factors are interrelated and usually need to be observed together. Also, these factors (especially the "temporary" depopulation during the winter period) are the consequence of some other factors. The lack of different kind of economic, social, cultural and other aspects in everyday life, especially in the winter, could lead to increased levels of dissatisfaction, especially with the young people, who may have a negative impact on the level of depopulation in the future.

These challenges become even greater because of the remoteness and isolation to which the people are exposed during the winter period. From May through October, many of these small remote Adriatic areas are crowded with tourists, depending on their popularity. During that part of the year, the number of people in these areas can be more than tripled. So, for example, the town of Vis selected as a case study for this dissertation has 1934 inhabitants while the number of tourist arrivals in the summer season of 2017 was 31294.[30] The life in these areas during the summer time and during the winter time are two different terms. During the summer, the streets are crowded, the restaurants are full and there are a lot of people on the beaches. It could be said that these small areas are awake during this time. According to some reports, only 3% of young adults from the island of Vis are very dissatisfied with the life on island during the summer compared with 10% of them during the winter (Barada and Vakanjac, 2014).

From November through April, the dynamic life in these small Adriatic areas slows down. From the viewpoint of an outside visitor, it could look like life is almost turned off. The tourists are gone, and a lot of people leave this area and go to the mainland in big cities.

[30] Croatian Bureau of Statistics, https://www.dzs.hr/default_e.htm, accessed on July 16, 2019.

But what is happening with the people who are staying there during the winter? They are faced with different kinds of challenges, such as isolation, loneliness, unreliable health care, lack of transportation and the lack of social and cultural events.

In this context, formal and informal volunteerism can provide an opportunity to add psychologic, social and economic benefits to the individual volunteer as well as to the community. Volunteerism can help solve, or at least reduce, some of the problems, especially those associated with winter period when remoteness, isolation and loneliness are even more expressed.

The government and city officials are aware of these challenges and are trying to provide different kind of laws, strategies and incentives in order to change something. For example, some new laws recently are being brought to the Government of Croatia to provide some new solutions to the challenges that the islands are facing.[31] Many of Croatian islands are bringing different kind of strategies in order to provide some answers on current issues. There are many scientific conferences related to these challenges which also trying to provide some solutions for these areas.[32] Some cities are even paying big incentives in order to keep people on the islands and to bring the new people there.[33] These efforts are worthwhile and could result with an improved economic and social situation in these areas if they will be implemented in the right way. Successful management of demographic trends in these small remote communities is often a fundamental challenge for their medium-term sustainability and even long-term survival.

The fact that the depopulation trend has been slightly reversed in the last 5 years means that some of these measures taken by the authorities are providing results. However, temporary depopulation during the winter is still a major challenge for the islands and small areas in Adriatic. It has many negative impacts on different economic, social and cultural aspects to life on these areas.

As one mayor on the islands stated, "The island needs to live 365 days in the year, not just during the two or three summer months. We need to be careful and responsible that it does not happen to us to start searching for a security company in September which will take care of the island while we come back in the summer".[34] What could be the reason for that? Can the winter living conditions on the islands be so much worse compared to the

[31] Zakon.hr, https://www.zakon.hr/z/638/Zakon-o-otocima , accessed at July 16, 2019.
[32] MIC – Vis, http://www.mic-vis.eu/ , accessed at July 16, 2019.
[33] Poslovni.hr, http://www.poslovni.hr/hrvatska/gdje-su-u-hrvatskoj-najvece-naknade-za-novoroencad-jedna-opcina-daje-cak-60-tisuca-kuna-za-svako-roeno-dijete-350478 , accessed at July 16, 2019.
[34] MIC – Vis, http://www.mic-vis.eu/Conference/MicVis2016 , accessed at July 18, 2019.

same ones on the mainland? What does the mainland and big cities are providing compared to islands and small remote areas? And finally, what are the economic, social and cultural needs which are not being meet by living in these small remote Adriatic areas during the winter period?

Case selection conclusion

Two factors with which most remote areas in the world are facing are depopulation and aging. Vis and Janjina are no exceptions to this challenge. Croatian islands and the peninsula of Pelješac were strongly affected by the problem of depopulation during the 20th century. Data shows that during this period, the number of inhabitants at Vis decreased by 63.2% (Nejašmić and Mišetić, 2006) while in Janjina decreased almost by 40% (Šterc and Šterc, 2016). The reasons for depopulation in the past were mostly political and economic. Today, it seems that the social and economic factors are those which have the most influence on depopulation in these areas.

According to some data, every fourth inhabitant in Vis is 65 years old, while in Janjina, every third inhabitant is 65 years old or older (Šterc and Šterc, 2016). The mean age of the population in Vis is 44,3 (Nejašmić and Mišetić, 2006) while in Janjina, it is 53.2.[35] The challenges of depopulation and particularly aging seems to be very present in these two small remote areas and were another consideration for choosing these two communities for this case study.

In the last few years, both of these two small Adriatic areas have experienced a touristic flourish. The number of tourist arrivals in the last five years has increased by almost 50% in Vis while in Janjina the number of tourist arrivals is almost doubled (Central Bureau of Statistics of the Republic of Croatia, 2019). The fact that the population has almost doubled in Vis and almost tripled in Janjina during the summer months has a many impact on life in these areas. The most visible impacts most often cited in the data are financial impacts and development of economies of these areas.

The city of Vis and the municipality of Janjina are strongly affected by challenges of remoteness, aging, isolation and loneliness. These challenges have a significant impact on life in these two Adriatic areas, especially during the winter months. In a particular way, by their size and number of inhabitants, by the same challenges of depopulation (especially

[35] Dubrovnik Neretva County, http://www.edubrovnik.org/demografski-podaci/ , accessed at February 14, 2020.

during the winter months) and aging, by their distance from the mainland center to which they gravitate, by the small populations and by the challenges that brings the increased number of tourists, these two areas represent typical small remote communities in Adriatic, and were chosen for this case study.

Data collection

In order to increase the reliability and validity of the data, this dissertation employed multiple cases (Vis and Janjina), multiple sources of data within each case (volunteers, recipients and community leaders), multiple research methods (focus groups, interviews and observation) and multiple members of the research team (Rino Medić and Dan Ebener). This is called triangulation of the data (Yin, 1993).

In order to collect data for the purpose of this dissertation, the primary researcher spent two winter months in Vis from January until March 2020, and two months in Janjina, from March until May 2020. During that period, the primary researcher employed the observation method when he participated in different kinds of volunteering activities in both researched areas. Also, he observed different kind of helping behavior between the citizens in both researched communities.

In March 2020, at the end of his stay in Vis, the primary researcher organized the focus groups and interviews with the three groups marked as key to this dissertation. Thus, three focus groups and three one-on-one interviews with volunteers, recipients of volunteer services and leaders within communities were organized.

Also, during March 2020, the same part of the research was conducted in another selected area, in Janjina. Unlike the Vis research, the focus groups and interviews in Janjina were conducted at the beginning of the observation period.

This was done for practical reasons so that the secondary researcher, Dan Ebener, who came from the USA and spent a week in Croatia, could join to the primary researcher for the focus groups and interviews in both locations.

The collected data from this research process were transcribed at 86 pages and analyzed through careful process of coding process in the Data Analysis section.

Focus groups

Krueger and Casey (2009) consider focus group as "a special type of group in terms of purpose, size, composition, procedures and its purpose is better understanding how people think or feel about an issue, idea, product or service" (p. 2). Focus groups were organized in order to get deeper insight into the personal experience of volunteers, recipients of volunteer activity and community leaders (such as city officials, clergy, business owners and leaders of cultural and NGO organizations). Some authors suggest that the advantage of focus

groups is they can create synergy, serendipity and stimulation of creative thought about a specific issue (Stewart and Shamdasani, 1990; Ebener, 2007).

For the purpose of this dissertation, six focus groups were arranged, three within each Adriatic community. These focus groups were focused on specific research questions and had a clearly defined interview guide and agenda in advance. Within each community, one focus group was arranged with volunteers, one with recipients of volunteer programs and one with leaders from that community. These focus groups involved about 6-10 people each and lasted about 75 minutes each. Each focus group had homogenous membership in order to better classify the results. Each focus group was audio recorded and the results were listened to and summarized by the primary researcher.

The purpose of these six focus groups was to find evidence of intrinsic motivators for volunteering as well as the social and economic benefits from volunteering. The goal was to collect data which will help in answering the research questions. The questions in the focus groups were oriented toward exploring life in these two Adriatic communities with a focus on helping during the winter period. The questions explored both formal and informal helping, its impact on the community, the motivation for helping, the social and economic benefits from volunteering and the future of helping.

The first part of the questions was about motivation for volunteering, the second one about the social and economic impacts while the third one was about the future of helping in these areas. Additional open-ended questions were used to follow up with the focus group participants, to expand upon their initial reactions and to explain more clearly, when necessary, what were their motivators for volunteering as well as the social and economic benefits from volunteering within their communities.

During the focus groups, it was evident how friendly these people in both locations were to each other. The researchers could see clearly that these people care about each other. Before and after the focus groups, they were talking with each other for a half an hour and even more. The focus group conversations were lively, with plenty of laughter and smiles.

The researchers observed the social connections that they talked about by the conversations that occurred before, during and after the focus groups. Unlike many meetings when people rush right through the agenda without speaking to the person sitting next to them, or do not even look at each other and run right back to their office, these meetings were just the opposite. The researchers observed that people gathered outside of the room before the focus groups to visit with each other, talked vigorously with the people sitting next to them, and stayed long after the focus groups were completed to visit with their

neighbors and friends. That is the nature of localized behavior that they saw in these two small Adriatic communities.

Also, they observed another interesting fact which was present during all six focus groups. The conversations were so lively that at some points, it seemed they all wanted to speak at the same time. The participants were not only speaking at the same time, but they were completing each other sentences – with laughter and smiles. This showed the closeness of the community. These small examples show that the bonds of community are still strong.

The participants in the focus groups were invited by the primary researcher, based on his personal contacts and relationship building he did in both communities. During the focus groups, the secondary researcher asked the questions and facilitated the conversations while the primary researcher was taking careful notes and audio recording all six focus groups.

A total of 42 people participated in these six focus groups. Of these, 30 women and 12 men were present. Two focus groups in Janjina consisted only of women, while one of the focus groups in Vis had just one male participant. Participants in these focus groups pointed out that generally speaking, more women tend to be included in volunteer activities.

In Vis, the two focus groups were held in City Hall, while the third one was organized in the City Library. In Janjina, all three focus groups were held in City Hall. All six rooms for the focus groups were provided without charge. All six focus groups were audio-recorded with respondents' permission.

The recorded material was transcribed by the primary researcher, which resulted in 26 pages of written material. This material is located at the end of this dissertation (in Appendix 6). During the data analysis part of this dissertation, these 26 pages of collected data were carefully analyzed through the "coding" process conducted by the primary and secondary researchers. The coded results from these six focus groups can be found in the Results section.

One-on-one interviews

Many researchers consider one-on-one interviews as a key qualitative data collection method for social research. Some authors suggest that "the value of interviewing is not only because it builds a holistic snapshot, analyzes words, reports detailed views of informants; but also, because it enables interviewees to speak in their own voice and express their own thoughts and feelings" (Berg, 2007., cited in Alshenqeeti, 2014, p. 39).

The goal of the one-on-one interview is to gain deeper knowledge and understanding from key individuals about the intrinsic motivators, as well as the social and economic benefits, which volunteerism brings to the two small remote Croatian communities. These interviews had been designed to explore the research questions from the experience and perspective of six local individuals who are engaged in formal and/ or informal volunteering within the community.

Within each community, one interview (one-on-one) was arranged with a key volunteer, one with a recipient of volunteer services and one with a leader within that community. These one-on-one interviews were all audio-recorded and the results were summarized by the primary researcher. Each interview lasted about 45-60 minutes.

For the purpose of this dissertation, the informal type of conversational interview was applied. That kind of interview is characterized by no predetermined set of questions. So, "the questions are asked, in order to remain as open and adaptable as possible to the interviewee's nature and priorities; during the interview, the interviewer "goes with the flow." (Valenzuela, 2018.)

Interviews were conducted by the primary and secondary researcher with each of the two case areas during March 2020. The interviews in Vis were completed at the end of the observation process, while the interviews in Janjina had been done at the beginning of the observation process.

The interviews in Vis were done with the Mayor of Vis, with the leader of amateur theatre in Vis and with a lady who had received volunteer help. The interviews in Janjina were done with the Deputy Mayor, with a volunteer from France and with the recipient of volunteer services who is hosting volunteers from all over the world.

The goal of these six interviews were to find out the thoughts about intrinsic motivators for volunteering, as well as the benefits of volunteering, from key volunteers, from recipients of volunteer services and from a leader within both communities.

As in the focus groups, the researchers tried to pursue the interviewees to speak in their own voice and express their own thoughts and feelings about impacts and benefits from volunteering within their communities. The open-ended questions allowed flexibility for the researchers to enable them to get deeper into the analyzed problems and find more about it. With open questions, the researchers were able "to provoke" when the respondent did not reach into the core of the asked question. Also, this approach allowed researcher to "catch" specific moments which was related to one of the three research questions and continue to ask questions in that directions in order to get more insights about it.

The main challenge during the one-on-one interviews was the same as it was during the focus groups. The respondents usually described "*what"* they are doing rather to answer "*why"* they were doing that. Sometimes it was necessary to repeat questions a few times in order to get an answer. Regardless of that, sometimes it was even not possible to get the answers about the researched issue.

While the lack of specific response about the "*why*" was in itself an interesting research result, all participants provided helpful information in describing "*what*" kind of volunteering activities they are doing. By the end of each interview, the researchers thought they had gained insight into each of the three research questions. However, the lack of their ability to describe why they are doing many volunteering activities was a sign that respondents were not aware of why they help each other. It demonstrated a lack of reflection on this question. It showed that helping is a way of life for them and they do not even think about it.

Sometimes the things that are not mentioned in an interview speaks more than what is said. That seemed to be the case in these interviews.

Even though the questions were not determined before the interviews, the general structure of the questions during the one-on-one interviews were as follows: The first question asked about what volunteer activities were occurring in their community. After follow-up questions of clarification and further exploration, the second question usually asked about the motivation for helping. The respondents were asked about why they are doing different kind of volunteering activities and what motivates them to do that. The third part of the interviews asked about the social and economic benefits from volunteering, for community as well for individual. The last section of questions was oriented toward the future of helping in these two Adriatic areas.

All six one-on-one interviews were audio-recorded with the respondent's permission. The recorded material was transcribed by the primary researcher which resulted in 26 pages of written material. This material is located at the end of this dissertation (in Appendix 7). During the data analysis section these 26 pages of collected data were carefully analyzed through the coding process by the primary and secondary researchers. The results from these six interviews can be found in the Results section.

Follow-up interviews

In addition to the six interviews described above, the primary researcher visited both places after the fact and conducted four follow-up interviews, with people who had already been interviewed, to share the research results and to explore their ideas about possible recommendations that could be made based on the results. Also, the primary and secondary researchers interviewed prof. Randy Richards of St. Ambrose University, who is overseeing research on business clusters in Croatia, to gain his insights and suggestions.

Direct observation

Direct observation is the third data collection method used for this dissertation. Some authors consider this collection method as one of the most important in social sciences and one of the most diverse at the same time (Ciesielska, Boström and Öhlander 2018). Observation provides a complete experience of reality which provides this method with a great heuristic value (Tkalac Verčić, Sinčić Ćorić and Pološki Vokić, 2011.). Its main purpose is to look at "what is going on here". It is considered an unobtrusive method.

One of main advantages of this method is that it provides better understanding of the context within which people interact and allows researchers to see the things which sometimes remain out of reach while applying other research methods. This method has been used with other methods such as one-on-one interviews and focus groups which will help to triangulate the research findings.

There are different types of observation and they can be used in different ways. For the purpose of this dissertation, participant observation was conducted. Some authors define participant observation as the process which enable researchers "to learn about the activities of the people under study in the natural setting through observing and participating in those activities "(Kawulich, 2005; p: 2). Others "define participant observation as the process of learning through exposure to or involvement in the day-to-day or routine activities of participants in the researcher setting" (Schensul, Schensul, and Lecompte, 1999; p. 91 cited in Kawulich, B. 2005, p. 2).

In order to observe this data about volunteerism in these two small remote communities, the primary researcher spend two months during the winter period within each of these communities to observe some type of volunteer activity during his visit. He observed

and participated in different kinds of events which required formal and informal volunteer engagement.

During the time at Vis, the primary researcher attended different kind of volunteer events, sometimes as an active participant while sometimes as an observer. For instance, he participated in the promotion of the Christmas number of the journal, *Hrvatska Zora*, which took place in the Vis city library on January 22, 2020. The whole event was volunteer-based and was organized without money transactions.

The most important value of this event was that it pulled out the people from their homes during the cold winter times and brought them together to socialize. Another activity where primary researcher actively participated was learning a dance in the local dance school. The whole idea about this dance school is that it is completely voluntary and its main goal is to get people out of their homes and to bring them together to socialize during the long winter nights.

In addition to participating in these formal volunteer activities, the primary researcher participated in various informal activities. In fact, he tried to get as involved as possible in the life of the community to get an inside impression of real life during the winter in this place with a special emphasis on the culture of helping among community members. So, for example, he was fishing with the local fishermen and helping to plant a vineyard for a 71-year-old farmer.

In fact, the primary researcher tried to live the same life as what the citizens in this area are living. Another added value of this observation that it was not necessarily directly related to formal and informal helping, but it was indirectly related to this, is that the primary researcher felt the same sense of isolation and loneliness to which the inhabitants of this most remote Croatian island are exposed during the winter months. In this way, it helped him to understand how people in this community feel during the winter and to better understand the internal motives of their behavior, with an emphasis primarily on their internal motives for formal and informal helping.

During his time in Janjina, the primary researcher conducted a similar approach as was in Vis. He engaged himself to different kind of formal and informal volunteer activities. Also, he tried to include himself in the real community life in order to get the true picture of life there.

After the arrival of the primary researcher in Janjina, one thing happened that greatly influenced his stay in this area. The whole world was facing a coronavirus pandemic so many countries began to close their borders and introduce restrictive measures to restrict

movement. The coronavirus pandemic that had spread throughout the world had an impact on Croatia and these small areas as well.

As the islands and Pelješac peninsula are mostly inhabited by an elderly population, which is particularly vulnerable to this pandemic, and considering the fact that health care in these areas is relatively weak, the Government of the Republic of Croatia decided for a time to completely close access to the islands and to the Pelješac peninsula. Even stricter measures were adopted and it was not possible to move between places on the peninsula. It could be said that the primary researcher was stuck on the peninsula in the small place of Janjina.

The pandemic had an impact on almost all aspects of everyday life and thus on formal volunteering in the community. Because all public events and formal volunteer activities were canceled, the primary researcher was not able to observe those events which was one of the reasons for his arrival. But on the other hand, he was able to observe the informal helping that is very present in the community and that helped him to feel part of it.

As a part of informal helping, the primary researcher decided to make something for the community and repair and paint the playground for the kids with other volunteers from the community. The municipality bought paint. Together with a couple of people from the community, the primary researcher took part in the action of painting the playground.

The result of his volunteer work included a lot of socializing and laughing, and finally, a playground that looked like new. More important than the very visible result of that work was that the group of people included in this activity showed other members of the community that we should not constantly look at what to do for ourselves, but that something can be done for the common good.

With the reduction of the danger of the epidemic, the measures of movement ban were slowly relaxed. So, after two months it was allowed to enter the peninsula and things started to speed up. All those people who have houses and cottages in the place came and a frantic race against time began to prepare everything for the tourist season. Construction work, various repairs and preparations for the arrival of tourists began. Suddenly, some other things became important.

Suddenly, no one had time for each other anymore and everyone became busy. Priorities changed. That was probably the most valuable thing that the primary researcher learned firsthand from his stay in this area. To see and to feel this shift that happens each year from winter to summer when it comes to the life dynamic of tourism. He experienced the shift from winter, when the community is oriented to the benefits of community, to the

completely opposite pole, when each member of the community becomes oriented to the benefits of themselves. To see how priorities changed almost overnight was a valuable lesson. This shift consequently has a strong impact on helping behavior in this small Adriatic community and because of that, it has crucial importance for this dissertation.

It was impossible to exclude a certain level of subjectivity which appeared during the application of this method in this dissertation. In order to get closer to the members of both communities, the primary researcher established strong connections within both communities. This fact could potentially bias the objectivity necessary for academic research and should certainly be considered when analyzing the data. However, the benefits that this approach with building trust among members of both communities has brought for the entire dissertation seems to be greater than the limitations that the subjectivity has brought.

The knowledge gained from various scientific papers and books on the impact of volunteering in small remote environments certainly represents one particular value for this dissertation. However, the experience that the primary researcher gained while living in these small Adriatic communities seems to be something that is hard to replace with anything. Experiencing life in these small communities during the winter months has helped the primary researcher not only to learn many things for this research but it has helped him to fully comprehend life there.

This personal, firsthand experience allowed him to comprehend volunteering behavior of people in these areas. The anthropological approach that has been used through the observation method is something that strongly contributed, brought important value and added more quality to this dissertation.

The full Observation Report can be found in Appendix 5 at the end of this dissertation.

Data analysis

Coding

It could be said that the qualitative research is more about the stories while quantitative research is more about data. According to some authors, qualitative research through natural observation seeks to set up a poetic resonance with the native interpretation (Christians and Carey, 1989.).

Qualitative research is a type of research where the researcher collects usually non-numerical data and tries to find meaning from these data. Interpreting qualitative data in the proper way is crucial for understanding what these data represents.

The data collected through qualitative research are a real treasure. Of course, all the data collected in this way does not make much difference unless they are properly analyzed. Unlike quantitative research, which is conducted through default and structured forms, qualitative research is much more open to interpretation. Analyzing the data collected in qualitative research often represent a challenge for many researchers.

Asking open-ended survey questions gives more actionable insights to researcher than asking for just a number. That ends with mostly free-text responses and this becomes a real challenge in how to interpret that data. It is a usually a challenge to turn this messy information into the applicable information.

Some authors describe the actual process of analysis in qualitative research as one that remains "mysterious to all but the qualitative researcher" (Morse, 1994, p. 24 cited in Conolly, 2003, p. 104). Also, some suggest that "the way in which analysis moves from the raw data to the development of explanatory propositions may seem like something conjured, as if by magic, by people with special un-learnable skills" (Conolly, 2003, p. 104). Others consider data analysis as a most crucial aspects of qualitative research (Basit, 2003).

Coding the data

A method known as *coding* will be used to analyze the data collected from the focus groups and interviews in this qualitative research. Coding is the process of organizing qualitative data to identify different themes and to find relationships between them. Some authors suggest that coding is process of defining the data from qualitative research (Gibbs, 2007). Others describes coding as "the process of analyzing qualitative text data by taking

them apart to see what they yield before putting the data back together in a meaningful way" (Creswell, 2015, p. 156 cited in Elliot, 2018, p. 2850).

Coding is mapping the data to make sense of them in relation to their research questions (Elliot, 2018). It is a process of identifying a word or short phrase in the text and finding relationships between them. For some authors, coding is "a dynamic, intuitive and creative process of inductive reasoning, thinking and theorizing" (Basit, 2003, p. 143). The coding is not just linking the data, it is a process of connecting the data with research idea. Some authors suggest that the need for coding is simple: "Text data are dense data, and it takes a long time to go through them and make sense of them" (Creswell, 2015, p. 152 cited in Elliot, 2018, p. 2851).

The code usually represents a word or short phrase which is linked to some term which is set by the researchers during the field research. The collected data can be organized to make sense and to provide some thoughts which could not be seen at first sight. Some authors define coding as a crucial tool for the excellence of qualitative research (Saldana, 2009; Strauss, 1987).

Two types of coding

There are two types of coding approaches, *concept-driven coding*, and *data-driven coding*, which is also known as *open coding*. Concept-driven coding is a coding with a developed system of codes which are set in advance and which are connecting with the ideas in the text. On the other hand, data-driven coding is an approach that looks for themes in the data after it is collected, without previous setting the codes.

For the purpose of this research, the analysis of the qualitative data collected through focus groups and interviews will be done through concept-driven coding. The codes will be set by researcher after studying the results of the data and the material covered in the literature review. These codes will be linked to the words or phrases received by the participants during the focus groups and interviews in Vis and Janjina. In that way, the researcher will try to see how the results fit into the existing findings about intrinsic, social and economic impacts of volunteerism in these small remote communities.

Coding for this dissertation

The transcripts of the one-on-one interviews and focus groups were coded and re-coded to determine whether the intrinsic motivation as well as the social and economic benefits that were identified during the research process were accurate indicators of the three research questions. The six focus groups and six one-on-one interviews were transcribed into 52 pages of data that, once coded, were analyzed to explore to what extent the intrinsic motivation factors as well as the social and economic benefits were related with two small remote communities where research was conducted.

The data from the three focus groups and six one-on-one interviews were transcribed by the primary investigator. All transcriptions were also proofread by the second member of research team and mentor for this dissertation.

Before coding the data, the primary researcher listened several times to the tapes of each of the six focus groups and six one-on-one interviews. The words and phrases of the text were carefully reviewed several times to locate specific examples of intrinsic motivation as well as the social and economic benefits of volunteering in these two small remote communities. A code book was developed to provide written clarification of the definitions of each of the three research questions. The code book went through several drafts as the primary investigator and second coder considered transcribed data from the focus groups and interviews and studied the literature review of the three research questions.

The codes were agreed upon by both members of research team and divided into the two categories. The first category is the codes which represent the seven areas of intrinsic motivation. For that purpose, the careful attention was drawn to the motivation factors that are derived from self-determination theory, by Ryan and Deci (2000), from the model of intrinsic motivation, by Kenneth Thomas (2009) and from the model of transformational motivation by Bass (1990).

The second category for the coding shows social and economic benefits of volunteering activities in these two small remote communities during the winter. The full text of the code book for this dissertation is included below.

Code book

The five intrinsic motivators that were discovered in the literature review and were used for this research are as follows:

1. Meaning. Community members in these two small remote places are doing different kind of volunteering actions because it brings them a sense of purpose in their lives. According to some authors this is one of the most basic human psychological needs (Ryan and Deci, 2000) and human beings have an intrinsic need for purpose and meaning in their lives (Thomas, 2009). A sense of meaning can help people feel fulfilled and happy.

2. Choice. Free will is one of the main presumptions for volunteering and considered as unseparated part of it (Thomas, 2009). Having choice to do something, to feel autonomous, is an innate psychological need of humans and it is about feeling that a person has a choice in what one does (Ryan and Deci, 2000).

3. Competence. Some authors suggest that people will be more intrinsically motivated in their volunteer experience if they see themselves developing certain skills that they find useful for their lives (Thomas, 2009). When people provide their talents for free in order to fill the gap of missing services, they sometimes are also developing their skills and learning new things that motivate them to continue with volunteering.

4. Progress. When people provide different kind of services to their fellow citizens for free, such as teaching kids to dance or providing theatre shows to the whole community, they need to see progress in order to maintain their motivation. Excitement of completing some volunteer task can provide motivation for continuing with the process (Thomas, 2009).

5. Social Connections. The isolation and loneliness that is common to remote locations (Rudan, 2006) make this factor very important to this dissertation. People are intrinsically motivated to volunteer in order to make personal connections and develop personal relationships with other people (Putnam, 2000; Thomas, 2009). Connectivity that results from volunteering activities helps to explain why volunteers are motivated to serve. Their volunteer activities result in making stronger connections which makes them feel more safe and secure within their community.

Two additional themes that emerged out of the results of the research

In addition to the five intrinsic motivators (above) that were selected from reviewing the literature in advance of the focus groups and interviews, the researchers determined that two other themes were present in the results of this dissertation, and thus were added to the code book. These two un-expected themes included: (1) culture and (2) altruism. Therefore, the results were coded into seven possible intrinsic motivators.

6. Culture. The helping behavior of people in these two small communities is very conditioned by their culture, tradition and religion. They survived for hundreds of years in these small remote places because they were oriented toward each other. It was not a matter of choice in history because they relied on each other to survive. Through the years it became the way of life for them and the part of their DNA. Helping became a part of their culture and tradition. It was also preached and taught by the Catholic religion which has been present in these communities for more than one thousand years.

7. Altruism. People in these small remote places expressed being satisfied when they could help someone else. Many of them said the only thing they got is a good feeling because they were helping someone. They said they were motivated by their heart, and a thank you was enough for them. They help without expecting anything back.

Social benefits of volunteering.

The social benefits of volunteering were coded into the following two categories:

1. Social capital. According to Putnam (1993), and Minnigaleeva, (2017), social capital is a fundamental driver for volunteering and social capital that can be advanced through volunteerism is expected to be even more critical in these two small remote areas where it can be difficult to survive the winter.

2. Cultural amenities. The lack of services in small remote communities' force people there to organize by themselves and provide the services what are missing. They are aware that if they do not do that nobody will. They are filling the gap of missing services and rely more on each other's. As these two small remote areas are facing challenges like depopulation and reduced services, volunteering activities can help to maintain some services like the arts, libraries and entertainment which would otherwise not exist. This is especially visible during the winter months when the lack of services is even more present.

Economic benefits of volunteering.

The economic benefits of volunteering were coded into the following two categories:

1. Food, housing and health care. Sometimes the bonds of community are not strong enough to protect the weakest members of society – the poor, hungry, ill and homeless. Small remote communities often lack resources to provide for their economic needs and rely more on each other to meet many critical needs that are missing. Hospitals, clinics and soup

kitchens are less accessible in these small remote areas and people there rely more on formal and informal volunteering to meet these needs. This especially helps them during the winter period when the isolation and loneliness are more present and people are left to themselves.

2. Education and jobs. In remote areas, sometimes it can be hard to find meaningful work to support a family (Volunteering in Under-Resourced Rural Communities Report, 2004). A small, rural community might lack the economic resources to provide basic needs like jobs and education. The lack of jobs and appropriate education are among the most common reasons why people leave small remote places and why depopulation is strongly expressed in these areas. Volunteering can provide the stimulation to the local economy and address these two issues.

Check-coding and inter-coder reliability (ICR)

Check-coding. In order to increase the reliability of the coding of the field data in this dissertation, the method of check-coding was used. Check-coding involves a second person to code the data in order to provide more data reliability. According to some authors, the major goal of using the inter-code reliability analysis is to minimize subjective bias (Barth and Abel, 2008). Others suggest that in addition to minimizing the subjective bias, the inter-code reliability ensures "a continuous dialogue between researchers to maintain consistency of the coding" (Walther et al., p. 650 cited in McAlister et al., 2017., p. 3).

In this dissertation, the second coder was a member of the research team and the mentor for this project, Dr. Dan Ebener, who is a professor of Leadership at St. Ambrose University and has a lot of experience in analyzing the data by using the coding method. Considering the fact that the second coder edited all documents from focus groups, interviews and observation, and that he actively participated in the focus groups and interviews during the field research, he was very well familiar with the topic and research questions of this dissertation.

The inter-coder reliability (ICR) for coding the focus groups, interviews and observation was calculated for each of the two cases where research was conducted separately as well as for both cases overall.

To provide better results of analyzing the data, the coding process was done carefully. Before starting the coding process, the two researchers discussed the codes to be used for the coding method. For this research, the method of "blind coding" was used. Both researchers coded the data separately, using the definitions from the three research questions

and codes from the code book. After coding certain words, phrases, sentences or paragraphs from the data, the primary researcher sent a document to the second coder with the sections that were coded highlighted, but without the codes that the primary coder used. The second coder took that document and coded each of the same words, phrases, sentences or paragraphs that were highlighted, and entered his own code into the document. The primary researcher then compared the results from both researchers and calculated the following results.

In Vis, the two coders examined 174 words, phrases, sentences, or paragraphs that were highlighted in the reports from focus groups, interviews, and observation. The two coders agreed on 153 of these 174 items, which results in an ICR rating for this case of 87.9%.

In Janjina, the two coders examined 198 words, phrases, sentences, or paragraphs that were highlighted in the reports from the focus groups, interviews, and observation. The two coders agreed on 172 of these 198 items, which calculates to an ICR rating for this case of 86.9%.

For the two cases together, the ICR rating between the two coders was 325 agreements out of 372 coded entries which is an overall ICR rating for both cases of 87.4%. Some authors suggest that "an inter-code reliability of 80% agreement between coders on 95% of the codes is sufficient agreement among multiple coders" (Miles and Huberman, 1994, cited in McAlister M. A. et al., 2017., p. 3).

However, because the two coders disagreed initially on 12.6% of the instances, or in 47 times out of the 372 coded items, the coders needed to discuss these differences in order to reach agreement on how to code those 47 disagreed items. The main reasons for disagreement were based on different interpretations of the content or the context of what was written in the data from the focus groups, interviews and observations. This is not surprising because the data is highly intertwined and the codes which are set in the code book are very similar to each other.

Sometimes it was difficult to distinguish what constituted the item to be highlighted for coding, whether it should be a single word, phrase, sentence, or paragraph. In many cases, the same sections of data represented more than one of the codes at the same time, and it could be interpreted differently depending on the researcher's point of view. Because of that both coders paid careful attention to listening to the other's perspective in reaching agreement on how to code the areas of disagreement for these 47 items. In each of these

areas as of disagreement, the two coders discussed different options on how each item should be coded until they found agreement.

In about 30% of the instances, or 14 items of initial disagreement, the primary researcher changed his original coding of the data in favor of the opinion of the second coder. In about 66% of the instances, or 31 items, the second coder agreed to change his code in favor of the opinion of the primary researcher. For 4% of the instances, or 2 items, both researchers agreed that their coding was not appropriate and changed their coding in favor of a completely new one. The process of discussing, analyzing and clarifying the coding of the focus group, one-on-one interviews and observations data was continued until the two coders agreed on 100% of the coding.

3. RESULTS

Evidence of the three research questions for Vis

This section will provide the results of the field research conducted on the island of Vis. All three research questions will be reviewed. The seven intrinsic motivators for volunteering will be reviewed in terms of the level of evidences that these motivators appeared during the focus groups, one-on-one interviews and observation in Vis. Also, the social and economic benefits from volunteering will be reviewed in terms of the level of evidences that they appeared during research. This section will provide results and short explanation of each of them while the detailed analysis will be done in the Discussion section of this dissertation. At the end of this section, the eleven tables will be provided to present the real-life examples of intrinsic motivation as well as the social and economic benefits in Vis.

Level of evidence of intrinsic motivators – Vis.

Results from Vis regarding the level of evidence of intrinsic motivators can be seen in the table below.

Table 5. Frequency of intrinsic motivation from focus groups, interviews and observation: Vis

Intrinsic Motivation	Frequency				Level of evidence
	Focus Groups	Interviews	Observation	Total	
Culture	15	14	2	31	Very High
Meaning	15	7	1	23	High
Altruism	8	11	3	22	High
Progress	12	5	0	17	Medium
Social Connection	6	1	6	13	Very Low
Competence	4	0	0	4	Very Low
Choice	0	0	0	0	Very Low

1. Culture. Culture was among the intrinsic motivators that was not originally set during the literature review process for this research process. However, it appeared so often during the focus groups, one-on-one interviews and observation process that it was necessary to include it in the analysis. Culture as an intrinsic motivator for volunteering was mentioned 15 times in the focus groups, 14 times during the one-on-one interviews and 2 times during observation process. The total mentions of 31 times makes this reason for volunteering as the highest ranked among others intrinsic motivators at Vis. Participants made statements like "*we are in the small place where everybody will help if the help is needed*"; "*in the history of the island, it is a habit helping each other and giving back to those help*"; "*it is normal to ask for some help and you can expect that you will receive that help*" or "*we consider helping behavior as something as essential for this small area*". The word which appeared so many times when people were speaking about helping was the word "normal". The people here consider helping as something completely normal, which could not be questioned at all. Precisely because of this, special attention will be paid to this concept during the Discussion in the next section of this dissertation.

2. Altruism. Another motivator which appeared unexpectedly, and which was not considered at the beginning of research is altruism. Altruism as an intrinsic motivator was mentioned 8 times during the focus groups, 11 times during the one-on-one interviews and 3 times during the observation. The total mentions of 22 times makes this motivator as the third highest compared to others within this research at Vis. Statements that were coded as altruism included: *"you know you have to do it because if you do not do that, nobody will"*; "*I did that because I wanted to do something good for society"* or *"... people here are motivated by heart to help others".* These quotes show the truly unselfish motivation for helping others in this area. People there rarely think what their helping means to them and they are rather oriented to helping others for pure altruistic reasons. The terms "heart" and "love" appeared so many times as reasons for volunteering that shows unselfish care for the people in the community.

3. Meaning. In Vis, *m*eaning as an intrinsic motivator for volunteering was mentioned 15 times during the focus groups, 7 times in the one-on-one interviews and 1 time during the observation. With a total mention of 23 times, meaning was the second highest ranked intrinsic motivator for volunteering among the citizens at Vis. Phrases like *"It makes me fulfilled when helping", "I feel truly grateful for receiving the volunteer service"* or *"I feel happy when I can help to my fellow citizens"* suggests that this one of the most basic human psychological needs has a big importance among the citizens of Vis when it comes to the

intrinsic motivation for volunteering. It seems that the sense of meaning is an important part of volunteering behavior at Vis. People are helping others within the community and that brings them a sense of meaning through the happiness, compliance or gratitude that they are getting from that helping behavior.

4. Progress. Progress as an intrinsic motivator for volunteering was mentioned 12 times during the focus groups, 5 times during the one-on-one interviews and none during the observation process at Vis. Total mention of 17 times makes progress in the middle of ranking when it comes to intrinsic motivators in Vis. People are aware of the lack of services and goods in this area. They are aware that they need to provide something from themselves to make progress within the community. They said that they *"are aware that for the community to function it was necessary to do different things on a voluntary basis"*. Also, some of them highlighted that *"they believe that volunteering makes Vis a better place for living"*. Although this area is faced with a lack of services, and people are aware that they need to do things by themselves in order to fulfill some missing needs, this kind of motivation was not so present as it was expected.

5. Social Connection. Considering the isolation and loneliness that is common to remote locations such is Vis, it was expected that social connections which are gained through volunteering would be very present in this area. In fact, this intrinsic motivator for volunteering was mentioned 6 times in the focus groups, 1 time during the one-on-one interviews and found 6 times during the observation process. The total mention of 13 times makes this intrinsic motivation a medium level motivator in this research. Expressions included, *"I was knowing that I had people in the community I could rely on when needed";* "*you can rely on your fellow citizens when it is needed*" or "*I feel safe and covered in this community*.

6. Competence. Another intrinsic motivator which is considered as important reason for volunteering is competence, which was mentioned very rarely during the field research at Vis. In fact, it was mentioned just 4 times during the focus groups while it was not mentioned at all during the one-on-one interviews and observation. The fact that people in this area do not even consider this motivator as something that is motivate them for helping speaks a lot about the helping behavior in this area. It seems that people In Vis do not even consider the fact that their helping will raise or develop their skills. That says a lot about how much more oriented they are to others rather to themselves when they are helping.

7. Choice. Many authors consider a free will and choice one of the main intrinsic motivators for volunteering. However, this kind of intrinsic motivation was not mentioned

even once during the whole field research at Vis. During the focus groups and one-on-one interviews, participants did not mention this intrinsic motivator as something which is motivating them to volunteer. Also, during the observation, the researcher did not find this kind of motivation, not in a single place. Having in mind that the choice or free will is one of the main presumptions for volunteering, as well as the name volunteerism comes from that word, it is very interesting to find that this intrinsic motivator was not present at all among the reasons for volunteering in this area.

Summary of results on intrinsic motivators – Vis

The highest ranked intrinsic motivators for volunteering which were found during the focus groups, one-on-one interviews and observation at Vis were (1) culture, (2) meaning and (3) altruism. The middle ranked were progress and social connections. The lowest ranked were competence and choice. In fact, the choice as an intrinsic motivator was not found at all while competence was found just a few times. The low ranking of intrinsic motivators such are choice and competence speaks a lot about helping behavior in this area and it could be directly connected with the high scoring of motivators such are culture, meaning and altruism.

The lowest ranked intrinsic motivators within this research are choice and competence, which are both more individualistic than the other motivators. The highest ranked intrinsic motivators within this research such are culture and altruism, which are both more collectivist. It seems that the intrinsic motivators for volunteering in this area tend to be more expressed for the collective than for the benefit of individuals. The strong presence of altruism and culture as motivators also suggest that volunteering in Vis could be connected with the willingness of citizens to think collectively rather than individually. These findings seem very interesting and will be discussed more detailed in the next section.

Level of evidence of social and economic benefits – Vis

Results from Vis regarding the level of evidence of social and economic benefits from volunteering can be seen in the table below.

Table 6 . Frequency of social and economic benefits from focus groups, interviews and observation: Vis

Social and Economic benefits	Frequency				Level of evidence
	Focus Groups	Interviews	Observation	Total	
Social capital	13	11	9	33	Very High
Cultural amenities	1	9	5	15	Medium
Social and economic benefits	6	0	0	9	Low
Economic benefits (jobs and education)	2	1	3	6	Very Low
Economic benefits (food and health care)	0	2	0	2	Very Low

Results on social benefits – Vis

1. Social Capital. The term social capital is considered as "the glue that holds societies together". It was expected that social capital would be critical in a small remote area such is Vis where the isolation makes it even more difficult to function, especially during the winter. The social capital benefit from volunteering appeared 13 times during the focus groups, 11 times during the one-on-one interviews and was found 9 times during the observation process. The total mentions of social capital as a benefit from volunteering at Vis was 33 times which makes this benefit the highest ranked among others within this dissertation. The helping behavior among the citizens at Vis increases their social capital. On one hand, it seems that the strong presence of social capital at Vis could be a benefit from helping while on the other hand, it could also be the reason for helping behavior there. The benefits of volunteering and motivation for volunteering seems to be strongly intertwined when it comes to social capital and helping behavior in this area.

2. Cultural Amenities. The lack of services in small remote communities can force people there to organize by themselves and fill the gap of missing services. Some missing services were cultural amenities could be provided by different kind of volunteering activities. The cultural amenities as a benefit from volunteering was mentioned 1 time during the focus groups, 9 times during the one-on-one interviews and 5 times during the observation process. The total mentions of cultural amenities of volunteering behavior was mentioned 15 times. The score is second highest within this category and show the willingness of people in this area to provide some cultural amenities to their fellow citizens for free. They are aware that if they do not do that, nobody will. People in this area are helping to maintain some services like the arts, libraries and entertainment which would otherwise not exist. This is especially visible during the winter months when the lack of mentioned services is even more present.

Summary of results on social benefits – Vis

The most mentioned social benefits from volunteering at Vis mentioned by the participants of focus groups, one-on-one interviews and founded during the process of observation was social capital. It seems that helping behavior in this area results with high level of social capital within this society. Keeping in mind that this society survived thousands of years in this remote and isolated area, it not surprising that some of the

statements from focus groups, one-on-one interviews and observations were like: *"with volunteering what we are doing we are creating one big family here"; "... volunteering connects people among the community"* or *"volunteering provides an opportunity for the members of theatre to get together and socialize during the long winter nights"*. The volunteering strengthens already strong social bonds within this community and makes it resistant to various outside influences.

Level of evidence of economic benefits – Vis

1. Food, housing and health care. As it was mentioned before, the lack of services in small remote areas can force people to organize among themselves to provide the services which otherwise would not exist. Also, they rely more on each other to satisfy those needs that are missing. The economic benefits which are the result of volunteering and are connected with food and health care were found just 2 times during the one-on-one interview while they were not found at all during the focus groups and observation process. This finding can be a sign that these needs are satisfied among the community by different services. One explanation could be that there are very few poor, hungry or homeless in this community. Another might be that the providing of these helping services is done without people being conscious about that.

2. *Education and jobs.* As well as the previous category of economic benefits, this one related to jobs and education was not found many times during the field research. In fact, it was mentioned just 2 times during the focus groups, 1 time during the one-on-one interview and was found 3 times during observation process. Participants highlighted the economic benefits through the statements like: *"there is no migratory service on the island, so their help was extremely important to me"* or *"... with the help of my family, husband and son, I started collecting old papers in town so that it could be recycled."* Although, this area is faced with depopulation which is result of the lack of jobs and appropriate education, this economic benefit from volunteering was also not expressed often during the field research.

The economic benefits from volunteering was found very rarely during the focus groups, one-on-one interviews and observation process. On one hand, this area is facing the lack of services like soup kitchens, hospitals and homes for the homeless. On the other hand, there are no signs of poor, hungry and homeless people in the community. Perhaps there is no need for these services. These economic needs may exist, but it may also be met in some other way. It is interesting to see that this community and its members took care about some

things which are the big challenges for the big cities. It might be that the community members are not aware of the economic benefits that they are providing to each other by everyday helping behavior. Maybe they are not even conscious about it. There could be a several reasons for that and this will be discussed in the next section.

Level of evidence on "general" social and economic benefits – Vis

In addition to the social and economic benefits described above, during the focus groups, one-on-one interviews and observation were found social and economic benefits which are not precisely specified. During the focus groups participants single out 9 times the general social and economic benefits of volunteering for their places but they did not precisely describe what kind of social and economic benefits they are. They made statements such as: "because you do not need to pay for services and instead of that you are receiving that service for free" or "they receive the service which they do not need to pay." Because it is not clear on what kind of social and economic benefits these mentions are addressed both researchers agreed to add a new category named general social and economic benefits.

This general category covers all social benefits from volunteering which are not covered by social capital and cultural amenities as well as the economic benefits from volunteering which are not covered by benefits such are food, housing, health care, jobs and education. That was a reason for different coding results from both researches. They realized that some of their disagreement was due to the fact that some words and phrases were *generally* expressing social and economic benefits but were not specific enough to fit into one of the above categories.

Because they could not agree on any other way to categorize some of the data, the coders agreed to add this "general" category after they discussed their areas of disagreement.

Conclusions from results – Vis

Vis, the culture of helping. Helping at Vis is all about the culture and the heart. It seems so rooted in the behavior that the people there do not even recognize it as something special. Like they say, it is a something that is normal for them. Like breathing. Because of that, sometimes it was very difficult to get answers from participants during the focus groups and interviews. When asked questions about the reasons for helping, many of them were surprised. They did not know how to answer. It was interesting to see that the reaction many

of them had was like *"What do you mean, why I am helping?".* Many of them clearly had never thought about that before and sometimes it was very hard to pull out the answers from them. In many occasions, it was necessary to repeat the questions in a slightly different way or repeat the question a few times before getting some answer. It was very rarely that people know why they are helping.

That might be a lack of self-awareness. However, it could be also a sign of deeply rooted helping behavior which has become an integral part of the culture. And that culture of helping behavior is spreading across all other aspects of their life. People there feel safe, secure and protected. They feel like a family and for that family they are willing to do things primarily with love. Most of them rarely think about why this is normal for them. They mostly think about others. For that reason, the motivators such are culture, meaning and altruism were the most mentioned motivators for volunteering. The helping here is an integral part of life and their love for community.

Evidence of the three research questions in Janjina

All three research questions will be reviewed in this section pertaining to the results given during the field research in Janjina at Pelješac peninsula. The seven intrinsic motivators for volunteering will be reviewed in terms of the level of evidences that these motivators appeared during the focus groups, one-on-one interviews and observation in Janjina. Also, the social and economic benefits from volunteering will be reviewed in terms of the level of evidences that they appeared during research. This section will provide results and short explanation of each of them while the detailed analysis will be done in the Discussion section of this dissertation. At the end of this section, the eleven tables will be provided to present the real-life examples of intrinsic motivation for volunteering as well as the social and economic benefits from volunteering in Janjina.

Level of evidence of intrinsic motivators – Janjina.

The results from Janjina regarding the level of evidence of intrinsic motivators can be seen in the table below.

Table 7. Frequency of intrinsic motivation from focus groups, interviews and observation: Janjina

Intrinsic Motivation	Frequency				Level of evidence
	Focus Groups	Interviews	Observation	Total	
Culture	29	7	1	37	Very High
Meaning	11	12	0	23	High
Social Connection	6	10	2	18	Medium
Altruism	8	9	0	17	Medium
Progress	2	10	0	12	Low
Competence	0	10	0	10	Low
Choice	0	0	0	0	Very Low

1. Culture. As mentioned before, culture was among the intrinsic motivators that appeared surprisingly often during the field research. The total mentions of 37 times makes this reason for volunteering the highest ranked among intrinsic motivators in Janjina. Because of that, it was necessary to include it in the research analysis. Culture as an intrinsic motivator for volunteering was mentioned 29 times in the focus groups, 7 times during the one-on-one interviews and was found 1 time during observation process. Some of the expressions that show the rootedness of the culture of helping in this area which emerged during the research were *"we regularly care about our neighbors and that is a normal way of life for us"*; *"since the old days, there was a habit of helping people in the community if they are in need"*; *"we help because it is the right thing to do*"; "*helping is a part of our religion. The religion taught us to help someone who is in need*" or "*the helping is part of our tradition in this community and it still exists as a regular part of life*." Just like on Vis, the word that often appeared when citizens of Janjina talked about helping was the word *"normal"*. It seems that the helping is a part of tradition and religion in this area and that people do not consider it as something special. It is just the way of life for them.

2. Meaning. In Janjina, meaning as an intrinsic motivator for volunteering was mentioned 11 times during the focus groups, 12 times in the one-on-one interviews and it was not found at all during the observation process. Total mention of 23 times makes meaning the second highest ranked intrinsic motivator for volunteering among the citizens in Janjina. The sense of fulfillment and happiness because of helping was some of the feeling which appeared many times during the field research among the citizens in Janjina. They used expressions like "*I feel very grateful and happy because I am part of this community*"; "*By that I am more willing to help and that makes me happy and fulfilled*"; "*… it makes me pleased when I help someone*" or *"we feel fulfilled when we are doing something that is good for our community."* The big amount of these expressions which are found in this area shows the importance of this motivator for helping among the people in Janjina. The basic psychological human need to feel fulfilled and have a sense of meaning in their life seems to be very present when it comes to the intrinsic motivation for helping in Janjina.

3. Social Connection. Social Connection as an intrinsic motivator for volunteering was mentioned 6 times during the focus groups, 10 times during the one-on-one interviews and 2 times during the observation process in Janjina. Total mention of 18 times makes social connection a middle ranked factor when it comes to intrinsic motivators in Janjina. Connectivity that results from volunteering appeared during the field research by expressions like *"I was just checking my neighbors to see if everything is fine or if they need something"*;

"*Volunteerism has a positive impact on the community because we feel safer*" or "*Perhaps the most valuable help was when someone came to your home and spoke a few words of encouragement to you. Then you know you are not alone*". However, they did not appear in such a level which could be expected, keeping in mind the loneliness and isolation with which the citizens of this area are facing, especially during the winter period. The reason for that could be because of the process of coding where some phrases were coded as social capital instead as connections. This will be explained more detail in the Discussion section.

4. Altruism. Altruism was another intrinsic motivator which was not considered at the beginning of this research but due to the intensity of its appearance during the field research, it was included in this project. It was mentioned 8 times during the focus groups, 9 times during the one-on-one interviews and nor once during the observation. The total mentions of 17 times makes this motivator as the middle ranked compared to others within this research in Janjina. Although this intrinsic motivator was not as present as on Vis, it seems that it has an important role in Janjina when it comes to helping. The expressions which shows the altruistic motives for helping in this area and which appeared during the field research were *"Helping comes from my heart";* "*Her "thank you" was enough reward to me"* or "*it is impossible not to help when you see that someone needs help. Our heart does not allow us not to help when we see somebody who needs help*." As on Vis and in Janjina, the word "heart" often appeared when talking about helping which also shows the love and unselfish care for the people within this community.

5. Competence. Competence as an intrinsic motivator for volunteering appeared 10 times during the one-on-one interviews while it was not appeared at all during the focus groups and the observation process. The total mention of 10 times makes this intrinsic motivator the second lowest ranked in Janjina. However, considering that seven of ten of these mentions appeared during the one-on-one interview with the volunteer in Janjina who is not originally from that areas implies that this intrinsic motivator is even less represented among the citizens in this area. The human need to be competent and more intrinsically motivated if they see themselves developing certain skills seems like not a very important intrinsic motivator for helping in this area.

6. Progress. Like competence, the third intrinsic motivator which was found at the low level within this research is progress. Progress as an intrinsic motivator for volunteering was mentioned 2 times during the focus groups, 10 times during the one-on-one interviews and none during the observation process in Janjina. Total mention of 12 times makes progress low ranked when it comes to intrinsic motivators in Janjina. Having in mind that

this area is facing a lack of services, it would be assumed that this intrinsic motivator would be more present in this area. However, expressions like *"you are improving the place by volunteering"* or *"I was able to do something and to bring some changes"* appeared very rarely during the field research. In fact, this intrinsic motivator was found 10 times during the one-on-one interviews with people who are not originally from Janjina and who came to this area from the outside. The remaining two mentions were by the participants during the focus groups. This shows that people in this area very rarely consider this intrinsic motivator as something what motivate them for helping.

7. Choice. Choice as an intrinsic motivator was not found at all during the focus groups, one-on-one interviews and observation process in Janjina. Just like on Vis, the inhabitants of Janjina do not consider this intrinsic motivator as something that plays an important role in helping behavior in this area. Free will and choice are considered as one of the main intrinsic motivators for volunteering and omitting this intrinsic motivator as a reason or helping in this area is a fact that will be explained in more detail in the Discussion section.

Summary of results on intrinsic motivators – Janjina

The highest ranked intrinsic motivators for volunteering which were found during the focus groups, one-on-one interviews and observation in Janjina were (1) culture and (2) meaning. The middle ranked were altruism and social connections. The lowest ranked were competence, progress and choice. Competence and progress were motivators that appeared a little more than choice and it could be considered as middle ranked within this research. However, given that these motivators appeared with people who are not originally from this area, it could be said that the representation of these motivational factors for volunteering is also at a very low level among people from Janjina. It is little surprising that intrinsic motivators such as progress, choice and competence are at such a low level in this area. On the other hand, the middle level of motivator such is social connections show the willingness of people in this area to helps each other in order to make better social connections with others and by that to decrease the level of loneliness and isolation with which they are facing. Altruism was another middle-ranked motivator which shows unselfish care for others within community. *"If we do not help nobody will"* or "*we are motivated to help by our heart"* are expressions which shows altruistic motivation for helping in this area. Culture and meaning were among the highest ranked motivation for volunteering. It seems that the helping

behavior is rooted within the behavior in Janjina and it gives a sense of meaning to its citizens.

Level of evidence of social and economic benefits – Janjina

Results from Janjina regarding the level of evidence of social and economic benefits from volunteering can be seen in the table below.

Table 8. Frequency of social and economic benefits from focus groups, interviews and observation: Janjina

Social and Economic benefits	Frequency				Level of evidence
	Focus Groups	Interviews	Observation	Total	
Social capital	22	12	2	36	Very High
Cultural amenities	0	0	0	0	Very Low
Economic benefits (food and health care)	7	4	1	12	Low
Economic benefits (jobs and education)	13	3	1	17	Medium
Social and economic benefits	11	3	0	21	High

Evidence of social benefits – Janjina.

1. Social Capital. The total mentions of social capital as a benefit from volunteering in Janjina was 36 times which makes this benefit the highest ranked among others within this dissertation. The social capital benefit from volunteering appeared 22 times during the focus groups, 12 times during the one-on-one interviews and was found 2 times during the observation process. The high level of the social capital which is present in this community shows the strong bonds among the citizens. It seems that helping behavior results with high levels of social capital which is present in this community. Also, it seems that the bonds and connections within this community which can be advanced through helping behavior have an important role in the life of citizens in this area.

2. Cultural Amenities. Unlike Vis, where the cultural amenities as a benefit from volunteering was found in certain amounts, this benefit from volunteering was not found at all during the field research in Janjina. It was not mentioned once during the focus groups, one-on-one interviews and was not found during the observation process. Having in mind the lack of services and cultural amenities that are present in this area, the one could expect that this benefit of volunteering would be more present. It could be assumed that the lack of services like arts, libraries and entertainment would motivate people in this area to provide and maintain these services on voluntary basis. However, the lack of this benefit might be also related with priorities among the citizens in this area. It seems that some other needs have priority when it comes to the benefits of volunteering and that the cultural amenities are not among them. The fact that this benefit did not appear at all within research in this area seems very interesting and will be analyzed more detail in the Discussion section.

Summary of results on social benefits – Janjina

As one focus group participant noted, *"We are helping each other because we rely on each other. We do not have a choice if we want to survive here."* This statement is not surprising given the isolation and loneliness of this area, especially during the winter months. People are oriented toward each other and are more willing to help each other. By that, there are raising their connections and the level of trust between themselves. It seems that the social capital which can be advanced through the helping behavior is "like a glue" that keeps this community together. Because of that, it is not surprising that the level of evidences for social capital was the highest ranked among others when it comes to the benefits of

volunteering in this area. The expressions like *"We are getting together, laughing and smiling while we are participating in this voluntary organization"*; *"we trust each other and we know that doors from our fellow citizens are always open to us"* or *"we can count on each other"* just confirm the mentioned. On the other hand, the low level of cultural amenities can be a sign that these needs could be satisfied on some other way. However, as it was mentioned before, it could be also a sign that the cultural amenities are not among the priorities when it comes to benefits of volunteering in this area.

Level of evidence of economic benefits – Janjina.

1. Food, housing and health care. While the cultural amenities as a benefit from volunteering was not found at all, the economic benefits of volunteering related to food, housing and health care seemed to be more present. The total mentions of food, housing and healthcare as a benefit from volunteering in Janjina was 12 times which makes this benefit the medium ranked among others within this dissertation. This benefit from volunteering appeared 7 times during the focus groups, 4 times during the one-on-one interviews and was found 1 time during the observation process. The level of evidences of this economic benefit from volunteering could be directly related to the lack of services with which the citizens of this area are facing. They are taking care about their fellow citizens and providing the services which otherwise would not exist.

2. *Education and jobs.* As well as the previous category of economic benefits, this one related to jobs and education was found even in the higher level during the field research in this area. The total mentions of jobs and education as a benefit from volunteering in Janjina was 17 times, which makes this benefit the medium ranked among others within this dissertation. This benefit from volunteering appeared 13 times during the focus groups, 3 times during the one-on-one interviews and was found 1 time during the observation process. The medium level of this economic benefit from volunteering could be associated with the lack of service as was mentioned before. People are aware that they rely on each other and they are providing the jobs to their fellow citizens for free. The examples like "*The community jumped in and helped about everything – with the vineyard, with our finances and whatever we needed*"; or "*During the time when he was in the hospital the members of community took care of his fields*" just confirm connections within community and willingness of its members to help each other by providing the jobs what are missing.

Summary of results of economic benefits – Janjina

Unlike Vis, the economic benefits from volunteering in Janjina were found in a relatively high level. The reason why there is no hungry and homeless within this community could be because the community takes care of each other. They did not do that by providing the organized services like a soup kitchens or homes for homeless. They did it on the subtler way that is sometimes even difficult to notice. It seems that community members here provide the services which does not exists to the ones who are needed on a voluntary basis. And they are doing that without even being aware of that.

Results on "general" social and economic benefits – Janjina.

Like in Vis, during the focus groups, one-on-one interviews and observation were found social and economic benefits which are not precisely specified. Because of that they do not fit into any of the above categories. The general statements about social and economic benefits from volunteering like "*the members of the community are helping more during the winter, especially to those who are not able to satisfy their needs*" or "*during the process of recovery, the community members jumped in and helped with different kind of things*" appeared 19 times what makes this category at the medium level within this case research. As was the case like in Vis these general mentions were also put into category general social and economic benefits in Janjina research also.

Conclusions from results – Janjina.

Culture, and the necessity of helping. Helping behavior in Janjina, like the helping in Vis, is mostly about the culture. The heritage, tradition and religion are directly connected with helping behavior in this area. That helping behavior held this community alive for centuries and became unseparated part of them. By their helping behavior they are raising their connections and increasing their social capital what is something that help them to maintain life in this area. They are willing unselfishly to help others and that also gives them a sense of meaning.

Except for culture, the helping in Janjina is also about necessity. As a rural area they are faced with lack of services. Especially during the winter period, they are faced with the isolation and loneliness. Having in mind that every third citizen in this area is 65-year-old

brings more importance to the social and economic benefits of volunteering. It seems that the people in this area are aware of that and they are forced to help themselves. They are aware that if they do not help themselves, nobody will. Strong presence of social and economic benefits from volunteering such are social capital, jobs, food and health care in this area shows us that the people here are taking care about others and fulfilling the needs and services what they are missing. The level of social capital is high, the bonds within community are strong and the people within this community are taking care to each other providing the services which otherwise would not exists. Low level of cultural amenities could be directly related to the high level of evidences for economic benefits. It seems that the needs regarding the food, jobs and health care have priority compared to cultural amenities when it comes to the benefits of volunteering in this area.

Just like in Vis, the lowest ranked intrinsic motivators within this research are choice and competence, while the highest are culture, meaning and altruism. It seems that the situation regarding the individualistic benefits versus collectivist benefits is similar in Janjina too. The results from Janjina suggest that volunteering in this area tend to be more expressed for the collective than for the benefit of individuals and it could be connected with the willingness of citizens to think collectively rather than individually.

Conclusions across cases – Vis and Janjina

Introduction. While the previous section brought results for each of the cases separately, the following one will provide results for both cases together. The results will be presented as they compare and contrast across the two small remote areas where research has been conducted. Each of three research questions will be reviewed through results for both cases together. First, the level of evidences for intrinsic motivation for volunteering will be presented for Vis and Janjina. After that the social and economic benefits from volunteering will be provided for these areas. At the end of this section, comparison between cases will be done using obtained results for both cases. That section will provide comparison among intrinsic motivators for volunteering between Vis and Janjina, as well as the comparison among social and economic benefits from volunteering between these two small remote areas.

The table below presents the results for each case separately, as well as the total for both cases together, for intrinsic motivators for volunteering in Vis and Janjina.

Table 9. Frequency of intrinsic motivation from focus groups, interviews and observation: Vis and Janjina

Intrinsic Motivation	Frequency									Level of evidence
	Focus Groups		Interviews		Observation				Total	
	Vis	Janjina	Vis	Janjina	Vis	Janjina	Total Vis	Total Janjina		
Culture	15	29	14	7	2	1	31	37	68	Very High
Meaning	15	11	7	12	1	0	23	23	46	High
Altruism	8	8	11	9	3	0	22	17	39	High
Connection	6	6	1	10	6	2	13	18	31	Medium
Progress	12	2	5	10	0	0	17	12	29	Medium
Competence	4	0	0	10	0	0	4	10	14	Low
Choice	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Very Low

Intrinsic motivations across both cases

1. Culture. The intrinsic motivator which appeared the most in both cases was culture. Although this motivator was not initially considered for this research, the intensity of its appearance in both cases made it necessary to include into these findings. In both places, the culture was considered as an important reason for volunteering. Its presence was 30% higher than the next ranked motivator within this research. The biggest presence of this motivator shows that helping behavior is deeply rooted within both cases. The helping behavior that started as a necessity in the past, due the lack of services and isolation, became a consistent part of the culture in Vis and Janjina. The people in both places do not consider volunteering as something special and they are not even aware of it. They just live like that.

2. Meaning. The second highest ranked intrinsic motivators within this research for both places was meaning. This factor as an intrinsic motivator was found at the same level of evidence in Janjina and Vis. It was seen as a motivator with high levels of evidence. The sense of meaning and purpose that comes from volunteering played an important role in motivating people to volunteer, in both places. The citizens in this area are helping because that makes them fulfilled and happy.

3. Altruism. Another intrinsic motivator which was not considered at the beginning of this research was altruism. However, because the presence of this motivator was very pronounced in both cases, the researchers decided to include it in the findings as one of the motivators that has a significant impact on helping behavior in these areas. Although this motivator for volunteering was somewhat more present on Vis than in Janjina, it can be said that the importance of this motivator as a reason for helping was at moderately high levels for both areas. The unselfish care for their fellow citizens is very present with members of both communities in this research and it seems to be related to the culture of helping.

4. Social Connection. The intrinsic motivator for volunteering which was ranked as fifth in Vis and third in Janjina was social connection. Although this motivator was more present in Janjina, the difference was not very significant. Given the isolation and loneliness to which both areas of research are exposed, which is particularly pronounced during the winter months, a greater presence of this motivator to help in both areas could be expected. Actually, this factor may have been higher except for a decision in the coding process to distinguish the individual need for social interaction as “social connections”, while opinions expressed about the need for social interaction at the community level was coded as “social

capital". The total results for social interaction for both places, as a motivator for helping behavior, will be discussed in further detail in the next section.

5. Progress. The progress that people see in their community as a result of helping behavior, was an intrinsic motivator found in the medium level among the citizens in Vis and Janjina. This reason for helping ranked as fourth in Vis and fifth in Janjina. Keeping in mind that in Janjina, this reason was mentioned from research participants who are not originally from that area, decreases its importance for helping among the citizens even further, and makes the result for this motivator low in Janjina. It seems that citizens at Vis are more intrinsically motivated for helping when they can see some progress as a result of their helping than is the case with Janjina.

6. Competence. An intrinsic motivator which was found at a low level in both places was competence. In Janjina this motivator was found at a slightly higher level than on Vis, but it could be said that this intrinsic motivator does not play a big role when it comes to motivation to volunteering in both places. The human desire to grow in competence, as an intrinsic motivator for volunteer experience, was not considered as an important motivator for helping in both cases within this research. The low level of this motivator for helping could be indicate that people in these areas are not thinking so much about individual benefits of their helping behavior. They are not thinking about themselves, rather they are thinking about their community.

7. Choice. One of the presumptions for volunteering that was expressed in the literature about intrinsic motivation but was not found even once during this research process in both cases, was the matter of choice. It was surprising that something which is considered so highly in the literature was not found at all during the focus groups, interviews or observation process in Vis and Janjina. However, the high level of evidences of intrinsic motivators such as altruism and culture, provide possible explanations for this. First, it seems that the people in Vis and Janjina rather think collectively than individually when it comes to their motivation to volunteer. Choice as an intrinsic motivator is an individually oriented factor. Second, it seems that the high level of culture as an intrinsic motivator for helping is related to the low level of choice. An innate psychological need of humans to have a choice in what one does seems not so important in Vis and Janjina. Expressions like, *"we do not have a choice if we want to survive here",* or "*if we do not do that, nobody will"* suggest the people feel there is no choice about volunteering. What started as necessity in the past became the rooted and unseparated part of the culture in both areas.

Social and economic benefits across both cases

The table below presents the results for each case separately, as well as total for both cases together, for the social and economic benefits of volunteering in Vis and Janjina.

Table 10. Frequency of social and economic benefits from focus groups, interviews and observations: Vis and Janjina

Social and Economic benefits	Frequency									Level of evidence
	Focus Groups		Interviews		Observation				Total	
	Vis	Janjina	Vis	Janjina	Vis	Janjina	Total Vis	Total Janjina		
Social capital	13	22	11	12	9	2	33	36	69	Very High
Social and economic benefits	6	11	0	3	0	0	9	14	23	Low
Economic benefits (jobs and education)	2	13	1	3	3	1	6	17	23	Low
Cultural amenities	1	0	9	0	5	0	15	0	15	Low
Economic benefits (food and health care)	0	7	2	4	0	1	2	12	14	Low

1. Social capital. The highest ranked social or economic benefit from volunteering in Vis and Janjina within this research was social capital. The level of evidences for this benefit from volunteering was very high compared to the others. Social capital in both places appeared 69 times while the next factor in this category appeared only 23 times. It appeared 33 times in Vis and 36 times in Janjina which shows that this benefit from volunteering is present at a high level in both places. It shows that this benefit from volunteering is perceived as the most important social or economic benefit for the citizens in these areas. This is not surprising considering the culture of helping in both areas, and the isolation and loneliness which these two small areas experience, especially in the winter. The social capital produced by volunteering means they can rely on each other, which is critically important in these isolated areas. As a result, they feel less alone. They stick together in order to survive especially during the winter period when they are aware that they are left by themselves.

2. "General" social and economic benefits. The second highest ranked benefits from volunteering is what the coders decided to call "general" social and economic benefits because the type of social or economic benefits were not stated explicitly. For example, the research participants stated: "*helping provide an easy access to the different kind of services which do not exist here*";" *during the process of recovery, the community members jumped in and helped with different kind of things*"; or "*the members of the community are helping more during the winter, especially to those who are not able to satisfy their needs*." These and similar un-specified social and economic benefits appeared 9 times in Vis and 14 times in Janjina, for a total of 23 times. These benefits were slightly higher in Janjina than in Vis.

1. Economic benefits - jobs and education. The factor that received the third highest result among the social and economic benefits in Vis and Janjina were economic benefits such as jobs and education. The fact that volunteering was seen as adding economic value to the community, such as making the community appear more employable by cleaning up public areas or providing assistance to people who were doing seasonal work. These comments appeared 6 times in Vis, and 17 times in Janjina. The larger number of comments from volunteers in Janjina can be a sign that this place is facing more of a lack of services than Vis. Some of the examples of providing these economic benefits were comments like: "then the members of the community organized among themselves and helped him to finish the seasonal work in the vineyard"; "it was helping in the vineyard, in the field, in the household or anything else"; "before people were willing the clean the roads which go to their vineyards" or "people were cleaning and preparing their villages for touristic season."

These examples show that people in these areas, especially in Janjina, provide certain volunteer services that enhance the economic conditions of the community.

2. Cultural amenities. Cultural amenities as a benefit from volunteering was fourth ranked within this research when looking at the results for both places together. However, the differences between the evidences for this benefit are the most expressive. This benefits from volunteering appeared in Vis 15 times which ranked this benefit at the second highest ranked social or economic benefit within Vis. On the other hand, this benefit from volunteering was did not appear once during the field research in Janjina. The fact that the people in Vis with volunteering activities are providing some cultural amenities, while in Janjina it is not a case at all, is very interesting and special attention will be paid to it in the discussion section.

3. Economic benefits – food, housing and health care. Overall, the lowest ranked social or economic benefit of volunteering was related to food, housing and health care. However, there was a significant difference between Vis and Janjina. In Vis, this benefit from volunteering appeared just 2 times, while in Janjina it appeared 12 times. One possible explanation of this finding is that food and health care benefits are in greater need in Janjina than in Vis.

Similarities between cases - Vis and Janjina

Culture as a reason for volunteering dominates across both researched places. This intrinsic motivator for volunteering was not originally included in the research but was added due to its frequency of expression during the research process. It dominates as a reason for volunteering across both places. It seems that the helping behavior which appeared as necessity because of the isolation and loneliness became a way of life in both places. That kind of behavior in combination with religion and tradition resulted with deeply rooted heritage of helping behavior that still exist in both places. In fact, during the research process participants highlighted their culture as the most important reason why they are volunteering in both places. This motivator was slightly more present in Janjina than in Vis but not to extent that would be significant.

Another intrinsic motivator which was also very present during research process was meaning. People in both places feel fulfilled and happy when they can help their fellow citizens. That gives them a sense of meaning in their lives and provide them with fulfillment.

Unselfish helping behavior, without thinking about the benefits for themselves, was considered as altruism in this research. It was a high motivator in both places as an intrinsic motivator for helping. Just like culture, this intrinsic motivator was not originally included in the research but was added later due to how often it was expressed during the research process in both places. In fact, during the research process, sometimes it was difficult to distinct altruism from culture because altruism can be considered as an integral part of the culture. However, participants in both places mentioned the unselfish reasons for helping many times which was a clear evidence of altruistic behavior. The intensity of appearance and its clarity of expression were the reasons why this motivator is included into research process. The people in both places consider the helping behavior as something normal and because of that it does not surprise the high level of altruistic behavior when it comes to helping.

Just as in both places culture as an intrinsic motivator was the most common, so another intrinsic motivator appeared to the same extent in both places only in a completely different range of occurrence. Free will which is consider as one of the main presumptions for volunteering did not appear at once during the research process in both researched places. The very low level of this intrinsic motivator shows us that the helping behavior there is not about choice. These results are in stark contrast to the definitions of intrinsic motivation for volunteering in many authors. Precisely due to the fact that they did not appear at all in both examined places, this result will be given more detailed attention during the discussion section.

Another intrinsic motivator which was found at very low level in both places was a competence. The human need to feel competent which some authors consider as an innate human need appeared just few times during the research process as a reason for volunteering. The suggestions from some authors that people will be more intrinsically motivated in their volunteer experience if they see themselves developing certain skills seems that does not have its confirmation in these two small distanced areas. It can be considered that this motivator has little role in helping behavior in both places.

The social and economic benefit from volunteering which appeared in both places in very high levels was social capital. The idea of adding to the social capital of the community, which is particularly important for these isolated areas, was a major motivator for helping behaviors across both places. People rely on each other and feel that they can count on each other. The helping behavior helps them to raise these social bonds and build their trust among themselves. That way of life maintained their life and ensure them to survive for centuries.

It could be said that they are sticking together in order to survive. This is also connected with the culture behavior there. It seems that the high levels of intrinsic motivators for volunteering which appeared in Vis and Janjina are very intertwined with the high levels of volunteering benefits which appeared in both places. There will be a lot more words about this in the discussion section

Differences between cases - Vis and Janjina

When it comes to the differences in intrinsic motivators for volunteering across Vis and Janjina, there are very few of them. The motivators such are culture, meaning and altruism appeared at high level in both places. On the other hand, motivators such are choice and competence were found at very low level in both places. There are slightly difference when it comes to the intrinsic motivators such are social connections and progress. These motivators appeared at the medium level in both places with slightly differences between the places.

On the other hand, the differences are more expressed when it comes to the social and economic benefits from volunteering in both places. While the social capital and social and economic benefits appeared in both places as high, there were differences among others benefits across the places. For example, cultural amenities as a benefit from volunteering were represented at the middle level in Vis, while in Janjina no such example was recorded during the research process. On the other hand, the economic benefits of volunteering were represented in a very small amount in Vis, while in Janjina these benefits of volunteering were expressed more often.

Conclusion

Intrinsic motivators from volunteering in Vis and Janjina seem to be present at a very similar level in both places. The most significant result in this report is that culture and altruism were found at very high levels in both places. On the other hand, intrinsic motivators such as choice and competence were not found at all or at very low levels in both places. It shows the rootedness of helping behavior in both places with intention of citizens in both places to think collectively rather to individually.

Regarding the social and economic benefits of volunteering, the social benefits are ones that were mostly present in both places. People find that through volunteering, they grow

their social capital and therefore are more able to rely on each other. They can count on their fellow citizens and feel safer and more connected because of the relationships that are enhanced by helping each other. Clearly, they see the growth in social capital as the most important social or economic benefit of volunteering. The cultural amenities and economic benefits were not expressed as often as expected, given the distance, isolation and loneliness to which the inhabitants of these small places are exposed. There were only slight differences among these two small places when it comes to the economic benefits which will be discussed later.

It seems that the results of intrinsic motivators for volunteering and the social and economic benefits from volunteering are strongly intertwined and that they should be observed in relation to each other. High levels of intrinsic motivators appear to be closely related to high levels of benefits from volunteering. Also, the low score of intrinsic motivators in both places seems to be directly related to the low score for some of the benefits of volunteering. This and other findings will be analyzed in more detail in the next section.

Examples of seven intrinsic motivators and social and economic benefits – both cases

The 22 tables at the end of this dissertation provide the best examples of six of the seven intrinsic motivators for volunteering as well as the five social and economic benefits of volunteering in both researched areas. One intrinsic motivator (choice) was not found during the research process in both areas so the tables are provided for the six remaining intrinsic motivators. The purpose of these 22 tables is to present real-life illustrations of intrinsic motivators as well as social and economic benefits from volunteering.

4. DISCUSSION

Introduction

The single, simple question that sparked this dissertation was asked by myself and the mentor of my research project a few years ago: "*Why do people volunteer*?" This banal and simple question was a spark that aroused curiosity about one seemingly economically paradoxical phenomenon. Why would someone work without being paid? Aroused curiosity led to a series of questions and eventually steered us toward the question of the impact of volunteering in small remote areas.

The three research questions (RQ) in this dissertation are:

(RQ 1) What are the intrinsic motivators for volunteering in the winter in these remote Adriatic communities?

(RQ 2) What are the social benefits of volunteering in the winter in these remote Adriatic areas?

(RQ 3) What are the economic benefits of volunteering in the winter in these remote Adriatic locations?

This dissertation responds to each of these research questions:

First, the impact of volunteering can be measured in terms of the intrinsic motivators that explain why a person would volunteer in these communities. Upon reflection on the results, these factors were grouped into collectivist and individualist categories, with a much higher incidence shown in the collectivist motivators to volunteer.

Second, the impact of volunteering can be measured in terms of the social benefits volunteering has on the community. (These are benefits of volunteering that are shared at the community level.) Developing social capital, such as building trust, was viewed as both a precondition for volunteering and a by-product of volunteering.

Third, the impact of volunteering can be measured in terms of the economic benefits volunteering has on the community, especially those which lack resources, where people rely more on volunteering to meet some needs what they are missing. (Like the social benefits, these economic benefits are viewed here as shared by the entire community).

This dissertation presents a wider picture of volunteering and considers its impact on life in small remote communities. In order to provide a better understanding of what volunteering has on life in small remote communities, this dissertation explored both the

impacts of volunteering on the individual and the benefits of volunteering for community, and how these factors are related to each other.

Special attention in this research is being paid to the winter months in two remote Adriatic communities, when remoteness and isolation are much more exposed and when volunteering activities plays an even more important role in everyday life.

Primary findings

RQ 1: What are the intrinsic motivators for volunteering in the winter in these remote Adriatic communities?

One contribution of this research is to bring new insights about intrinsic motivators for volunteering in small remote communities. Given the isolation and loneliness with which these two small remote areas are facing during the winter period, it was expected that the intrinsic motivation of their volunteers might be somewhat different, as volunteering could become more of a practical necessity.

Much has already been researched about volunteerism in urban areas. Research shows that volunteerism tends to be higher in rural areas. However, the contribution of this research is to research how geography and the annual life dynamic influences the intrinsic motivation for volunteering in these two small areas.

The purpose of this research is not just to bring the new findings and insights about intrinsic motivation for volunteering in small remote communities but also to substantiate and expand the existing knowledge about it. This research provides a model of Self-determination theory by Ryan and Deci (2000), and the model of intrinsic motivation, by Kenneth Thomas (2009) which suggests five intrinsic motivators for volunteering while at the same time try to see which ones are present, and to what extent.

During the coding process, two additional motivators – culture and altruism – were added to the list of intrinsic motivators, in order to code some of the participants' comments that did not fit into the other five factors. The seven factors – intrinsic motivators that explain the reasons for volunteering – are discussed next.

1. Meaning. The evidence found for "meaning" as an intrinsic motivator for volunteering in both researched areas was high. In fact, it was a highest ranked motivator for volunteering after the culture. The basic psychological human need to feel fulfilled (Ryan and Deci, 2000) and have an intrinsic need for purpose and meaning in their lives (Thomas,

2009) seems to be present when it comes to the intrinsic motivation for helping in both researched places. This shows that people in these two small remote areas will be more willing to help if they find the sense of meaning for their lives by that activity.

The helping they are doing provide them with a sense of fulfillment and happiness, which gives them a sense of meaning for their lives. This intrinsic benefit for volunteering was expressed in both places and viewed through all three research methods - interviews, focus groups and observation. In addition, it is interesting to mention that meaning as a motivator for volunteering appeared at the same level in both researched areas. These findings are not necessarily surprising but they do confirm the findings from existing literature about meaning as an intrinsic motivator for volunteering. The finding from this research show that meaning has an important role as intrinsic motivation for volunteering in both researched places and that his importance is even more pronounced during the winter period.

It could be said that the motivation to be fulfilled and happy are more pronounced during the winter period when the people are not so busy with the tourist business and isolation is more expressed. People there feel left to themselves during the period when the tourists and seasonal workers leave these areas and the need for meaning is even more expressed.

Some of the statements which appeared during the research process and which pronounce the importance of meaning for helping in these areas were: "*When I help I feel just the happiness that someone's life is improved*"; "*I feel richer when I can help to someone*"; "*By helping you are becoming part of something greater*" or "*When I can help, it makes me feel good, makes me feel happy, makes me feel proud*". These statements show that one intrinsic motivation for volunteering is that people find a sense of meaning within the experience of helping.

It seems that the priorities of the volunteers are different during the two parts of the year. During the winter period, everything is quiet, deserted and to some people, it seems that life has been stopped until the next summer season. When the tourist and others leave these areas, people are starting to feel lonely and left to themselves. They are starting to think about their fellow citizens again. Their priorities change and the importance to have a sense of meaning beyond the tourism business becomes something important again. The helping activities that they are doing during that period contributes to that. The giving and receiving contribute to the feeling of meaning through gratefulness and happiness that they are getting

by that behavior. Some of them even said that they are feeling better as human beings when they are helping or receiving the help.

The importance of this finding may not seem so important at first sight. However, the relationships within the community are less focused on helping during the summer season when everyone seems more oriented toward themselves. The volunteering they are doing mostly during the winter period is helping them to feel as a better person on some way healing the damage what the summer season has left to the community. During the winter months, they start to feel more grateful, more fulfilled and happier on the individual level. This helps the community to recover from the individualistic nature of the summer and returns the community to more of a collective feeling again.

2. Culture. Although this was not considered at the beginning of this research, the term "culture" appeared so many times in both places that it was necessary to include it into this research and analysis. In fact, this dissertation found the highest explanation of intrinsic motivator, as evidenced in all three research methods, within both locations, was this factor which the coders called "culture". Overall scores for this motivator were almost 30% higher than the next closest factor.

Culture is seen here as the unique characteristic of a social group where its members share the same values and beliefs (LeBron, 2013). The evidence found for culture as a motivator for volunteering was the highest in both places. Members of both communities considered culture as the best explanation of why helping was so prevalent in their communities. Although this factor was not considered at the beginning of this dissertation, it is significant that it emerged as such an important factor that it became necessary to include it in the process of coding the data from this research.

People in both communities explained that they are helping without being aware of it. The word which appeared so often when speaking about helping was "normal". Participants in this research often described helping as normal. They said it is normal for them to help when somebody needs help. On the other side, it is also normal for them to receive help when they need it.

As one research participant stated, "*It is normal to ask for some help and you can expect that you will receive that help when you will need it*". Another said, "*In the history of the island, it is a habit helping each other and giving back to those help. It is in the culture of the island from the past and it is reciprocal.*"

The helping behaviors of these communities are rooted in everything they do. It is woven into the very fabric of the culture. It is a part of the history of this area. These small

remote areas depend on themselves over many centuries. In the past, they were left to themselves and they learned how to rely on each other in order to survive over the centuries – especially in the winter. One of the ways for surviving was the helping behavior.

The story from one participant nicely describes the history of helping in this area: "*Namely, when people went fishing at sea before, they were oriented towards each other. No matter what relationships they had during their stay on board, in case of any distress, they were obliged to help one another. When they returned to the mainland, they could continue to behave as they wanted, but during their stay at sea they were obliged to help one another*."

This way of behavior over time helped to root the helping into the essence of these two small areas. Something that started as a necessity in the past now became an integral part of the culture in these two small places. What surprised us during the research process was that the participants do not question their helping behavior at all. They are not aware of it. It is like a breathing for them.

When the questions were first asked of the participants, it was difficult for them to express why these helping behaviors were so prevalent. It seemed they had not reflected on these questions before. After the investigators probed the question further, they described it as something normal. Responses like "*it is normal here*" and "*we do not think about it*" show that helping behavior is deeply rooted into the culture within both researched places.

They also said that the strong cultural rootedness of helping was also encouraged by their Catholic religion, which has been present there for over the thousand years and preach the helping to others as one of the main human virtues. Some participants singled out the religion as a reason for helping. They said that the helping is a part of their religion and that religion taught them to help someone who is in need. The Catholic religion helped maintain the life into these areas and had a strong influence on the development of the culture within it. In accordance with that it strongly contributed to the culture of helping.

Another way that participants talked about culture as a reason for volunteering was the tradition and heritage of helping in these areas. The participants stated that they are volunteering because they want to preserve their tradition. Also, they said that the helping is part of the tradition in their community and that it still exists as a regular part of life.

Tradition and religion can be considered as an integral part of the culture. As was previously stated, the culture defines the community where its members are sharing the same values and beliefs. Volunteering became an integral part of their life so they are not seeing it as something special. It is a way they are behaving. It is how they are functioning. They

are not thinking about it. The culture of helping has maintained the way of life there for centuries and because of that it is an important value for their communities.

The culture of helping was so pronounced during the research that it became impossible not to consider it. Even if this intrinsic motivation for helping is not something unique to these areas, it had to be considered in this research for two reasons. First, it confirms that the culture is an important factor in understanding the dynamics of small rural areas, especially as an intrinsic motivator for volunteering. Even if this finding is not unique by itself, it adds more evidence to the existing findings about rural communities.

Second, the cultures among the world are under the strong influence of globalization. These two small communities are no exception from that trend. What makes these two communities fairly unique is that the influence of globalization is very pronounced only during one part of the year. During the summer, globalization is affecting these communities strongly and impacting the culture of helping there. The other part of the year is one when the influence of globalization is not so present and when the culture of helping in these communities is "healing" itself from globalization effects. This strong cultural shift from one pole, to another completely opposite pole, during the year represents a true challenge for the helping behavior within these two small communities.

The general results obtained within this research, showing large amounts of volunteering in these communities, add evidence about the extent of helping behavior in rural areas. The fact that the level of helping decreases during the summer months, and that the culture of these communities' changes from collectivist to individualist, adds an interesting element to this research, one that we had not fully considered in advance of the research.

3. Altruism. While volunteerism is oriented to helping others emphasizing free will, "altruism" is going one step further. Altruism is purely oriented to others. Most reasons for volunteerism consider the intrinsic benefits for the giver. Altruism is considered completely oriented to others, without expecting any benefits in return.

There is a discussion among some authors whether pure altruism can exist at all, because altruistic people receive some intrinsic benefits even if they are not aware of it. However, for the purposes of this research, we will view altruism as it was presented to us by our participants, as an act of unselfish behavior that has no intention of receiving anything in return. It was often used to explain why people in these two places volunteer.

Evidence of altruism was found in relatively high levels in this research, even though it was not considered at the beginning of this dissertation. The unselfish intention to help

each other was found in high levels within both researched places. What strongly characterize helping behavior in both areas is that they are giving without expecting to get something in return. It is some kind of unconditional reciprocity. As participants stated, they are not obligated to help others. Rather they treat others as if they were in that situation. They act without any thought of what is coming in return, even though they know that when and if they needed help, others would be willing to help. However, it is not a transactional arrangement, where there are conditions for the giving.

Many participants in both places used words like "*love*" and "*heart*" to explain why they were volunteering. Others said that they are helping primarily because of the "*love for their community*" while others said that the reasons for helping "*comes from their heart*". This unselfish concern for other people and placing others above self (Campbell, 2006) was very present in both places.

There could be a few reasons why this reason for helping appeared so strongly. First, as previously mentioned in the case of culture, altruism is a collectivist behavior. The willingness of people in these areas to think of others shows their care for the community. It is not just that they are care, they care first about their community and then for themselves. The collectivist attitude of altruism was expressed in high levels in both communities.

What is interesting is that this care for others varies during the year. As mentioned before, collectivism is more expressed during the winter period when the people in these areas are more oriented to each other, when they more care about each other's. During the summer period, the people in these areas are mostly oriented to themselves and they are mostly looking for benefits for themselves. During the winter people are starting to care more about others. And that caring is so expressed and is appearing through the altruistic behavior and willingness for helping. On one side, there is an individualistic egoism which is expressed by thinking about oneself during the summer period, while on the other side, there is an altruism which is expressed through unselfish care for others during the winter period. These two completely opposite poles are appearing as a regular dynamic through the year.

Another reason why altruism appeared so often could be related with religion. Religion which is a part of the culture and is deeply rooted in these areas proclaims altruistic behavior as one of the main human virtues. It proclaims that helping others without thinking selfishly is part of living the religious life. It teaches people to put others in the first place. This is on the track with Catholic teaching that "*whoever wants to be great among you must*

be your servant" (Matthew 20:25-27). This shows the entanglement of intrinsic motivators in this research and it seems that many of them are interrelated.

4. Choice. Choice is considered one of the main presumptions for volunteering, which is done with a free will. Considering that fact, the results from these two small communities about choice as an intrinsic motivation are quite surprising. Choice as an intrinsic motivator for volunteering was not found at all during the research process in either place. During the one-on-one interviews, focus groups and observation process, choice was not mentioned, not even once, as a reason for volunteering.

However, there could be few possible explanations for this. First, it seems that people in these two small communities are more oriented to the community rather to themselves. The highest scores of previously mentioned intrinsic motivators like altruism and culture shows the willingness of the members of community to think of the wellbeing of the community. On the other hand, the low level of intrinsic motivators such as choice shows the intention of the members of community not to think on the wellbeing of themselves.

Choice is more of an individualist value. It seems that people in these two small communities are more likely to think collectivist rather than individualist. These findings are on the same path with some authors who are arguing that "industrialized, wealthy, and urbanized societies tend to become increasingly individualistic, whereas traditional, poorer, and rural societies tend to remain collectivist." (Hofstede, G., 1991. p. 51 cited in Allik, J., Realo, A., 2014; p. 32).

Second, the value of choice as an intrinsic motivator should be considered in relation to the culture where that behavior is happening. Having freedom of choice is probably one of the most important values in some western cultures. As some authors are stating "Americans cherish choice" and the freedom is the right to choose as stated in the Declaration of Independence (Iyengar and Lepper, 1999). Many findings about choice as an intrinsic motivator state that the possibility of choice will lead to the sense of autonomy, control or empowerment and these findings are related mostly to the western cultures where individual choice is related with self-identity (Iyengar and Lepper, 1999).

However, some findings are showing that choice as an intrinsic motivation may not be universally applicable (Iyengar and Lepper, 1999). Some authors are arguing that "members of more interdependent cultures (i.e., most non-Western, and particularly East Asian, cultures) strive for interconnectedness and belongingness with their social in-groups, seeking to maintain harmony and endeavoring to fulfill the wishes of those groups" (DeVos,

1985; Hsu, 1985; Miller, 1988; Shweder & Bourne, 1984; Triandis, 1990, 1995; Markus and Kitayama (1991a, 1991b); Iyengar and Lepper, 1999., p. 350)".

Individuals in these cultures might not consider choice as something which has an important value for them. The one explanation why choice is ranked lowest compared with other intrinsic motivators in this research could be that the communities in these small areas are more collectivist than individualist oriented.

The small levels of choice as an intrinsic motivator and the present collectivism is something that is characteristic for rural areas. However, what distinguishes these small remote areas from other similar ones is the different annual dynamics during the year, where collectivism and individualism are shifting from one to other at two completely opposite extremes. It has a strong impact on many aspects of life and by that on the aspect of volunteering behavior.

5. Competence. Another intrinsic motivator which evidence was found at very low level in both researched places was "competence". This factor was almost as low in importance for volunteering as choice. Competence was recorded only a few times during the research process. Some participants said that they have a certain talent and they are willing to give that talent voluntarily to their community for free. By that, they pointed out, they also develop their skills. Others said that they "*can learn something by providing their talents for free and that they are improving themselves by that*". There were just a few examples like this during the research process and it seems that this intrinsic motive for volunteering is represented at a negligible level.

The human need to be competent is one of the main factors of Self-Determination Theory and is considered an innate human need (Ryan and Deci, 2000). Yet it did not have significant importance as an intrinsic reason for volunteering in both researched places. The fact that people will be more intrinsically motivated in their volunteer experience if they see themselves developing certain skills (Thomas, 2009) does not have support within both researched places in this dissertation.

The reason for this could be the same as for the low level of choice as an intrinsic motivator. Competence is more of an individualist value. Volunteering activity which is motivated by the benefits for itself like choice and competence does not represent important factor within both communities. It seems that in this case, too, there is a willingness of people in these areas to think of others rather than themselves.

6. Social connections. Social connections, another factor from Self-Determination Theory, was found at medium level of evidences during the research process in both places.

The idea is that people will be more intrinsically motivated to volunteer if that activity results with more connections with others (Putnam, 2000; Thomas, 2009). One might assume that developing personal relationships with other people could have a big importance in these areas, keeping in mind the loneliness and isolation with which they are facing, especially during the winter period.

The research participants stated that they feel safe and covered in these communities and that the volunteerism has a positive impact on the community. They said that they know that can rely on others if they will need some help. Some of them also said that "*meeting with people and spending time together after volunteering activities motivates them to volunteer*". Others examples of informal helping behavior was when participants were just checking their neighbors to see if everything was fine or if they needed something. These and other similar examples show the importance of social connections for volunteering in this area. In fact, the results given during this research process confirm the above statement that people will be more intrinsically motivated to volunteer if their activity results with more connections.

However, keeping in mind the remoteness and isolation to which these two small areas are exposed during the winter period, it could be expected that the evidence of social connections would be even more expressed. The coding process which has been used for the purpose of this dissertation provide some possible explanation for this. The words, phrases and sentences which were related to the term "social" on the group level were coded as "social capital" while the ones related to the individual level were coded as "social connection". This led to a high level of evidence of social capital.

If social capital and social connections were considered together, they explain a major reason why people in these places are involved in helping behavior. What is interesting is that by splitting these into two factors, we can see that the participants were even more concerned about building social capital for the entire community (which is more of a collectivist value) than their own personal benefits of building social connections for themselves (more of an individualist value).

7. Progress. Another intrinsic factor that was considered in this dissertation was "progress". It supposes that the person will be more intrinsically motivated if the person sees that the volunteer activity will result with some progress. In other word, seeing steps being made in the right direction will result of thrill of finishing the tasks and will provide motivation for taking on the next steps in the process (Thomas, 2009). The evidence of this intrinsic motivator was found at the medium level within both researched places.

During the research process, participants stated that "*by helping others, they are helping the community make things happen there and to improve the quality of life*". Others said that "*the lack of services pushed people to provide these services by themselves on a voluntary basis*". As Brennan (2007) stated, people in these small rural areas are "aware that they need to do more with less". Just because of that, it was no surprise that focus group participants in Vis said that "*people need to do something to fulfill those missing services, so they are engaging in different kind of volunteering activities*."

It seems that people in both places are aware that they need to do something in order to make some progress for their places. Some said they "*want to leave something after them in this nice, beautiful world*". They are more willing to volunteer because they want to provide better living conditions for the next generations who are coming after them.

RQ 2: What are the social benefits of volunteering in the winter in these remote Adriatic areas?

The second research question within this research explored the social benefits that are shared at the community level because of volunteering in these small remote communities.

1. Social Capital. This dissertation considered not just the personal motivators that provide psychological benefits to individuals who volunteer, but the community benefits of volunteering activities as well. The personal motivation to volunteer, and the community benefits of volunteering, are intertwined and it is necessary to observe them together in order to get a clearer picture of volunteering. The social benefit from volunteering which appeared in the highest levels in these two places was "social capital".

Social capital is the net assets of the social relationships in a group or community. It has been described as "a form of credit that allows him or to her to claim certain elements of those resources when they are needed" (Flora and Flora, 2008; p. 119). It could be said that social capital is crucial for the "health" of the community.

It is clear that social capital was the dominant factor that was expressed by participants in this dissertation – in both research locations and across all three research methods: focus groups, one-on-one interviews and the observation process.

During the research process, participants spoke about how important it is for them to "*have people around on which they count on*". They said that "*they rely on each other*" and that gives them "*a sense of safeness*". They feel secure. Some participants said that

volunteering provides a chance for them "*to be with others and to meet with others socially*" while others said that by volunteering, they can "*make better connections with the community*".

Many participants highlighted that people there are aware that they can only solve community problems if they come together. They are aware that they can survive only if they are oriented to each other. This is very pronounced during the winter period when the people realize that they are left by themselves till the next summer season. They are more willing to do different kind of volunteer activities which helps them to raise their social capital.

The high levels of formal and especially informal volunteerism were very present during the research process. As some authors have stated, the social capital is formed through networks of trust and common values that people have with one another (Putnam, 2000, 2001; Lee and Brudney, 2012). The volunteering activities, formal and informal ones, helps maintain these networks in both researched places.

It is important to note that people in these communities explained that they have more time for each other in the winter than in the summer. They said that they are more oriented to each other and they feel closer to each other more during the winter than during the summer. Because of that, they are more willing to volunteer during the winter. As a consequence, they are raising the social capital strongly during the winter period compared to summer period. It could be said that during the winter period they are recovering and building their eroded social capital again.

It has been documented that the social capital tends to be higher in rural areas. Therefore, the results of this research provide more evidence to something already known. However, what is rather unique about the findings of this dissertation is that the social capital varies based on the season of the year. That seasonal change affects the levels of volunteering activities and social capital. In the part of the year when the people feel left to themselves, they are more willing to volunteer, and they raise the social capital within the community.

During the research process, especially during the focus groups, one thing that was observed is that before and after the focus groups, people were talking vigorously with each other. Most of them stayed a half an hour after the focus groups to chat with others. This shows that the bonds within community are strong, that people consider others as friends, or as one member of focus groups noted, "*we are like a member of family here*". These connections among them are strong. While the research methods for the purpose of this

research were done during the winter period it would be quite interesting to see how the people would behave in the summer when everything is more hurried and busier and when people do not have so much time for each other.

As one research participant stated, "*It is good that you choose to make research during the winter because now we have more time. It would be very difficult to gather all of these people in the summer period because everybody is busy and do not have time*".

One more finding, which was observed in all six focus groups, was the lively interaction among the people. People were often talking at the same time, they were interrupting each other, not in a rude fashion but to finish each other's sentences in ways that were acceptable to the one speaking. They supplemented each other's thoughts and sentences. There was lots of laughing. Facial expressions indicated people were enjoying the conversations. The whole atmosphere was very friendly among the participants. It could be said that the atmosphere was like a "family atmosphere". This shows the closeness among the members of community. And it shows that the social capital in these communities is high.

2. Cultural amenities. Given the insufficient financial and other resources in these communities, it might be expected that these Adriatic areas might face a lack of cultural amenities such as libraries, the arts, music and entertainment (Medić, Medić and Ebener, 2017). Yet, these areas are somewhat relying on volunteering to meet these cultural needs. The level of evidences for cultural amenities as a benefit from volunteering activities was quite different among two researched places.

In Vis, the level of evidences for cultural amenities as a benefit from volunteering activities were at the medium level. The research process revealed many examples of cultural events which were the result of different kind of volunteer activities. So, for instance the complete work of an amateur theatre in Vis is based on volunteer work of its members. They are providing their time and talents for free in order to provide some cultural content for their fellow citizens in the winter months. There is no professional theatre in Vis so if there would be no the volunteer efforts of the members of amateur theatre this cultural content would be no available in this area.

Another example is a dance school in Vis which operates completely on voluntary efforts. Like the theatre mentioned above, this cultural activity is offered only during the winter. As the leader of the dance school noted, "*We are providing this cultural content during the winter when there is almost none of the cultural events and happenings in the city*". At first glance, it could be said that the cultural life in this area during the winter period

completely died out. Looking more carefully, there can be found many cultural activities, all provided by volunteers.

On the other hand, in Janjina, not one cultural amenity was recorded nor one single example of cultural amenities as a result of volunteering activities. At first sight, this result is surprising, but there could be some possible explanation. Janjina is very remote during the winter period. This small place is located in the middle of a peninsula and is very deserted during the winter period. The small size of the community and the lack of financial resources could explain why there are no cultural amenities in this area. It seems that the lack of cultural amenities could also be related with priorities. The lack of many goods and services during the winter period make people in this area motivated to satisfy those basic needs. Satisfying these needs ensures the existence of basic life in this area. After these needs are satisfied, the people can orient themselves to others. It seems that the cultural amenities as a result of volunteering activities are not among the priorities in this community.

RQ 3: *What are the economic benefits of volunteering in the winter in these remote Adriatic locations*?

The third research question within this research was about economic benefits from volunteering that are shared at the community level in these Adriatic areas. Food, housing and health care were the first set of data coded as economic benefits. The other economic benefits of education and jobs were coded as a second category. Because these factors were mentioned so rarely, we will discussion them all together.

Food, housing, health care, education and jobs. Small rural areas sometimes face a lack of services to meet their basic needs. Because there were no significant results between either set of benefits, we will discuss them all together.

Although there was no difference between the two sets of economic benefits, there were differences between the two researched areas. The evidence for economic benefits, as expressed by the participants in this research, was very low in Vis, while the evidence in Janjina was at the medium level.

Although Vis is considered as a remote inhabited island in Croatia, it seems that it is somewhat better equipped than Janjina with various goods and services. It seems that the lack of services was not as pronounced in Vis, not even during the winter when the remoteness and isolation are more prevalent. That could be a reason why the research participants mentioned the economic benefits from volunteering just a few times in Vis,

while more often in Janjina. Perhaps in Vis, they did not consider these economic benefits as so necessary.

One research participant in Vis said that the help that she received from her friends when she was moved to another house was extremely important for her because there is no migratory service on the island. If her friends did not help her, she did not know how else she would be able to do that. Another research participant in Vis said that she started voluntarily collecting old newspapers, and other papers, for recycling, in order to do something good for community. Another participant in Vis said she received help when her mother was seriously ill and needed to go to the hospital at the mainland. That provided direct economic benefits to her because she did not need to pay for that help. Although just a few direct examples of economic benefits were shared during the research process, it does not mean that they do not exist.

One possible explanation of why the economic benefits scored so low in Vis is that people were reluctant to share stories of how people helped them with meeting their basic needs. Another possible explanation is that they provide this support often times but just are not even aware of it. In the same way that they are unaware that they are volunteering, perhaps they are unaware that they are receiving help from informal volunteering.

The examples of economic benefits from volunteering provide some support for the argument that these remote communities are receiving economic benefits from volunteering. They are also improving the community bonds and building the trust among the people within community which makes business more possible and successful. Stronger bonds and increased trust between the people in the community positively contribute to the general economic environment and can have a positive impact on the economy in Vis. When there is more trust among the people, they are more willing to do business together, and possibly to collaborate on economic initiatives. They are more willing to do things together.

As one leader in Vis said, "*We do not need a contract when we are doing the business among ourselves. When we shake hands to each other we consider that the business is agreed. It is like an informal contract here*". The volunteerism that is happening there helps to build and tighten relationships that are necessary for a healthy business climate.

Janjina is quite different when it comes to the economic benefits from volunteering. The level of evidence for benefits such are food, jobs and health care were found at a higher level. Many participants mentioned examples of economic benefits related to food, jobs and health care in Janjina. One research participant said she received informal help in her vineyard when she was in hospital. Others said that when her family was in trouble, the other

members of the community organized among themselves and helped her to finish the seasonal work in the field.

Other participants in Janjina said they were helping the old people by bringing them food and medical supplies. That is especially pronounced during the winter period when there are not so many people around and when the old people who mostly live in this area are left to themselves. Participants also mentioned many other examples of direct economic benefits from their formal and mostly informal activities. They are helping each other pull out their boats from the Adriatic at the beginning of winter. They help each other with food, such as through the church, when there is a funeral in the community. Most examples of economic benefits were informal volunteering efforts.

Janjina participants also said that they established a formal voluntary organization whose goal is to help prevent cancer, especially among the older people in the community. The impact from this formal voluntary organization has direct impact on the economic benefits related to health care. This helping behavior becomes even more important when recognizing the lack of health care in the area. Like with Vis, there are indirect economic benefits through increased trust and building stronger relationships among the people, which helps build a more positive environment for doing business in Janjina.

There is one more significant difference between Vis and Janjina when it comes to the social and economic benefits from volunteering. While in Vis, the cultural benefits from volunteering were more expressed, in Janjina these benefits were not found at all. On the other hand, the economic benefits from volunteering related to jobs, food and health care were found at medium level in Janjina while in Vis they were found on a very low level. The reason for this difference could be that, although Vis is a remote island in Croatia, the lack of goods and services is not so pronounced in Vis. The island is more well-equipped with many basic things which ensure modern living. Although some basic goods and services require a trip to the mainland, to the city of Split, the goods and services are more available in Vis than in Janjina.

Janjina is the smaller community, and even though it is not located on an island, the goods and services are less available. It could be said that the feeling of isolation is more expressed at Vis, while the real lack of goods and services is something more expressed in Janjina. This might explain the difference between the results among cultural benefits and benefits connected to jobs, food and health care in these two Adriatic communities. Some basic priorities like food, jobs and health care are better satisfied in Vis than in Janjina which allows people there to take care of other things such are cultural amenities. It is not that

cultural amenities do not exist in Janjina, but the people there are more oriented for satisfying the basic needs related to food and health care.

It is also important to mention that in Vis and in Janjina, there are no reports of people being homeless and hungry. What represents a true challenge for urban areas in these two small areas does not seem to exist in these two Adriatic communities. The urban and wealthier areas are faced with many people who are left alone without food and housing. The bonds within these Adriatic communities are much stronger, and perhaps for that reason, they are more able to protect the weakest members of society, such as the poor, hungry, ill, lonely, un-educated and homeless.

On the other hand, these small rural communities are lacking the economic resources to provide directly some of the basic needs of health care, housing, jobs and education. It is some kind of paradox that is happening. There are more people who are suffering in wealthier environments than is the case in these small poorer areas. However, the "wealth" does not need to be observed only through a financial lens. The "richness" of these smaller areas are the stronger bonds within the community. Volunteering is helping to build these bonds and so people can take care of their fellow citizens. This kind of helping behavior ensures many direct and indirect economic benefits for the people in both of these Adriatic communities.

Social capital as an economic benefit. Upon reflection on these findings, the investigators thought the participants seemed to be unaware of how volunteering could be adding an economic benefit to these communities by virtue of the social capital that is created. Trust is a fundamental element of doing business, and the trust that is developed by volunteering during the winter months could be beneficial to the economic interests of the community, especially when the tourist season begins.

Social capital might also be an essential ingredient for the entrepreneurial business opportunities that will be explored further in the Recommendations section of this dissertation.

Un-expected findings

1. Individualism and Collectivism. Culture emerged as a significant factor in this research. Specifically, the differences between individualism and collectivism, as driving factors for a culture, was a key factor in the results of this dissertation. Because of that, this section was added in order to provide more information about these two cultural dimensions.

For many years' sociologists have been dealing with the individual and his role and relationship within society. One of the most famous, sociologist Emile Durkheim, asked, "How does it come about that the individual, whilst becoming more autonomous, depends ever more closely upon society? How can he become at the same time more of an individual and yet more linked to society?" (Durkheim, 1984, p. XIII.)

One of the most commonly used dimensions to differentiate among cultures are the terms individualism and collectivism. According to some authors, "Individualism/collectivism is considered a core dimension of cultural variability" (Cialdini et al, 1999., p. 1243; Han and Shavitt, 1994; Hofstede, 1980; Kim et al., 1994; Smith and Bond, 1994), and "a catchall default explanation for cultural differences in human behavior" (Kagitcibasi, 1994, cited in Voronov and Singer, 2002, p. 462)".

Simply stated, the main difference between these two terms is how people define themselves, as "I" (individualism) or as "we" (collectivism), and are they oriented to benefits to themselves or to the benefits of their community? Individualism suggest that an individual is expected to take care of him or herself without obligation to the larger community. On the other side, collectivism puts the welfare of the community above the well-being of the individual.

Cultures which focus on individualism celebrate the accomplishment of a person rather than a group. In cultures where collectivism is dominant, the success of a group is more important than the success of a person. Western countries like US, UK, Canada and Australia are considered individualistic countries while the countries like Japan, China, and other African, Asian and South American countries are considered mostly collectivist (Hofstede). In these countries, collectivism is dominant across the culture and relations are considered to be family like. The community offers protection in exchange for loyalty.

Also, it could be said that the main difference between individualist and collectivist cultures is stated in terms of "responsibility" and "success". In individualistic cultures, people are responsible for themselves while in collective cultures the well-being of the group is given priority over the individual that belong to them. In individualistic cultures, the individual's success is more important, people take care of themselves and they express their individual identity. On the other side, collectivistic cultures celebrate the group success, they are taking care of each other's and restrain self to fit into the group.

Globalization is exposing the two Adriatic areas in this research to the new challenges of tourism, and with it, a more individualistic and competitive way of life. The change in culture and the way of life in these areas is especially visible during the summer when these

areas are exposed to the large number of tourists (or "invaders" as tourists were named by one research participant) who are coming into these areas. The number of people living in these communities during the summer is almost tripled compared to the winter months. This has many impacts and consequences for life in both places. It has an impact on helping behavior also.

One of the consequences of the influence of globalism caused by the large number of tourists coming to these small remote places is the rise of individualism. It is something that is already happening around the world, due to the influence of the English language, the internet, multi-national corporations, and other factors.

What makes this particularly interesting for this research is that the impact of globalism, which seems to be resulting in a markedly increased rise in individualism, is particularly pronounced during the tourist part of the year. During the rest of the year, these communities seem to return to the more collectivist life that they have lived before. The clash of these two opposite poles of culture is very expressed in these two areas of Croatia, creating an annual cycle between individualism and collectivism.

According to some authors, "collectivists tend to be more cooperative, whereas individualists are more competitive" (Mead, 1976; Triandis, 1990., cited in Chen, Chen and Meindl, 1998., p. 291). It seems that tourism, which dominate as industry in these Adriatic areas in the summer, is bringing more competition into these communities, which makes them less collectivist and more individualistic. Also, it seems that tourism tends to be an industry which is more competitive, as compared to agriculture and fishing, which are more cooperative oriented and which were more central to the way of life in the past in these areas.

With tourist influence, people tend to compete with their neighbors for business from the tourists, rather than to cooperate with their neighbors as farmers and fishermen. The bonds among the community are becoming weaker. There is less willingness for helping. As one research participants noted, "*We are getting infected from the outside*". Not everyone sees it as something bad because they are earning money. Most people seem unaware of the consequences this is having on their way of life.

Durkheim has been worried and claimed that modernity might herald the disintegration of society. As people engage in more economic activity with neighbors or distant traders, they begin to loosen the traditional bonds of family, religion, and moral solidarity that had previously ensured social integration.

When the tourist season is over, and the tourists and touristic workers leave these areas, life there becomes more like it was in the past times. It is calmer, quieter and somewhat

deserted. People start to feel more isolated and lonelier. They feel that they are forgotten till the next summer season. They are "again" becoming aware that they can survive only if they take care on each other. Like it was in past.

In the winter, they become closer and more connected. They are more willing to help and they strengthen the bonds among the community again. They increase trust among themselves through the different kind of voluntary activities. Those actions help improve their social capital. Also, they are more willing to provide services to the fellow citizens who are in need. They repair some of the damage which was caused by the tourist season. They enter into a "healing" phase from the community "infection" caused by "invaders" who arrive during the summer. They are becoming a more collectivistic community again. This becomes an annual cycle.

The moving from the pole of individualism and collectivism through the year does not need to have necessarily a bad consequence for these small communities. Some authors argue that "individualism is a precondition for the growth of social capital-voluntary cooperation and partnership between individuals are only possible when people have autonomy, self-control, and a mature sense of responsibility" (Allik and Realo, 2014; p. 7). Others are claiming that with more individualism, as there is an increase in tolerance (Hofstede, 2001., cited in Allik and Realo, 2014; p. 8.). On the other hand, others claim that individualism is eroding the trust in these communities, and that the growth of social capital demands the sacrifice of individualism (Allik and Realo, 2014; p. 7).

However, this different annual dynamic represents true challenges to life in these communities. On the one hand, the forces of globalization brought largely by tourism means an increase in money, which in itself can ensure a better life in economic ways. On the other hand, the quality of their old way of life is diminishing. They are losing the culture, with its emphasis on helping each other, which has maintained life there for centuries. They are split between individualism which emerges as a result of the strong impact of globalization and tourism development during the summer months, and collectivism which is very pronounced during the winter when the people are realizing that they cannot function without other.

Some residents are aware of this different life dynamic that is occurring and they expressed concern about changing the collectivist way of life that has sustained these communities for centuries. The tension between these two tendencies which are occurring as a consequence of different annual life dynamics does not need to be eliminated rather to be reconciled.

It seems that these two extreme poles of individualism and collectivism to which these small Adriatic communities are exposed during the year have a great impact on many aspects of life in them and thus on the aspect of helping. However, this research was not prepared to deeply analyze the individualistic and collectivist culture in these areas but will consider them as an important factor which will help to better understanding of helping behavior.

2. Individualism, Collectivism and the Annual Cycle of Life. While the focus of this dissertation was primarily oriented to explore the intrinsic/ psychological motives as well as the social and economic benefits for volunteering in these two small remote Adriatic areas, the results provided some other interesting findings.

Individualism and collectivism are two opposite poles of cultural reality. In these two communities, it was interesting to note how the culture changed from more collectivist in the winter months and more individualist during the summer, when the tourist industry was thriving. Some authors define individualist cultures as places where the ties between individuals are loose, while collectivist cultures "stand for a society in which people from birth onwards are integrated into strong, cohesive in-groups, which throughout people's lifetime continue to protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty" (Hofstede, 2001., p. 225 cited in Venaik, 2011., p. 438).

It is interesting to see how both of these two core dimensions of cultural variability coexist in these small areas on an annual basis. Also, it is interesting to see the shift that is happening when community behavior goes from one side to another. The results in this dissertation show higher evidences of those motivators which could be related to the collectivism way of thinking.

Participants noted that in the winter, people are more willing to take care of others than tend only to themselves. By their volunteer activities, it seems that they are more willing to think about others than to themselves. The intrinsic motives for volunteering such are culture, altruism and meaning, which were very present in this dissertation, show collectivist intentions of people to put the benefits of their community above the wellbeing of themselves.

On the other hand, the very low level of intrinsic motives such are choice and competence just confirm that the individualistic motivations for volunteering are not as strong in these Adriatic communities. Choice and competence are oriented to the benefits of themselves as an individual, not to the collective interests of the community. However, what is particularly important to mention is that it seems that this collectivistic way of thinking is

dominant across only one part of the year, when the people in these areas are feeling that they are left to themselves. In the winter, they are more willing to take care of each other. During that period, they are aware that they can survive only if they are oriented to each other. They are more thinking about other rather to themselves and are more willing to help. It is not just that they are more willing to help, they are more willing to volunteer as motivated by completely unselfish reasons.

There are some findings which argued that "traditional, poorer, and rural societies tend to remain collectivistic while industrialized, wealthy, and urbanized societies tend to become increasingly individualistic." (Hofstede, 1991., p. 51 cited in Allik and Realo, 2014., p. 32). The findings in this research are further evidence of this. They demonstrate the strong shift from one pole (individualism) to another one (collectivism) which is regularly happening every year in these areas.

This research was conducted in the winter, when the shift to collectivism was seen by the high level of evidences of intrinsic motives for volunteering oriented to community and the low level of intrinsic motives oriented to the individual.

3. Tourism, globalization and the challenge of maintaining the culture of helping. In today's globalized world, it is hard to imagine that some areas can still be remote and isolated. The better traffic connections allow the faster and easier connectivity around the world. The planes are flying to almost every destination in the world, better cars and roads are ensuring the less time for reaching many destinations, the trains are faster and the ships are better than anytime in the human history. Also, the development of the internet ensures that many products and services are available almost in every corner of the world. By better traffic connections and internet availability, globalization is affecting the whole world very rapidly. The small remote areas in this research are no exception.

Development of tourism in the middle of the 20th century had brought many challenges for these Adriatic areas. In the past, the industry which dominated in Vis and Janjina were agriculture and fisheries. People worked in the fields and went to fishing. The environment that surrounded them was the source of income which allowed them to survive. Farming and fishing, which dominated these Adriatic economies in the past, were more cooperative-oriented compared to the industry of tourism which is much more competitive.

Today, the annual life dynamics are such that during the summer almost all efforts are directed towards tourism. These two areas are crowded with tourists and this provides everyone, including the many seasonal workers who move there, with an opportunity to earn more money. Almost all economic activities are pointed to services like apartments,

transportation, restaurants, bars, shops, many different kinds of rentals and so on. Almost everyone is in some way oriented toward the tourism industry. There are just a few people that are living from agriculture and fisheries.

The globalization that is affecting these areas, especially through many tourists which are arriving during the summer, has many impacts on life in these Adriatic communities. One major change is the shift toward a more individualistic culture during the summer period. People become more oriented to themselves and everybody is taking care about themselves. During the summer, the culture in these areas is becoming more like the environment in urban areas. Everything is becoming faster, busier and more competitive.

As one research participant noted, "*Even if we live in such a small place, during the summer period, I usually see my best friend maybe one or two times*". Another said, "*We do not have time for each other during the summer*". If the day has the same amounts of hours during the winter as it has during the summer and the week has the same number of days during the winter as it has during the summer the right question could be "How you do not have time during the summer while you have it during the winter?" The possible explanation could be that priorities are different and that they are changing from winter to summer. It seems that, during the summer, earning money is the priority, while during the winter, priority is keeping the bonds and trust within the community.

Globalization is strongly affecting these areas through the development of tourism. Not everyone sees this as something bad for them. It is easy to see the advantages of more income generated through the summer that supports everyone for the rest of the year. Some said that they understand that this kind of change is necessary. They do not resent others for being more competitive. They do not seem worried about the change in culture and they see it as something that they need to adjust to. The summer is busy and money-oriented while the winter is time to be quiet and refresh the bonds within the community.

Others expressed real concern for the changes in the local culture. They are concerned how much longer they can sustain this annual cycle before the culture no longer returns to the collectivism of the winter. They say that the winter period is time for "healing" the wounds that are inflicted by "invaders", both the seasonal workers and the tourists which overwhelm the population in the summer. They are worried about the long-lasting impacts on these changes in behavior. They worry about the next generation and whether they can sustain the collectivism that has signified these Adriatic communities for centuries.

Many participants stated that the annual cycle is having a consequence. The culture is becoming more individualist and that hurts the cultural norms like caring and helping each

other, which is so necessary for survival in the winter. As stated earlier, these communities are not faced with similar challenges that many urban areas are facing like homeless and hungry. The one reason for that could be this collectivist culture that existed there for centuries. The community is taking care of its members by different ways, usually by formal and informal helping to those who are in need.

As these areas become more individualistic, by the influence of globalization and tourism, one could assume that these communities will face with the same challenges as urban areas in the long term, if this trend continues. Although all citizens in these areas do not necessarily see this different annual life dynamic as something bad for their communities, perhaps they simply are not be recognizing the negative impacts that others see.

However, the changes that are happening regularly every year do not need to be observed as completely negative problem for these communities. The problems that are occurring might be viewed as opportunities for these communities to reconcile the collectivist culture which has existed there for centuries. Perhaps there are ways of seeing tourism as an opportunity that does not need to bring so many cultural changes to these communities. Perhaps there are collectivist ways of taking advantage of the opportunities that tourism brings to these areas. More about this will be said in the Recommendation section.

4. Intrinsic motives for volunteering and the benefits of volunteering. Volunteering is a multidimensional phenomenon and in order to provide a better understanding, it would be valuable to consider it from different perspectives. Some authors argue that combining different approaches will result with multidimensional theory which provide better understanding of researched problem (DiMaggio, 1995; Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy, 2010). Observing the psychological impacts of volunteering on the individual level, and social and economic benefits from volunteering on the group level, provides a better understanding of the impacts and benefits of volunteering.

The high level of evidences of intrinsic motivators for volunteering are in direct relation with the high level of evidences of social and economic benefits from volunteering. Also, the low level of evidences of intrinsic motivators for volunteering are in direct relation with the low level of evidences of social and economic benefits from volunteering. The highest level of evidences for intrinsic motivators were found for motivators such are culture, meaning and altruism while the highest evidences for social and economic benefits were found for social capital.

The high level of evidences of intrinsic motives which shows the culture of helping and unselfish willingness of people there to help others increases the bonds and trust within the community. People there are increasing their social capital by different kinds of volunteering activities. This is especially true during the winter period, when the bonds within community are being restored from the damage done by the summer season. The collectivist spirit is prevailing again under the influence of loneliness and isolation. People are feeling lonely, left to themselves and starting to be oriented to each other again. They are more willing to do various informal and formal helping during that period. As they stated during research process, "*We have more time during the winter so we are more willing to help*".

It seems that is not about time, it is about priorities. While the priority during the summer is making money, the priority during the winter is keeping and raising the bonds within the community. The collectivist culture becomes more present again and people are more willing to help. They are start thinking more about others and they are more willing to help without thinking of themselves. The unselfish motive for helping is appearing during the winter period.

It is interesting to see the two completely opposite poles when it comes to the motivation for helping. While people in these communities do not have time for others during the summer, they are motivated to help others without thinking of themselves during the winter. When they are helping others, they feel like they are better humans, they feel safe and covered. The helping that they are doing makes them feel good, to feel happy and makes them to feel proud of themselves. These things are helping them to raise trust and the bonds within community.

If they see themselves as better persons from volunteering that has an impact on the community level. The community reflects the individuals from which it consists. If the community consists of people who are feeling good, fulfilled and happy, then it could be assumed that the community as a whole would be more like that. It would be a community where the bonds and trust within people are high. It would be community where the people are "*feeling the pulse*" of their fellow citizens. By that they are ensuring the social and economic benefits for the community as a whole.

In the winter, people are feeling more connected, they have more trust among each other's and they are more willing to help. They are solving some economic issues that are appearing in their community without even being conscious about it. By that they are avoiding the challenges that are happening in urban areas. Simply said, happier and fulfilled

individuals make the community feel the same way. If the community feels this way it is able to take care of the individuals in it. Motives for helping that make individuals feel more fulfilled make the whole community feel more connected and thus take care of their members.

This also creates a more positive business climate. Trust is necessary for collaboration. The more people help each other, the more they build social capital, which includes more trust, commitment and cohesion with each other. That makes it more likely that business can thrive in the summer, and it does not necessarily need to be as competitive in the summer as the participants in this research described it. Perhaps there are ways to keep the spirit of collectivism alive during the summer and develop more business at the same time. Perhaps there are some collectivist business models for them to explore.

5. CONTRIBUTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The expected contribution

The expected contribution of this dissertation is an increase in understanding of the intrinsic motivation for volunteering in small remote communities and the social and economic benefits of formal and informal volunteerism in small remote communities.

In addition to the scientific contributions of this dissertation, this section will explore the practical advantages of helping behaviors, and how they can improve the social and economic living conditions in these small remote communities.

This section will also provide insights into new, entrepreneurial ways of doing business to achieve economic growth through cooperative tourist strategies, while preserving the culture of helping.

Findings from this dissertation could be important to these different groups:

(1) It could improve life in the communities like Vis and Pelješac, where volunteerism would be useful to help with the main challenges that these two remote areas are facing during the winter period, which are depopulation and isolation. It could increase the population and decrease the loneliness and isolation during the winter time.

(2) It could be important for various companies, individuals and other business entities operating in this field, especially those who participate in the tourist market and see themselves independently as competitors. Although they appear to be unaware, it is possible for them to operate their businesses in collective ways that could increase value for everyone. This might also advance the overall economy of these areas. It could provide more opportunities for entrepreneurship and bring more opportunities for the economy.

(3) It might be of concern to people who live in distant areas, such as the Croatian islands and the Pelješac peninsula, who are left to themselves during the winter time. They rely on each other and provide many services to each other which otherwise would not exist. These acts of helping, formal and informal, help these people to survive the winter, while also building social capital that aids them in the summer. Understanding that helping behavior and its benefits could lead to an increase in volunteering and ensuring better living conditions to those who live in these distanced areas.

(4) The findings of this dissertation could be important to the leaders of organizations that rely on volunteers and are looking for motivators to recruit them. It can provide them

better understanding of the intrinsic motives for volunteering in these small remote areas and by that help them to be more efficient when recruiting the volunteers for their activities.

(5) Policy-makers and public officials in these small Adriatic areas are usually aware of challenges that they are facing, but sometimes they lack the financial resources to meet all the social and economic needs of their constituents. These results show the benefits of volunteering and how it could help public officials to meet the social and economic needs of their constituents, and to stimulate the tourist economies of these areas.

(6) The findings from this dissertation could be useful to those who are seeking volunteer experiences. The results from this dissertation could demonstrate a better picture of life and volunteering in these Adriatic areas. It could encourage more people to give their time and energy to volunteer in times and places where volunteering is the most needed.

The un-expected findings

This dissertation resulted in many interesting findings related to intrinsic motivators for volunteering as well as the social and economic benefits from volunteering. However, it also discovered even more interesting findings that were unexpected and deserve more attention.

Two categories for the intrinsic motivators. First, the influence of globalization and the annual shift from collectivistic to individualistic behaviors has significant impacts on life in these two researched areas. Consequently, they have an impact on the culture of helping. The intrinsic motivators for volunteering that are more collectivist, such as culture, altruism and meaning, were more dominant. The intrinsic motivators which are more individualistic oriented, like choice and competence, were very low. It was not anticipated before the study began that the intrinsic motivators would fall into two such categories.

It is interesting to note that research shows that rural areas tend to be more collectivist while the urban ones tend to be more individualist (Allik and Realo, 2014; Hofstede, 1991). However, what makes the findings in this dissertation very specific is the cultural shift that happens between collectivism and individualism during the year, a finding that was not discovered in the literature review.

Table 11.: Individualist and collectivistic motivators for volunteering

Collectivistic motivators	Individualistic motivators
Culture	*Choice*
Altruism	*Competence*
Meaning	
Progress	
Social Connections	

Source: table created by the author

Tourism as an impediment to helping. Second, the growth and development of tourism in these areas has made a significant impact on life in these two areas. The agriculture and fisheries that were the industries dominated in the past tended to be more cooperative, while tourism seems to be more competitive.

If we keep in mind that helping is a collectivist activity, and that the tourism brings out competitive activities, it is possible that tourism is a direct cause of the decrease in helping during the summer. It would be interesting to study more in-depth the relationship between tourism and helping, and to explore more ways to make the tourist industry less competitive and more consistent with the collectivist culture.

Additional interviews. In order to provide more insights about these unexpected findings, the primary researcher made additional short one-on-one interviews with a few people within both researched areas. Also, the primary and secondary researchers also conducted an interview with prof. Randy Richards from St. Ambrose University, who is overseeing research on the use of cooperatives and clusters in Croatia. The insights expressed below were inspired in part from these interviews.

The challenge of globalization and tourism for the culture of helping

Globalization is exposing these two Adriatic areas to the new challenges of tourism. Globalization brings more competitiveness and is slowly eroding the collectivistic culture

which has existed there for centuries. The marketing that these communities are doing to attract tourists seems to be productive to the local economy but counterproductive to the collectivistic culture.

People are competing more than they are cooperating. They are becoming less willing to help each other. That is happening not just because they do not want to help but because they do not have enough time for helping. At least, that is how they explain it. Perhaps it is more than just availability of time, but a change of priority. During the winter, the priority is community and social bonds. During the summer, the priority is individual and money.

The participants in this research who were interviewed a second time do not necessarily see this as something bad. They get used to it and it is a way of life for them. Yet that shift in what is happening every year can have a devastating impact on the activity of helping and the overall collectivist culture that has survived for centuries.

Perhaps it does not have to be one way or the other. Perhaps tourist development can go together more with the collectivistic culture. This section of the dissertation will explore ways that these two seemingly irreconcilable differences might go together to ensure the rise and development of each other. But first, a look at history.

Lessons from the past as a warning for the future

In the past, the economies of these two small Adriatic areas were based mostly on agriculture and fisheries. Agriculture in these areas was mostly oriented to wine-producing. The strong demand for wine across Europe motivated people in these areas to start intensively producing wine and it led to some kind of economic flourish of these areas. For about a century, the economies of these areas were completely dependent on wine-producing – as could be said for tourism today.

The threat that appeared in the form of wine disease had a devastating impact on life in both researched areas. People were left without their income and these areas were strongly hit with poverty. People were even on the brink of starvation. That situation led to the strong depopulation from which these areas have not yet completely recovered. The situation today is similar only that instead of wine-producing the dominant industry is tourism. People in these areas saw an opportunity to earn the money and again after one hundred years oriented their industry to just one sector.

Although tourism is bringing a lot of money and enabling the economic flourish of these areas, just like wine-making was a hundred years ago, the threat of not diversification

of the economy is very present. The eventual change in touristic demand could have a devastating impact on these areas similar to what it was a hundred years ago.

The current situation with the corona pandemic is just a small warning of how the situation could be fragile when the economy is based on just one sector. This additionally points to the need to diversify the economy in these areas and open new ways for cooperation among the businesses in these areas.

Reconciling tourism development with the collectivistic culture

People in these two small Adriatic places have unknowingly opted for one of the options during a certain time of the year. During the summer period, they opted for the development of tourism that brings them money, while during the winter period, they opted for the construction and preservation of the collectivist culture that has existed there for centuries. This different annual dynamic was not decided at a conscious level but people in these areas have adapted to the circumstances to get the best out of them. Maybe this way of functioning will continue like this or maybe one of the two different poles will prevail.

It seems that this annual dynamic could have a strong impact on the culture of these areas in the long run. However, it is possible to reconcile these two different approaches so that the community can benefit from it in the best possible way. Many research participants stated that it not possible to reconcile tourism and collectivistic culture. Some of them even stated that *"there is no collectivism when there is euro in the matter",* and "*it is impossible to reconcile tourism with the collectivistic culture".*

Although at first sight this looks like an impossible mission there are some possible solutions to how these communities can be more collectivist during the summer while at the same time use – or perhaps enhance – the opportunity of tourism development.

How tourism works today? Tourism is the dominant industry in both researched areas and it occurs during the summer. Almost all businesses are oriented to tourism. Some are renting apartments, some have restaurants and bars, some are selling the products to tourists… Even the city budget of these small areas is dependent on income from tourism. The money that they are getting from tourism is sometimes their only income.

It could be said that these communities are too reliant on the tourism sector. Precisely because they are highly dependent on it, they are unable to think of anything else during the summer, including caring for others. Another challenge is that the tourist season lasts only one short part of the year. In both researched areas, the tourist season lasts from mid-June to

mid-September. In those three months, most people in both areas try to make as much money as possible. Given the short time that a large number of people are concentrated on, it is not at all unusual that there is markedly growing competition among people in the community. Too many people are oriented to income from the same industry in too short of time. This inevitably leads to everyone taking care of themselves and trying to seize the given opportunity.

Competition versus cooperation in the summer. Research participants said their primary focus in the summer is on themselves in order to get the money that will enable them to survive the rest of the year. People are scared that they will not earn enough money during the tourist season and because of that they are seeing others as competitors. As one research participant said, *"We are seeing each other as a threat to ourselves"*. It is not rare that people will try *"to hijack"* tourists from their neighbors offering them some better conditions like lower prices or something else. This kind of behavior leads to a growing mistrust among people in the community. It is just the opposite of what happens in the winter when the helping behavior raises the bonds of trust.

According to some research participants, there are some small examples showing that it is possible to act collectively when it comes to tourism. For example, some stated that their neighbors referred their guests to them which they could not accommodate. Others stated that various volunteering activities are organized during the summer, which is aimed at improving the tourist offer.

For example, in Janjina, fishing evenings are organized every summer in which the local population is involved and whose goal is to improve the tourist offer of the place. Also, the anti-cancer league organizes charitable nights when they are selling cakes and other souvenirs. The income is intended to improve the health care of the elderly population in the place. Amateur theater in Vis during the summer holds performances for the inhabitants of the island and its guests. These examples are small signs that things can be done and that is possible to reconcile tourism with collectivistic culture. But is that enough and what can be done more?

Promoting tourism collectively

The main organizations which are responsible for the development of tourism in both researched places are the offices of Croatian Tourist Boards. Their main purpose is the promotion and development of tourism. According to research participants, it seems that

these two organizations are lacking initiative. Research participants stated that there is a lack of initiative, projects and planning. The volunteering activities which could lead to reconciling tourism with the collectivistic culture could be initiated by these two organizations but the research participants are skeptical that will happen.

Another institution that could encourage these actions which could make people more willing to cooperate is the Catholic church, which is deeply rooted in both places. The church could do a lot as a mediator in these actions because people are very oriented to the church and trust it a lot. An initiative that could come from the church could be well adapted by the citizens in both areas. It could be said that maybe key persons for implementing some projects which could potentially reconcile collectivistic culture with tourism are the main persons in the Tourist Board and the Catholic church in both areas.

Research participants also pointed to the employees of primary and secondary schools. They are the ones who have a great impact on the children living in these areas and by developing their awareness of the common goals, a lot could be achieved in reconciling the economic development and collectivist culture of these areas. By developing an awareness of the importance of their culture among new generations, tourist development could be achieved that will be more in line with the tradition and culture of helping that has sustained life in these areas for centuries.

Entrepreneurial tourist businesses

In small areas like Vis and Janjina, people who are participating in the tourism sector individually are satisfying just one narrow need. In fact, there are ways to build their capacity and knowledge to be even more competitive at a more global level. This is some kind of paradox. If they were more willing to cooperate and form some kind of collective associations with others, they might actually become even more successful than when they all fend for themselves competitively.

Competing among themselves, they are making less money than they might be able to do if they were cooperating. Research participants pointed out that they think that if everyone involved in tourism connected in a way that contributes to the common goals, that collectivist spirit would probably live on in the summer as well. Two possible ways to create collectivist associations that might increase tourist business for everyone are clusters and cooperatives.

Entrepreneurial clusters. Porter (1988) describes clusters as "geographic concentrations of interconnected companies and institutions in a particular field (p. 78)". The clusters operate in the way that companies or other business entities work together and deliver something that they could not deliver if working individually. Participant businesses typically have different aspects of the same industry and by cooperation they deliver a higher value.

There are many examples of clusters in Croatia. Some of them are successful while other are barely breathing. For instance, there is a Health Tourism Cluster of the Split-Dalmatia County whose goal is to unite the health services and tourism sector and to bring together health, medical and tourism sectors, all in order to create a recognizable health-tourism product.[36] Another interesting example is the Lika Destination cluster which purpose is branding of the Lika Destination as a destination of protected areas and a gastro-destination.[37] There are many others interesting cluster examples like the Tourist Cluster of Sutla[38] and Žumberak and Kvarner Health cluster.[39] Establishing clusters does not mean that there will not be competition. Porter (1998) argued that clusters promote both competition and cooperation and that without some competition, clusters will fail. He also argued that "competition can coexist with cooperation because they occur on different dimensions and among different players" (p. 79).

It could be recommended that the old industries that were previously dominant in these areas, such as agriculture and fisheries, could be revitalized as entrepreneurial clusters in order to improve the tourist offer. The food and fish that are grown by the local farmers and fishermen could be supplied to the local restaurants. This could lead to the diversification of the economy and make people less dependent on tourism sector. This would also connect the rich cultural heritage of these areas with tourism sector.

In fact, these two areas are so rich in culture, history, natural resources and beauty that the synergy of all mentioned could make the difference in the current competitive tourist market. The participants noted that there are some individual cases where something like this is happening but that more needs to be done, and more systematically, so everyone is included and everyone can share in the benefits of these entrepreneurial strategies.

[36]Dalmatia Health, http://www.dalmatia-health.com/about-us/?lang=en , accessed at December, 2nd, 2020.
[37] Lika Destination, https://www.lika-destination.hr/about-us/ , accessed at December, 2nd, 2020.
[38] Sutla Žumberak, http://www.sutla-zumberak.hr/en/ , accessed at December, 2nd, 2020.
[39] Kvarner Health, http://www.kvarnerhealth.com/about-us , accessed at December, 2nd, 2020.

Entrepreneurial cooperatives. The Competitiveness Strategy of Croatian Tourism Industry (2003) states its main goal as: "How to drive economic growth and raise the standards of living without destroying the essence of Croatia - its spectacular nature, riches of cultural heritage, and distinctive lifestyle (p. 6)." That is exactly the same question which needs to be answered on the local level in these two researched areas: How to develop tourism and raise the living standards respecting the culture, cultural heritage and beautiful nature.

One of the possible answers is organizing entrepreneurial cooperatives which could share these goals and vision. The *Promoting Cooperatives Report* from International Labor Organization (2014) defines a cooperative as "an autonomous association of persons united voluntarily to meet their common economic, social and cultural needs and aspirations through a jointly owned and democratically controlled enterprise (p. 19)." Dunn (1988) defines a cooperative as "user owned and controlled business from which benefits are derived and distributed on the basis of use (p. 85).

By cooperating instead of competing, a better effect could be achieved for all involved in Vis and Janjina. Some authors argue that "the basic philosophy underlaying all cooperative actions is that through joint efforts and mutual self-interest individuals may collectively achieve objectives unattainable by acting alone" (Dunn 1988, p. 83). There are some critics that cooperatives are not successful business models, but others whose findings show that cooperatives grew at nearly the same rate as a shareholder-based business.

Although at first glance, the research participants reacted that cooperation during the summer is not possible, during additional interviews for the purposes of this dissertation, they pointed out several interesting possibilities for cooperation. Sometimes people are not so cleared in analytics and precise and they assume that there is no room for cooperation. If they analyze the overall situation, they might be able to see that they are more cooperating that they are competing.

Research participants stated that they all have certain things in which they are good and others in which they are not. They all have certain knowledge and specific skills that could be useful to others. On the other hand, they have a need for knowledge and skills from others in which they are not so good. Cooperatives could result with some joint actions which would result with the benefits for all included.

For example, entrepreneurial cooperatives in Vis and Janjina could hire a tour guide together, provide laundry services to members or prepare some festival together. The competition would still exist but will not be so aggressive. Some of the ideas suggested by

the research participants were some joint actions in the community that would involve tourists, which would result in the common benefits for the everybody included. Tourists might also help with certain jobs, especially for the most vulnerable groups in the community. For them, it can be an additional indigenous experience that will result in benefits for the community. Some common actions which could be done are olive harvesting, grape harvesting, mandarin harvesting, etc.

Vision for a better future

The goals of these entrepreneurial clusters and cooperatives are that through mutual work, they could create more value from which everyone included will benefit. As prof. Randy Richards said during the interview "*instead of competing for a bigger piece of the pie, the goal is to make the pie bigger for everyone*". Establishing the clusters, cooperatives or some other entrepreneurial organizations could be one way how the people in these areas could raise the economic value of the community while respecting – and capitalizing upon – the culture and helping nature of these areas.

The joint entrepreneurial actions could result in a certain income, some of which could be invested in additional future projects that would further improve life in the community. The research participants stated that some of the income earned by these collectivist actions could also be used to help those most in need in the community. It could also be used to improve the overall tourist marketing of the place.

These collectivist actions could also result in more connectedness of the local people. As a result, the coming of tourists each season would no longer be seen as a threat to the collectivist nature of their culture. These joint actions could strengthen the bonds within the citizens in the community and make them more cooperative oriented during the tourist season.

Participants stated that all these actions are worthwhile but the main reasons for not launching such entrepreneurial projects that would lead to economic development and be in line with the collectivist culture are inertia and lack of initiative. They stated that people in these areas are not so open-minded to new things. Also, some participants stated that when some initiative is started, it takes time to be accepted. Even if there was some initiative, it would take time to be accepted.

As stated previously in this dissertation, the hidden wealth of these small areas lies in their social capital which has been built up over the centuries. Also, the richness of the

local culture and natural resources have not yet been sufficiently discovered. However, as tourism has developed in recent years, perhaps some various investors might take advantage of the given opportunity and help establish some initiative for these entrepreneurial ventures.

Unfortunately, outside investors tend to view these two small areas only from the aspect of earnings and use their natural resources to make a profit. They are not involved in the life of the community at all and participate only in what is legally required such as the payment of certain fees. This is why it is not uncommon for people who live in these areas all year round not to look favorably on those who come only in the summer to "take advantage" of their areas. This creates additional mistrust that prevents cooperation during the summer and increasing individualism even more.

But there is another group of people who have recently come to these areas with completely different motives. These are people who mostly came from abroad and built houses to live in. They either live in them all year round or come over several months. What is important to emphasize is that they came because they love these areas, not because they take advantage of them. As a rule, these are people who have a broader worldview, more open to change and bring a touch of globalization to these small places. It is interesting to mention that the breadth of globalization brought by these new *"residents"* has no negative context.

On the other hand, with their openness to change and awareness of the common good, these people are a great opportunity and potential that these two small Adriatic places could use for their development. In addition to the financial well-being of these places, the greater benefit is the intellectual breadth and new worldviews that comes with these new permanent or temporary residents. In the various mentioned initiatives that would reconcile globalization with collectivist culture, it would certainly be worthwhile to include those people who could significantly contribute to the development of the whole place. Currently, most of these people do not fully enjoy the community life because the community is not willing to include them.

It seems that the entrepreneurial initiatives and projects aimed at the economic development of these areas with the reconciliation of the collectivist culture could have a far greater effect if they included these people, many of whom have not only money but also certain knowledge, skills, and above all openness to change, and desire for the betterment of the common good of the community in which they live.

A precondition for all mentioned things for reconciling the collectivistic culture with tourism is awareness of existing challenges which these two areas are facing. Many

participants stated that they are not aware of the current situation of the decline in collective activities in the summer. In fact, it could be said that they see what is happening but they are not aware of the consequences it can have on the culture of their communities.

The goals of this dissertation were to find out the intrinsic motives for volunteering as well as the social and economic benefits from volunteering in two small Adriatic places. The obtained results showed interesting facts and led to some new findings that were not primarily the focus of this dissertation. These consequential results represent one great value of this dissertation because they discovered some *"invisible"* challenges that these two small Adriatic areas are facing and enabled those interested in it to do something in order to provide some possible solutions for these challenges.

As research participants stated, the main thing for changing the things and reconciling the collectivistic culture with tourism in these two areas is initiative, persistence and showing by example. In such a small place like this, sometimes three or four people are enough to show by example that others see that it is possible to change something.

The collectivist culture that could be initiated by these people and later adapted by others in community could make tourism more cooperative-oriented, where (1) the social bonds within the community would be even stronger, (2) people would help each other no matter of season, (3) there will be more trust, (4) the entrepreneurship climate would improve and (5) the tourist business would be more profitable and more sustainable long term. This could make the community as a whole more resilient to the threats that surround it.

6. LIMITATIONS

This research study was conducted in two small remote areas in the Adriatic. One area where the study was conducted was the most distanced Croatian island of Vis while the other one was on the Pelješac peninsula which is also a very remote area. Extending the results received from these two researched cases to other remote areas or islands on the Croatian coast, other remote areas or islands in the Adriatic, Mediterranean or worldwide is not a generalization that can be made without further research.

The field research for this project included triangulated methods using observation, focus groups and one-on-one interviews. The observation method included living in both researched places for a duration of two winter months in each location, in order to get better insights into life there. The primary researcher spent two winter months within both communities during 2020. From January until middle March 2020, the primary researcher lived at Vis while from middle March until May 2020, he spent two months living on the Pelješac peninsula.

However, while these rigorous methods and these visits provided priceless value to this project, there are limits which exist because the visits were limited just to the one part of the year and were done just once. Although the focus of this dissertation was on the winter months, when the primary researcher spent some time there, it was a limited amount of time just during the one particular year, which did not provide enough rigor to be generalized.

The three focus groups were limited to only about 6-10 community members per session, which provided more of a snapshot than a generalizable sample. Also, the one-on-one interviews were limited to only three persons within each community, a leader in the community, a volunteer and a recipient of volunteer services. Although, the methods for this dissertation were done following the rigorous methodological rules of qualitative research, in order to strengths the value of collected and analyzed data, more research would need to be conducted.

The limitations also include the fact that many volunteers, recipients of volunteer services and leaders in both communities were not covered by this dissertation and their thoughts and concerns were not heard. Although the researchers tried to carefully select the research participants in each location, it is evident that one of the limitations of this research is that it covers just part of the thoughts of the members of these Adriatic communities.

This dissertation was initially conceived as one that would analyze two small remote areas in the Croatian part of the Adriatic. Limited resources, as well as a concern for

identifying areas as small and remote, are another limitation of this dissertation. While this dissertation is helpful in explaining the psychological motives for volunteering as well as the social and economic benefits from volunteering in two small remote Adriatic communities, a wider comparison which would include other small remote areas could provide more answers about the three research questions.

Future research might look for the other small remote areas in the Adriatic, the Mediterranean and worldwide in order to get better general picture about this phenomenon and its impacts on everyday life with the focus on helping behavior.

The detailed analysis used for case selection, the various research methods, the careful research participants selection, the rigorous methodology used for data analysis adds validity to the general findings about this problem. This dissertation demonstrates two cases of support for the idea that different levels of intrinsic motivation for volunteering as well as the social and economic benefits from volunteering are strongly related with the different annual life dynamics in these two small areas in the Adriatic.

It also suggests several other characteristics of these two researched areas which were not the original focus of this dissertation, but subsequently appeared during the research process. This includes the impact of globalization on these communities, the collectivism/individualism shift during the year and the challenges of maintaining the collectivist orientation while continuing to benefit from the development of tourism. While these other issues were not considered at the beginning, they brought new perspective to the research question. These new findings add additional value for those interested in the life of small remote areas in the Adriatic.

Most researchers consider case studies as insufficient scientific evidence to be generalized. According to some authors, researchers using case research often feel they are "fighting an uphill battle to persuade their readers" because they are not able to provide measurable data (Siggelkow, 2007, p. 20). Case research is more about discovering a rich description of real life. Its goal is to provide some useful and practical knowledge which is connected with the real, existing issues. Although at first sight, this dissertation might lack the scientific contribution of a quantitative study, its practical findings are based on grounded theory and its real-life implications provide significant value to this dissertation.

Some authors argue that the "paper should allow a reader to see the world, and not just the literature, in a new way" (Siggelkow, 2007, p. 23). A good test would be how the reader who is not familiar with the research topic becomes interested to learn more about the topic. That is exactly what this dissertation tries to do. Through real-life examples and data

collected by the rigorous methodology, this dissertation tries to provide not just useful data about the research questions, but it provides interesting and practical data to the reader.

The reliability of this dissertation was strengthened by using the triangulation of the data. Two cases, with multiple sources of data within each case, with three research methods and with two members of the research team, strengths the reliability of this dissertation. Although this research has some obvious limitations, it also makes valuable contribution to the study of helping behavior and its implications on the everyday life in two small Adriatic areas.

7. FUTURE RESEARCH

The goals of this dissertation were to explore the intrinsic motivators / psychological benefits for volunteering, as well as the social and economic benefits from volunteering, in two small Adriatic areas.

The annual cultural shift. One unexpected finding which could be the subject of further research was a strong annual shift between a collectivist orientation during the winter, versus a more individualist orientation during the summer. The tourism that has become the foundation of the summer economy seems to be pushing these communities more toward individualism. During the summer, they become more competitive and less cooperative. Some participants in this research worried that the collectivist nature of the community could be lost altogether.

Some cultures are more collectivist and others are more individualist (Hofstede). What was most unusual about these findings is the cultural shift back and forth from one to the other. This shift was very obvious throughout this research process and could become the subject of future. In fact, the shift provoked further exploration with research participants and spurred the recommendations to introduce more collectivism into the tourist industry in both locations. This idea, with suggestions for exploring clusters, cooperatives and other entrepreneurial business models, is explained in the Recommendations section, and is mentioned here as a possible subject for further research.

Some future research questions that could explore this cultural shift more thoroughly include: (1) *How might this annual cultural shift influence these communities in the long term*? (2) *How might these communities be able to mitigate the "damage" that participants see to the collectivist way of life*? and (3) *How might the winter behaviors that are more collectivist be able to "heal the wounds*"?, as some participants suggested.

Another interesting aspect for future research might be to explore how these changes are impacting the younger generations and how that may impact the tradition of volunteering. Simply stated, it would be interesting to see: *What might be the long-lasting impacts of this cultural shift on the local cultural norms, such as helping behaviors*?

Individualist versus collectivist motivators. Another unexpected finding is that the five intrinsic motivators / psychological benefits of volunteering that were most prevalent in this study were consistent with collectivist norms, while the two intrinsic motivators that had the least amount of mentions from the participants in this study were the two motivators that tend to be more individualist (choice and competence). The collectivist motivators were

found in much greater instance than the individualist factors. This would be an interesting finding to test in further research.

Globalization and tourism as a threat and an opportunity. Many researchers have considered the economic impact of tourism on the life of people in these areas. Economists can demonstrate how tourism benefits the economy in many ways. However, more research needs to be conducted upon the sociological and psychological aspects of the impact of tourism on the life of these Adriatic communities. This research should approach globalization and tourism as both a threat and an opportunity.

The development of tourism has brought many changes in these areas. It brought benefits as well as challenges. One of the challenges that faces these areas is the annual life dynamic which has an impact on collectivist qualities such as helping behaviors that provide safety and security to the people who live in these places during the winter months. Future research could explore: To what extent might this trend toward globalization decrease the level of helping and other collectivist behaviors in these areas?

At first sight, it could be said that globalization and tourism have had many positive effects on the economy while negative effects on the social capital of the community. The money which is earned from tourism allows people to invest it into the different projects which ensure some improvements such as building new schools, restaurants and businesses which can have a positive impact on the problem of depopulation. It also provides many incentives to encourage the further economic development in these areas.

On the other hand, it seems that the growing tourism and economy is ruining the collectivist culture of these areas, including the social capital that creates a positive business environment, especially the entrepreneurial strategies recommended in this study (such as clusters and cooperatives). It seems that the bonds within people are becoming weaker and that they are becoming oriented more toward themselves. Future research could try to reconcile the opportunity of tourism with the threat of the cultural shift. Perhaps the threats could be reframed as opportunity in some ways.

Perhaps the strong collectivist nature of these communities, such as the helping behaviors that were revealed in this dissertation, could be seen as a strength that provides an opportunity to enhance the development of tourism in more collectivist ways. Perhaps the social capital that is a strength of these communities could be seen as an opportunity to create collectivist ways to provide touristic businesses. Perhaps future research could explore how these communities could build tourism in collectivist ways that enhance the economy and the culture of these areas.

A more collectivist approach to tourism might benefit these communities, not only economically, but socially and psychologically as well. The main question for future research related to this topic could be: *How can tourism be developed in more cooperative ways that are more consistent with the collectivist nature of these areas*?

The world today is moving fast, with its focus mainly on making profit. Orientation toward profit alone can result in many imperfections in today's world. Furthermore, it seems to be unsustainable in the long-term. The tourism that is happening in these Adriatic areas are changing the culture from collectivist ways toward more individualist ways of thinking. Volunteering offers an alternative to this shift. Volunteering could be one component to be considered when exploring how to develop tourism that is more compatible with the collectivist way of thinking. In fact, the more collectivist approach to tourism might be a more sustainable model for the long term considering all aspects of life in these areas.

8. MAJOR LESSONS

1. Helping behavior as something "normal". It was assumed that helping would be seen as a necessity in these two small Adriatic areas, because people rely more on each other and were forced to help each other in order to survive. One participant said it this way: *"When people went fishing at sea before, they were oriented towards each other. No matter what the relationship, during their stay on board, in case of any distress, they were obliged to help one another. When they returned to the mainland, they could continue to behave as they wanted, but during their stay at sea they were obliged to help one another."* These comments suggest that helping was not about choice. It was born out of necessity.

However, it was not anticipated that the participants would be so unaware of the importance of helping as part of their way of life. Most were also unaware of the fact that the helping nature of their culture was shifting so much from winter to summer. Helping has become an essential part of the culture in the winter, but it changes in the summer. Something that started due to necessity became an unseparated fact of life during winter in these areas. Helping each other is a part of their culture, tradition and religion. It is a way of life for them. It is a part of their DNA. It is *normal* for them. People there do not see it as something special and are even not aware of the fact that is an integral part of their culture, not that it is being threatened by the competition during the summer.

2. The evidence of psychological benefits could be categorized into collectivist and individualist motivators for volunteering, and they varied at different times of the year. Intrinsic motivators for volunteering such as culture and altruism were present at a high level in both places. It seems that the intrinsic motivators for volunteering in this area tend to be more expressed for the collective than for the benefit of individuals (which would be choice or competence). The strong presence of altruism and culture as motivators also suggest that volunteering in Vis and Janjina could be connected with the willingness of citizens to think more collectively rather than individually. Participants indicated that the evidence for altruism and culture as motivators for helping are more pronounced during the winter when the isolation and loneliness push people in these Adriatic areas to think collectively rather than individually.

The motivator named choice (choosing the type of helping behavior that the helper provides) is a more individualist factor and was not found even once in either place during the field research. One person summed it up this way: *"If we do not do that, nobody will, we do not have a choice."* Another intrinsic motivator which can be considered as more

individualistic – competence (being motivated to volunteer in order to develop certain skills) – was found in very minimal levels within both researched places. The negligible level of these individualist factors suggests that volunteers in these areas were more motivated by collective rather than individual motivators to volunteer.

3. Globalization and tourism as a challenge for the culture of helping. Globalization is exposing these areas to new challenges and bringing a new way of life. The change in culture in these areas is visible during the summer when these areas are exposed to the big number of tourists (or *"invaders"* as tourists were named by one research participant) who are coming into these areas. The number of people living in these communities during the summer is almost tripled compared to the winter months. This has many impacts and consequences for life in both places. It has an impact on helping behavior also.

The tourist season is an opportunity for citizens in this area to earn money. It makes life easier for the rest of the year. It can also be seen as a threat, because life in these small remote areas during the summer is getting faster, everybody is becoming busier and life in these areas is becoming similar to life in urban environments. People are more tied down to their busy schedules and are less inclined to stop and help someone in need. As a result, they are more distant from each other. They are becoming more money-oriented.

Tourism brings more competition into these communities, which makes them less collectivist and more individualistic. Tourism tends to be an industry which is more competitive, as compared to agriculture and fishing, which are more cooperative oriented and which were more central to the way of life in the past in these areas. With touristic influence, people tend to compete with their neighbors for business from the tourists, rather than to cooperate with their neighbors as farmers and fishermen. The bonds among the community are becoming weaker. There is less willingness for helping. As one research participants noted, *"We are getting infected from the outside"*. Not everyone sees it as something bad because they are earning money.

When the tourist season is over, and the tourists and touristic workers leave these areas, life there becomes more like it was in the past. It is calmer, quieter and somewhat deserted. People start to feel more isolated and lonelier. They feel that they are forgotten until the next summer season. They are *"again"* becoming aware that they can survive only if they take care of each other - like it was in past. They become closer and more connected. They are more willing to help and they strengthen the bonds among the community again. They increase trust among themselves through the different kind of voluntary activities.

Those actions help improve their social capital. Also, they are more willing to provide services to the fellow citizens who are in need. They repair some of the damage which was caused by the tourist season. They enter into a *"healing"* phase from the community *"infection"* caused by *"invaders"* who arrive during the summer. This becomes an annual cycle – although a few participants wondered how long the collective nature of the culture could survive this cycle.

These global dynamics represent true challenges to life in these communities. On the one hand, the forces of globalization brought largely by tourism means an opportunity to increase economic development and increase the money which in itself can ensure a better life in economic ways. On the other hand, the quality of their old way of life is diminishing. They are losing the culture, with its emphasis on helping each other, which has maintained life there for centuries. They are split between these two different approaches to life. Some residents are aware of this different life dynamic that is occurring and they expressed concern about changing the collectivist way of life that has sustained these communities for centuries.

4. Entrepreneurial business models could reconcile tourism with the culture of helping. Although at first glance it seems impossible to reconcile the challenge that arises with growing globalization and the accelerated development of tourism, with a collectivist culture, there is a certain way in which this would still be possible. The collectivist culture that exists in these places could be used as an advantage for touristic development when it comes to the economy and entrepreneurship in these environments. Some of the businesses that would be based more on collaboration and less on competitiveness are clusters and cooperatives. This way of doing business could bring benefits to the entire community while strengthening the bonds and trust that already exist in the community. The result of this way of doing business could be the economic prosperity of the communities while respecting and maintaining the collectivist culture of these areas.

9. CONCLUSION

The impacts of volunteering

Various studies so far highlight many of the benefits of volunteering, both psychological benefits to the individual and social and economic benefits to the wider community. This dissertation addresses all three of these benefits to provide a clearer picture of life on two small communities in the Adriatic.

For centuries, the culture of helping has preserved life in these areas. The isolation and loneliness to which these areas experience led people to be oriented toward each other in order to survive. Industries dominant in the past such are agriculture and fisheries were by themselves more cooperative oriented. The helping nature of these two Adriatic communities became a deep part of the culture.

People in these areas are hardly aware of their helping behaviors. Their tradition and culture of helping is so deeply rooted in their daily behavior that they don't even notice it. Formal and informal helping is ingrained into their daily lives. They do so because of their love for the community. The cultural norm of unselfish willingness to take care of others dominates as an intrinsic motivator in this research.

The people in these remote areas think collectively, especially during the winter period. The helping behavior builds social bonds and because of that, provides many economic benefits as well. Thus, in both surveyed communities there are no noticeable hunger or homelessness, as the people in these communities take care of anyone who finds themselves in some kind of existential trouble.

Intrinsic motivators. This dissertation presents seven intrinsic motivators for volunteering as well as seven social and economic benefits from volunteering in two small Adriatic communities. Together, they provide a wider picture of the implications that helping behavior has on life in these communities.

This dissertation connects the culture of helping with the increased globalization of what is happening through the development of tourism. The specific focus is on reconciling the culture of helping and collectivism with the development of tourism and individualism. The findings of this dissertation could increase awareness of some invisible benefits and challenges that are affecting these communities.

Collectivism and individualism shift during the year

One of the peculiarities of these areas is that this helping behavior is interrupted during the summer months. Apparently due to the dominant reality of tourism, these small communities experience a change in their cultural norms during this very busy time of the year. The helping behavior that was previously expressed through collectivism is replaced by self-care through growing individualism. People become distant to each other and begin to experience each other as competitors.

Their willingness to help is replaced by their willingness to earn. The priorities change. The experience an increase in distrust and a weakening of ties among the people. This consequently erodes the current culture of helping, which was previously present throughout the whole year. Changes in priorities and a shift from collectivism to individualism represent an invisible challenge that these two small Adriatic communities are facing.

Reconciling tourism with a culture of helping

While from the perspective of some research participants it seems impossible to reconcile the collectivist culture with the tourist development, this dissertation presents some possible options for infusing more of a collectivist approach to tourism. Entrepreneurial organizations could be established based on cooperation rather than competition. These entrepreneurial activities could raise the economic value of the tourist development while respecting the culture and nature of these areas.

Some of the findings of this research might be of assistance to the inhabitants of these remote Adriatic communities and could entice the people to establish more collective approaches to tourist development.

Awareness. The first step in this process is developing an awareness that the existing way of functioning during the tourist season is not consistent with the collectivist nature of these communities. Although people in these places know what is happening, they seem unaware of how it is affecting the long-term nature of their economy and society.

By competing instead of cooperating, they are doing harm to the culture of cooperation and helping, and at the same time, they reduce their competitiveness in the tourism market. There seems to be a kind of paradox where community members compete with each other to reduce their chances of making more money. The competitive culture of

their summer months, which replaces the collaborative culture of the winter, prevents the development of entrepreneurial opportunities and weakens the economy of these places.

Because of this, relationships in the community weaken and trust among people decreases. Businesses are oriented exclusively to competition instead of considering some more cooperative approaches which could increase tourism overall. When people in these areas realize that by working together, they could achieve greater benefits for all, this may lead to the development of greater entrepreneurial opportunities that are in line with the culture of these areas.

Initiative. The second step in achieving a better entrepreneurial environment that will be in line with the collectivist culture is initiative. Cambridge Dictionary describes initiative as "a new plan or process to achieve something or solve a problem".[40] There are many ideas and solutions that could be attempted to make these areas more cooperative and more successful.

Community members will be more likely to take these entrepreneurial steps when someone takes the initiative to launch them. Demonstrating how the more cooperative business strategies might work could inspire others to take the same steps. Someone needs to set the good example. Living by example and showing that some things can be done could be a possible way of implementing the ideas presented in this dissertation.

Love. There are many definitions of love. One from the Bible says: *"Love is patient; love is kind; love is not envious or boastful; it does not rejoice in wrongdoing but rejoices in the truth. It bears all things, believes all things, hopes all things, endures all things."* (Corinthians 13: 4-7). Many members of these communities expressed this type of love for each other as a reason to care for their place and fellow citizens.

Awareness and initiative based on love for the place and fellow citizens might inspire the community try a more collective approach to summer tourism. The fact is that this love exists, and that it gets a little *"blurred"* during the summer, is a sign of hope for the future. Perhaps the results of this dissertation might serve as a *"tool"* to clear up this turbidity and thus help people in these communities to express the love that exists, regardless of the time of year. Love cannot be mere words but action. It could stimulate the entrepreneurial spirit in these two Adriatic areas.

Cooperatives and clusters. Examples of how collectivism could be realized during the tourist season are business organizations such as clusters and cooperatives. These

[40] Cambridge Dictionary, https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/initiative , accessed on December 5, 2020.

organizations could provide an opportunity for the community members to achieve goals which will be for their communities and consequently for all of its community members. In this way, synergy could be created that would result in economic and cultural benefits, both for the community and for the individual.

As was mentioned at the beginning of this dissertation, *"whoever wants to be great among you must be your servant"*. This could be a guide for future action in these two areas during the whole year. It could bring more fulfillment, happiness and a sense of meaning to the community members and consequently to the community as a whole. By understanding that *"everyone can be great because anyone can serve"*, the people in these two Adriatic communities could provide many benefits to their fellow citizens as well for themselves.

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APPENDIX

Appendix 1: Examples of intrinsic motivation for volunteering in Vis

Table 12. Examples of culture as intrinsic motivation for volunteering: Vis

Intrinsic Motivation - Culture	Source		
	Focus Groups	Interviews	Observation
Some participants in FG said that *"in the history of the island, it is a habit helping each other and giving back to those help. It is in the culture of the island from the past and it is reciprocal".*	x	x	
Some participants said that *"helping becomes a way of life there."*	x	x	
Some participants said that *"the habit of volunteering is so deeply rooted in this community that is completely normal to provide help or service when someone asks you. "*	x	x	
One participant said that *"it is a normal thing. We are human beings. We need to help each other. "*		x	
Some participants said that *"they are helping because they are born and raised to do that."*	x	x	
One lady said that *"we are aware that we need to help one another in order to survive on the island. "*		x	
Some said that *"they are helping each other so much that they are not even aware of it."*		x	x

Table 13. Examples of altruism as intrinsic motivation for volunteering: Vis

Intrinsic Motivation - Altruism	Source		
	Focus Groups	Interviews	Observation
One lady in FG said that *"when you are doing something that you are not obligated to do, then you are doing that from your heart"* while Interview participant said that "*he is volunteering because of his heart."*	x	x	
Some participants said that *"they are doing things primarily with love to ensure their fellow citizens have everything as people do in the big cities."*	x	x	
Some participants said that *"you know you have to do it because if you do not do that, nobody will."*	x		
One FG participants said that she did a voluntary work because *"I did that because I wanted to do something good for the society."*	x		
The lady in the interview said that when you help somebody *„That is a nice feeling which can be compared only with love."*		x	
One lady said that *"what particularly was touching was that they answered themselves and help me"*		x	
Some said that *"the people on the island are in some way obligated to help each other and to give back that help. It is like you are borrowing the help and giving it back when it is necessary to your fellow citizens."*	x		

Table 14. Examples of meaning as intrinsic motivation for volunteering: Vis

Intrinsic Motivation - Meaning	Source		
	Focus Groups	Interviews	Observation
One lady said that the reason why she did voluntary job is because: *"When you do something good for society it makes you feel good."*	x	x	
Some participants said that *"the part of why they are volunteering is because they enjoy the activity by itself."*	x	x	x
Some said that *"they volunteer because of the intrinsic reward they get from volunteer activities. It is a feeling of satisfaction that they receive when they do a good thing to others".*	x		
Some participants said that *"When I can help, it makes me feel good, makes me feel happy."*	x	x	
One participant said that *"when I help someone I am proud of myself".*	x	x	
The lady in the focus group said that *"she feels truly grateful because of volunteer services what she received."*	x		
Some focus groups participants said that *"that they think that they are better humans because of volunteering."*	x		
Focus group participant said that: *"It is a feeling of satisfaction that we receive when we do a good thing to others".*	x		

Table 15. Examples of social connection as intrinsic motivation for volunteering: Vis

Intrinsic Motivation - Social Connections	Source		
	Focus Groups	Interviews	Observation
One lady in FG said that *"if it wasn't for my friends on the island who helped me, I don't know how I would have done it."*	x		
Some of FG participants said that *"the most important thing for them from receiving volunteering services was a feeling to have somebody around who would help when you need a helping hand and when it's hardest for you."*	x		
Some participants said that this *"brings them a feeling of safety, a sense of feeling protected, having someone with them in good or bad situations."*	x		
Participants said that *"they feel safe and covered in the community like Vis."*	x		
Because of the help and welcome what I received *"I started to feel like I belonged to this community. "*			x
"The voluntary work that I did enabled me to go deeper into the community. It also enabled me to make stronger connections among the community."			x
"Our strictly business deal which included money transactions became much more than that. We hugged each other and from that moment, a friendship and trust appeared."			x
Some participant said the statement like *"who treated me as a member of her family."*			x

Table 16.. Examples of progress as intrinsic motivation for volunteering: Vis

Intrinsic Motivation - Progress	Source		
	Focus Groups	Interviews	Observation
FG participants said that *"for the community to function it was necessary to do different things on a voluntary basis."*	x		
Some said that *"by helping others, they are helping the community make things happen there and to improve the quality of life".*	x		
Some participants said that *"they are volunteering because they want to provide better living conditions to the next generation, to their children and grandchildren. They want to leave something behind them in this nice, beautiful world."*	x	x	
Some focus groups and interviews participants said that they *"believe that volunteering makes the Vis a better place for living."*	x	x	
FG participant said that *"people need to do something to fulfill those missing services, so they are engaging in different kind of volunteering activities."*	x		
Some FG and interview participants said that *"the one option is to stay home and to do nothing while the other option is to move things, to make things happen."*	x	x	
They said that *"the lack of services pushed people to organize these services by themselves on a voluntary basis".*	x		

Table 17. Examples of competence as intrinsic motivation for volunteering: Vis

Intrinsic Motivation - Competence	Source		
	Focus Groups	Interviews	Observation
Some FG participants said that in some way *"they entertain themselves by organizing things and voluntary offering other people to learn from them."*	x		
One participant said that she volunteering because *"by that she also developing her skills."*	x		
Some participants said that *"the people in Vis are willing to give their talents for free through different kind of activities."*	x		
FG participant said that *"some of them have certain talents and they are willing to give these talents to the community for free."*	x		

Appendix 2: Examples of intrinsic motivation for volunteering in Janjina

Table 18. Examples of culture as intrinsic motivation for volunteering: Janjina

Intrinsic Motivation - Culture	Source		
	Focus Groups	Interviews	Observation
Some focus groups participants said: *„If someone from the community is in some trouble, the other members are ready to jump in and to help."*	x		
Some participants said that *"they regularly care about their neighbors and that is a normal way of life for them."*	x	x	
"The habit of helping is from the old days teaches that you need to help your first neighbor still exists in this area." "	x		
One lady in focus group said: *"I am not obligated to give back that help that I received but now I am more aware of the situation when somebody else needs help. It is not reciprocal. It is just that I understand these kinds of situations when somebody is in trouble."*	x		
Some participants said that helping *"is part of their tradition in this community and it still exists as a regular part of life."*	x		
One lady said that *"the helping is a part of their religion. The religion taught them to help someone who is in need. "*	x	x	
Some said that *"it is something that they need to do and that they cannot refuse help when someone asks them."*	x		

Table 19. Examples of altruism as intrinsic motivation for volunteering: Janjina

Intrinsic Motivation - Altruism	Source		
	Focus Groups	Interviews	Observation
One lady in focus group said: *"I am more willing to help and that makes me happy and fulfilled. It comes from my heart."*	x		
One focus group participant said that *"thank you" what she received was enough reward to her."*	x		
Some participants said that they need to help because *"If they do not help them, nobody will."*	x		
Some focus group participants said that they are helping because *"they are just doing that because they want to help someone."*	x		
The guy in the interviews said: *"When you receive something from someone you just want to do that same thing to that person. Sometimes it is not possible because you will never see that person again. And if you cannot give back to the same person that helped you, you can give back to someone else."*	x	x	
Some participants said *"People have been helping me and I know these situations. I just have to take help and then when your turn comes, you just give it back. That's maybe the invisible value."*	x	x	
Some participants said that *"they are motivated by their heart. They said that it is impossible not to help when you see that someone needs help. Their heart does not allow them not to help when they see somebody who needs help."*	x	x	

Table 20. Examples of meaning as intrinsic motivation for volunteering: Janjina

Intrinsic Motivation - Meaning	Source		
	Focus Groups	Interviews	Observation
One lady said: *"I am more willing to help and that makes me happy and fulfilled."*	x		
Some participants said that *"it makes them pleased when they help someone. They feel fulfilled and it makes them happy when they can help someone."*	x	x	
Some participants said that *"they volunteer because of the intrinsic reward they get from volunteer activities. It is a feeling of satisfaction that they receive when they do a good thing to others"*.	x	x	
Some participants said that *"they feel good when they volunteer."*	x	x	
One participant said: *"When I help someone I am proud of myself"*.	x	x	
One focus groups participant said: *"You will make their day better if you help them and you will feel better also because of that. "*	x		
Focus group participants said that *"they feel fulfilled when they are doing something that is good for their community."*	x		

Table 21. Examples of social connection as intrinsic motivation for volunteering: Janjina

Intrinsic Motivation - Social Connection	Source		
	Focus Groups	Interviews	Observation
One lady in focus group said that *"she was just checking their neighbors to see if everything is fine or if they need something."*	x		
Some of focus groups and interviews participants said that *"the volunteerism has a positive impact on the community because they feel safer."*	x	x	x
Some participants said that living in this area *"brings them a feeling of safety, a sense of feeling protected, having someone with them in good or bad situations."*	x		
Interview participant said: "*By volunteering it is a way you involve yourself in others people's life. "*		x	
One focus group participant said that connection which results from volunteering *"gives you a feeling that you are welcomed in the community."*		x	x
Some participant said: "*By volunteering* we *get to know each other better. "*	x		

Table 22.. Examples of progress as intrinsic motivation for volunteering: Janjina

Intrinsic Motivation - Progress	Source		
	Focus Groups	Interviews	Observation
One-on-one interviews participants said: *"By volunteering activities I was able to do something and to bring some changes."*		x	
One-on-one interviews participants said *"All these volunteering experiences make me a stronger person. Like a more confident person".*		x	
Some participants said that when *"they saw the unsatisfied need they organize themselves to satisfy that need."*	x		
Some interviews participants said: "*By volunteering they are improving the place."*		x	
Some interviews participants said: *"We improve the environment around our house with the help of these volunteers ,,*		x	

Table 23. Examples of competence as intrinsic motivation for volunteering: Janjina

Intrinsic Motivation - Competence	Source		
	Focus Groups	Interviews	Observation
Some interviews participants said that in some way *"you learned things from this person's culture, from how they personally do things, how they think, how they speak, how they see life."*		x	
One participant said: *"I am getting some different knowledge and skills from the volunteering that I will be able to use later in life."*		x	
Some participants said: *"You are improving yourself by volunteering."*		x	
Some interviews participant said: *"I am sharing the things that I know and offering my skills to the hosts but also, I am learning some new skills and gaining knowledge from them. What you can get also from this volunteering experience is more confidence."*		x	

Appendix 3: Examples of social and economic benefits from volunteering in Vis

Table 24. Examples of social capital as social benefits of volunteering: Vis

Social Benefits - Social Capital	Source		
	Focus Groups	Interviews	Observation
Some participants in FG said that *"having volunteers in the community means being rich for that community. It is a feeling of richness to have people around you and that you can rely on them when it is needed".*	x		x
Some participants said that volunteering makes Vis better place with *"connecting people among the community."*	x		
Some said that *"in Vis you know almost everybody by their name which makes them more connected. "*	x		
One participant said that *"people have more time for each other in the winter. They feel closer to each other during the winter. Because of that, they are more willing to volunteer in the winter. "*	x	x	x
Some participants said that *"during the winter we are getting together and raising our connections. "*	x	x	x
One FG participant said that *"people are aware that they can only solve community problems if they come together to solve these things"*	x		
One participant said that *"with volunteering what we are doing we are creating one big family here"* while other said *"that the city is their home while their neighbors are their family."*		x	

Table 25. Examples of cultural amenities as social benefits of volunteering: Vis

Social Benefits - Cultural Amenities	Source		
	Focus Groups	Interviews	Observation
Some participants in FG said that *"there is no professional theatre, there is no professional dance school and so on and people rely on volunteering activities".*	x		
Some participants said that "*there are lot of cultural events in the city where people volunteer."*	x		
One participant said that *"he established the amateur theatre at Vis and that he has been leading this theatre for the last 25 years, completely voluntarily. "*		x	x
One participant said that *"their voluntary work is like a cultural entertainment and richness for the city."*		x	
Some participants said that *"the main goal of dance school is providing some content to the community during the winter when there is not much activity on the island. "*	x		x

Table 26. Examples of jobs and education as economic benefits of volunteering: Vis

Economic Benefits - Jobs and Education	Source		
	Focus Groups	Interviews	Observation
One lady in FG said that *"there is no migratory service on the island, so the help what I get from my friends was extremely important to me".*	x		
One participant said during the interviews that volunteering "*makes a better climate for doing business."*		x	
One participant said that *"with the help of her family, husband and son, she started collecting old papers in town so that it could be recycled. "*	x		
One participant said that *"he also received help from fellow citizens who voluntarily agreed to do simultaneous translation during the focus groups."*			x

Table 27. Examples of food, health care and housing as economic benefits of volunteering: Vis

Economic Benefits - Food, Health Care and Housing	Source		
	Focus Groups	Interviews	Observation
One participant said a statement like *"For example, when they are going to the hospital in big city, I can call the doctors and ask them to please help my fellow citizens."*		x	
One participant said that "she was *looking for someone to help her and look after my father while I was in the hospital with my mother and was surprised when three persons from community came to help "*		x	

Table 28. Examples of general social and economic benefits of volunteering: Vis

General Social and Economic Benefits	Source		
	Focus Groups	Interviews	Observation
Some participants in Focus Group said that *"because you do not need to pay for services and instead of that you are receiving that service for free. ".*	x		
Some Focus Groups participants said that "*they are volunteering because there are strong social needs to be met in this community "*	x		
One participant said that *"because of various volunteering activities in Vis many of these activities are available for free. "*	x		
Some Focus Groups participants said that *"they volunteer because they feel they were fulfilling a social or economic need".*	x		
Some participants said that *"they are voluntarily providing services that otherwise would not exists in Vis."*	x		

Appendix 4: Examples of social and economic benefits from volunteering in Janjina

Table 29. Examples of social capital as social benefits of volunteering: Janjina

Social Benefits - Social Capital	Source		
	Focus Group	Interviews	Observation
*"*Some focus group participants said that there are not so many people in this area and therefore, they need to function in that way. They are helping each other because they rely on each other. *"We do not have a choice if we want to survive here."*	x		
Some participants in focus groups think that the community gets closer by different kind of volunteer activities. They said *"that they are becoming more connected by that."*	x		
"Participants said that now they trust each other and that they know that doors from their fellow citizens are always open to them. They do not know how to explain that, but they just know that it is like that and that they can count on each other."	x	x	
Some participants said that the members of community are visiting others when they are in trouble and *"bring to them the fact that they are not left to themselves and that they are part of the community." "*	x	x	x
Some focus group participants said that *"they felt that they can rely on each other and that they feel protected because of that."*	x		

Table 30. Examples of cultural amenities as social benefits of volunteering: Janjina

Social Benefits - Cultural Amenities	Source		
	Focus Group	Interviews	Observation
Some participants of focus group said: *"There is no professional theatre, there is no professional dance school and so on and people rely on volunteering activities".*	x		
Some participants said that "*there are lot of cultural events in the city where people volunteer."*	x		
One participant said that *"he established the amateur theatre at Vis and that he has been leading this theatre for the last 25 years, completely voluntarily. "*		x	x
One interviews participant said: *"Our voluntary work is like a cultural entertainment and richness for the city."*		x	
One lady in focus groups said: *"The main goal of dance school is providing some content to the community during the winter when there is not much activity on the island. "*	x		x

Table 31. Examples of jobs and education as economic benefits of volunteering: Janjina

Economic Benefits - Jobs and Education	Source		
	Focus Group	Interviews	Observation
"If something happened to the male member of the family and he was not able to maintain the vineyard anymore, then the members of the community organized among themselves and helped him to finish the seasonal work in the vineyard."	x		
One participant said: *"The community jumped in and helped about everything – with the vineyard, with our finances and whatever we needed."*	x		
"Whether it was helping in the vineyard, in the field, in the household or anything else, community members were somehow obliged to help one another when they needed it."	x		
One participant said that "d*uring the time when he was in the hospital the members of community took care of his fields."*	x		

Table 32. Examples of food, health care and housing as economic benefits of volunteering: Janjina

Economic Benefits - Food, Health Care and Housing	Source		
	Focus Group	Interviews	Observation
"Some of participants said that they were helping the old people by bringing them food and medical supplies."	x	x	x
"When something extraordinary happens to the family the community members are there to help. Some of them, usually women, are cooking meals for fifteen days for that family."	x		
Some of participants said that the lack of services is more expressed during the winter period. Most shops and restaurants are closed, the bakery does not work during that period also. So, the members of the community are helping more during the winter, especially to those who are not able to satisfy their needs. Some of them are bringing breads, milk or medicine supplies to old people who live alone.	x		
One participant said: *"I encouraged my friends to establish the association which will help the children with special needs from this area."*	x		

Table 33. Examples of general social and economic benefits of volunteering: Janjina

General Social and Economic Benefits	Source		
	Focus Group	Interviews	Observation
Participants in focus Group said *"that some benefits of volunteering in this area are easy access to the different kind of services which do not exist."*	x		
"When one member of community had a car accident during the process of recovery, the community members jumped in and helped with different kind of things."	x		
"The members of the community are helping more during the winter, especially to those who are not able to satisfy their needs."	x		
"Participants said that when they see a need which is not satisfied in the community, they are motivated to satisfy these needs."	x		
Some participants said that *"there is a lack of services which needs to be fulfilled with different kind of formal or informal helping."*	x		

Appendix 5: Full Observation Report

Vis – Observation

Journal of Stories

When planning to come to the island in the winter months, I was confronted with a series of bewildered faces and questions like “So what about you? Why are you going to the island during the winter? Won't you have very little fun? You will see what winter is like on the island and will be back soon. " Nevertheless, I was firm in my decision to spend two winter months on the island of Vis as part of my PhD research.

Because my PhD thesis addresses the "Social, Intrinsic and Economic Impacts of Volunteering in Small Remote Communities" with a focus on the winter months. Staying on an island was part of the empirical research and a method known as observation where a researcher spends some time in an environment that explores to gathered information that would otherwise be harder to come by. After spending some time studying the scientific literature on the topic I was researching, it was time for the next step in my research. I thought about how I could write about something I had not experienced and what value my work would have if I wrote it solely by reading books and scientific papers. Accordingly, I decided it was important to experience firsthand what I was writing about by spending two winter months on the island. Leaving the Split ferry port on a cold winter eve in mid-January, I wondered what awaited me in the next two months, how much I planned to spend on the farthest Croatian island from the coast. I wondered if my friends' predictions and goodwill warnings would prove to be correct.

The idea of exploring and coming to Vis during the winter months was to get involved in the life of the island, to experience it firsthand, to see if there were any volunteer activities that I could join and if so, to what extent they were present. Accordingly, I became involved in a series of activities in order to be as much as possible among people, to get to know their life during the winter, and the advantages and disadvantages that such a life brings.

> *One of the first events on the island where I was present was promotion of the Christmas number of the journal, Hrvatska Zora, which took place in the Vis city library on January 22, 2020. This promotion is one of the three that happen during the year and is probably the most interesting because it happens during the winter. During that period there are less activities at the island and this event is an opportunity for the people to meet with each other and to socialize. I was*

a little bit surprised with this event because it was quite different from what I expected to experience.

When I came into the library, there were almost 50 people who were already there in the audience. The audience was quite diverse. The older, the younger, men and women. The stage was set, and everything was ready for the beginning. Two ladies, the chairperson and a member of "Matica Hrvatska", led the promotion. Promotion started with the song from the local klapa "Liket" and then continued with reading the different kind of texts, both songs and stories, from the journal. Different kind of people were included in reading these texts, from the oldest to the youngest in the audience. In between the reading of the klapa "Liket" were singing the songs.

The whole event was going smoothly and was very dignified. What was very touching were the moments when the community were remembering their members who passed away in previous year. There were the readings of different kinds of songs which were dedicated to them and this gave one strong emotional moment to the whole event. It was interesting to see how the community feels connected and how they were missing their members. The whole event lasted for almost two hours and I did not feel bored at any moment during that time.

At the end of event there was a catering that was prepared from local people. Different kind of cakes, wines and drinks were served, and the people started talking between each other. The interesting fact is that whole event was volunteer-based and was organized without money transactions. The city of Vis ensured the library for promotion, the library staff prepared the library for promotion, the ladies from "Matica Hrvatska" led promotion, the local web page advertised the event and invited the community. The klapa "Liket" sang the songs and the food and drinks were prepared from the local people. All these things were done free of charge.

It was interesting to see how this totally voluntary work resulted with one high quality event. You could not notice any difference between an organization of this event compared to an event which was organized in the big cities where a lot of money are spent on such occasions. But you could notice the difference in emotional part of event. The atmosphere was warm and friendly. It was a family atmosphere.

Probably the most important value of this event was that it pulled out the people from their homes during these cold winter times and brought them together to socialize. Not just that they had an opportunity to find out something new about cultural activities at their island, but this event enabled them to socialize and connect with each other. This event left a big impression on me because not only it was superbly organized and had a strong emotional component, but it showed me a strong connection and sense of belonging among the community.

During my stay at the island, I searched for activities to experience volunteering activities from the firsthand. One of these activities was learning a dance in the local dance school. This school is led by the lady who has been doing this for the last 11 years. She has great skills of dancing and she was ready to make available her skill to the local community for free. The main goal of this dance school is providing some content to the community during the winter when there is not much activity on the island. Also, the whole idea about this volunteer activity is to get people out of their homes and to bring them together to socialize during the long winter nights. I engaged myself into this activity and found that the people were enjoying these occasions. It is interesting to mention that this activity is active just during the winter.

The local amateur theatre is another example of volunteering activity at the island. They have been functioning for the last 25 years and the work of its members is completely voluntary. Their main motive is to provide some cultural content to the community and for that purpose they are generously giving their talents and time for free. While I was visiting the island, they were preparing the show which will celebrate the 25 years of the work of their leader.

At the beginning of my visit on the island, I decided to visit the city library in order to see what resources were available for my research. Also, I wanted to check to see if it was possible to go there and make some notes during my stay on the island. The library is a very charming place and I met two nice ladies who work there. The ladies were very polite and provided me all necessary information. They explained to me the library rules, working time and other technical things. I paid the monthly fee which is lower during the winter because they are trying to encourage local people to visit the library. During the summer when there are more people on the island, tourists and others, the fee is higher. We set all these details and the ladies were very professional. They explained to me everything, provided me their services and I paid for that. The deal between

me and them was done and that is usually the point where the story ends. But what was interesting more than that that they did much more above and beyond what is their job. From the beginning of my visit there, I was offered tea and snacks. Also, they invited me to play a social game with them and at some occasions we had lunch together. But the thing that surprised me the most is that they gave me the library keys so I could come into the library when it was closed and do some writing. They explained that the library is a warm place and there is a good internet connection, so I will have good conditions to do my work. All these things they did were voluntary and above and beyond their job. They helped me to feel very welcome there. I started to feel like I belonged to this community.

Living on the island had its own particularities and was quite different from life at the mainland. Just the fact that you are physically divided from the mainland made some special feelings and had an impact on everyday life there. The first thing is feeling of remoteness which reduces your needs for many things. When some need appears, the first thought is how complicated will it be to fulfill it. The island is well equipped with basic things, but for everything above you need to go to the city of Split which usually takes one whole day and sometimes even more if the weather conditions are not good. Having that in mind leads to needs reduction and you learn about acceptance.

The second interesting feeling that I felt during my stay at the island is the feeling of isolation. Just the fact that you are not able to leave the island whenever you want, you learn about acceptance. The ferry has its schedule and no matter how hurried you are, you need to accept that and to adapt according to its sailing schedule. The feeling of isolation was getting stronger when the weather conditions were not good and when the ferry was not allowed to sail. The fact that you are not able to go to the mainland brings you some kind of discomfort. The feeling of remoteness and isolation were some of the main feelings which I felt during my stay at the island in the winter. The ferry stays in the Vis ferry port overnight and leaves early in the morning for Split. The view of the big ferry in the Vis bay during the cold winter nights helped me feel calmer. It brought me some feeling of connection and safety.

As a part of my plan to spend more time among people and to feel the real life at the island, I also started to work in the fields. I helped some people with their seasonal jobs in order to gain insights from the inside about their real life and challenges they are facing. During these occasions I found many things which usually would not be able to find. Also, I connected with

the people and made friendships. The voluntary work that I did enabled me to go deeper into the community. It also enabled me to make stronger connections among the community.

Some of the most unforgettable experiences during my stay at the island were fishing with the local fishermen and helping to plant a vineyard with a 71-year-old farmer. The mere fact that a gentleman of 71 years was going to plant a vineyard told me something about the spirit of the people of the island.

Although at first glance it seems as if nothing was happening on the island, all these activities that I participated in have convinced me that life on the island during the winter is very rich and varied. So rich that sometimes it seemed like I wasn't getting everything I planned.

The last week of my stay on the island was reserved for the formal part of the research as part of which I organized three focus groups and three interviews. One focus group and interview were conducted with volunteers from Vis, one each with recipients of volunteer services and one each with representatives of institutions in the city.

To this end, I had the great help of my mentor and family friend, prof. Dan Ebener from St. Ambrose University from the USA, who came to Vis only for this occasion and for which I am immensely grateful. Focus groups were organized in the City Hall and the City Library and a total of about 30 people attended these events. Interviews were conducted with the Mayor of the City of Vis, Mr. Ivo Radica, the Head of the Amateur Theater Ranko Marinković, Mr. Lenko Blazević and the Head of the Vis Elementary School, Ms. Anela Borčić. They all took their time to help me to do the research, and I am extremely grateful to them for that. I also received help from Ksenija and Ante who voluntarily agreed to do simultaneous translation during the focus groups.

> *When I was preparing everything for the focus groups, I looked for a person who would make simultaneous translation during these occasions. I needed a professional translator in order not to lose the key things in the translation between the Croatian and English language. The local people recommended to me a young teacher of English language in the Elementary school in Vis. Her name is Ksenija and I contacted her to meet and to arrange all the details. I met Ksenija and we agreed about all details for translation. I gave her instructions about how this would look and what I was expecting from her. After one day she contacted me to say that she is willing to do this, and she said what would be the price of her arrangement. I agreed and the deal was done.*

The deal which was strictly business at the beginning. We conducted two focus groups where Ksenija did a great job. She did her job very professionally and I was very satisfied and ready to pay for her services. However, she said that she enjoyed doing this and that it would be her pleasure to help me and that I did not need to pay her. She said that she wanted to do this job voluntarily for me. Our "strictly business" deal which included money transactions became much more than that. We hugged each other and from that moment, a friendship and trust appeared.

The collected data from focus groups and interviews will be of great importance for me to continue my research and therefore my stay on the island fulfilled its purpose. But that is only one part of the value I have gained.

The island communities are very closed for people from the outside and there are some historical reasons for that. Also, the remoteness and isolation made these communities much more cautious about the persons who were coming to the island. When I arrived at the island, I decided to make myself available to people who needed any kind of help. I told them, "I am writing about volunteering, so I am willing to volunteer and help anyone who needs any kind of help. I do not want just to write about it, I want to do it, to experience it. You have one more person at the island for some time, so use me". It seems that this approach was like a key for opening the community which opened to me in all its fullness and beauty.

When I told people about my research when I came to the island, I received many answers like "You have nothing here. You won't find it here." In order to get more information about life and volunteering at the island, I arranged meetings with many people who are included in different kind of activities to know more about that. One of the meetings was with the guy who is teaching football to the young at the island. His girlfriend was present during our meeting and she was listening to what we were speaking about. When I explained what I am researching, she said that there is no volunteering here and that I came in vain. I thanked her for her opinion and continued to explain my research.

I provided them some data and explanations about volunteering and what I did so far for the purpose of my research. After 10 minutes of our conversation the lady exclaimed, "Oh my God, I am volunteering. I said that there is no volunteering here although I am the one which is included in it". This experience was repeated several times during conversations with local people, which convinced me of one thing. The volunteering is so present and rooted here that they are not even aware that they are doing it.

After spending two months on the island, I am very sure that volunteering, both formal and informal, is very present on the island and that it plays an important role in the daily life of its inhabitants. It is present to such an extent that they themselves do not even notice or perceive it as volunteering, but it is an integral part of their lives. From volunteering at the amateur theater, to learning to dance for children and adults, to helping their fellow citizens daily through the little things that make life easier for everyone. All these activities contribute to a quality of life for the people of the island. I experienced firsthand the hospitality and volunteering of various people, which made my stay on the island an unforgettable experience. Not only from the scientific point of view and the information and data collected about volunteering in a remote community such as Vis, but more importantly from one human point of view and the experience gained and friendship for a lifetime.

What particularly impressed me was the kindness and hospitality that the people of the island welcomed me. From Mrs. Danka, who was my host where I was located and who treated me as a member of her family, to the library staff who came out to meet me on the first day and provided everything I needed to research, to the mayor and staff of the City whose doors were always open to me. The kindness of all these wonderful people made me feel welcome and make my stay on the island an unforgettable experience. It was because of their approach and generosity that I felt like I belonged to that community.

The questions I was asked before I arrived on the island about how my stay on the island in the winter would be no fun, and how quickly I would return now seem completely useless. In fact, staying on the island during the winter months was not only fun and interesting, but in some ways was even more interesting and the quality was better than staying in the summer when everything is hectic, when no one has time, and when the tourist season creates an environment that does not reflects the true picture of life on the island. In the summer, most islands seem the same, but in the winter each island tells its own particular story. Only then the true life of the island can be experienced and I'm glad I experienced it.

What I discovered was a life where people are dedicated and oriented to one another, where they have time for each other, where they can count on each other and where they are helping each other so much that they are not even aware of it. I liked this and such a way of life and took it to heart. I will definitely return.

Janjina – Observation

Journal of Stories

After spending two winter months on our most remote inhabited island, it was my turn to stay in Janjina, a small place located in the center of the Pelješac peninsula. The structure of my stay in Janjina was quite different from the stay in Vis. At Vis I spent two months and at the end of my stay I conducted focus groups and interviews while in Janjina I started my stay there with conducting focus groups and interviews, then stayed for observation.

The reasons for this were of a practical nature. My mentor, prof. Dan Ebener, came from the US on March 6-13, 2020 to help me with the focus groups and interviews on Vis and then immediately did the same in Janjina. The professor needed to go back to the US so we had limited time. After Vis we immediately went to Janjina where we were scheduled to do three focus groups and three interviews in that community. In fact, it is good that the structure of the stay was a little different than on Vis because it opens up some new knowledge and insights.

We left Vis early in the morning at 7 o'clock and set off by catamaran towards Split. That same day we arrived in Janjina around 1 pm and our first focus group with volunteers in the community was scheduled for 6 pm. The other two focus groups were scheduled for the next day, one at 11 a.m. with community leaders and the other at 6 p.m. with recipients of volunteer associations. After that, we were scheduled to do one-on-one interviews with key people in the community.

I stayed on Vis for two months and during that period I got to know the people and the community. That way I had time to prepare everything I needed for the focus groups and interviews. i.e. to select and arrange the participants, find and reserve space, find an interpreter, provide food and drinks for socializing afterwards and other logistical details. Unlike Vis where I had enough time to prepare everything in Janjina it was just the opposite.

Due to lack of time I was forced to rely on a friend who lives and works in Janjina. The fact that I couldn’t organize it on my own initially made me uncomfortable. Especially because my mentor comes from the US just for that, and I can’t control how it will be. I felt a little nervous and didn’t know what it was going to look like at all.

> *When we got to the beginning of the first focus group everything was prepared. The City Hall was reserved for the occasion and was cleaned and heated. Also, water and snacks were prepared. In addition, my friend offered to translate so everything*

was ready. All the logistical details that I made on Vis in Janjina were made by my friend instead of me, for which I am very grateful.

The three focus groups we organized in Janjina were attended by a total of about 20 people who gladly responded to participate. The focus groups were logistically well organized, and we gathered a lot of interesting information about volunteering and its impact on this small community. But much more than the technical performance of the focus groups and the data collected, was the realization that people from the community were willing to participate in these focus groups and thus help me in research for the needs of the work. The fact that they took their time and helped someone they barely knew at all was a nice introduction to my upcoming stay in this community. I felt welcome and I was happy to be there.

After the focus groups we were scheduled to do three interviews but then something happened that brought a whole new dimension to my stay here. The whole world was facing a coronavirus pandemic so many countries began to close their borders and introduce restrictive measures to restrict movement. Accordingly, it was urgent for my mentor to shorten his stay in Croatia and he had to go back urgently so that he could return to his family at all. After completing the third focus group, I drove him to the airport from where he flew to the US for his family. And I returned to the peninsula and thus began the second part of the observation as part of my research.

The coronavirus pandemic that had spread throughout the world had an impact on Croatia as well. The day after I returned to Janjina, the peninsula was closed and it was impossible to enter it without a special pass. Since the Pelješac peninsula has a lot in common with the islands, according to Croatian law it is treated as an island and all the rules that apply to all islands in Croatia apply to it. As the islands are mostly inhabited by an elderly population that was particularly vulnerable to this pandemic and considering the fact that health care in these areas is relatively weak, the Government of the Republic of Croatia decided to completely close access to the islands and the Pelješac peninsula. Even stricter measures were adopted and it was not possible to move between places on the peninsula. It could be said that I was stuck on the peninsula in the small place of Janjina.

Since I spent time in a big city before arriving in Janjina, I was asked by the local authorities to be in self-isolation, i.e. in a kind of 14-day quarantine, until the incubation period passed in order to avoid possible infection in the community. I spent the period of self-isolation doing gardening, reading books, and analyzing data collected from the focus groups and

interviews. What was particularly interesting was that certain members of the community brought groceries to my house so I could avoid going shopping during this period.

The Pelješac peninsula and especially Janjina were already isolated during the winter period and this isolation could still be felt due to the restrictions imposed due to this pandemic. Usually this area begins to "wake up" with the arrival of spring when people begin to prepare intensively for the tourist season. But this time it was different. The feeling of isolation and loneliness lasted until the abolition of restrictive measures of movement. The place was deserted. There were no construction works that are common for this time of year and only its inhabitants and those who stocked as me to be there were in the place. Some of the locals said that this was a unique opportunity and that we will remember with sadness this period when we were "protected" from the usual invasion from the mainland. At first, I didn't understand what they were talking about and I was wondering why they were talking in that way about something that could bring them big incomes and allow them economic prosperity.

I used this period to conduct those one-on-one interviews for the purposes of my research. Also, given the situation that caught us all together we had time for each other. We had time to hang out, help each other and life was simple. The pandemic that surrounded us led to a sense of modesty and gratitude with what we have. On the one hand, I felt lonely because the place was completely deserted. But on the other hand, I felt safe and protected in this community. Also, the original feeling of loneliness was replaced by a sense of belonging to the community. There was a paradox that although surrounded by a small number of people I felt more connected and safer than in the big city where I lived until then. The pandemic had an impact on almost all aspects of everyday life and thus on formal volunteering in the community. Because all public events and formal volunteer activities were canceled, I was not able to observe those events which was one of the reasons for my arrival. But on the other hand, I was able to observe the informal helping that is very present in the community and that helped me feel part of it.

As we all had more time, we decided to make something for the community and repair and paint the playground for the kids. The municipality bought paint. Together with a couple of people from the community, I took part in the action of painting the playground. The result of our volunteer work included a lot of socializing and laughing, and finally, a playground that looked like new. More important than the very visible result of our work was that we showed other members of the community that we should not constantly look at what to do for ourselves, but that something can be done for the common good.

With the reduction of the danger of the epidemic, the measures of movement ban were slowly relaxed. So, after two months it was allowed to enter the peninsula and things started to speed up. All those people who have houses and cottages in the place came and a frantic race against time began to prepare everything for the tourist season. Construction works, various repairs and preparations for the arrival of tourists began. Suddenly, some other things became important. Suddenly, no one had time for each other anymore and everyone became busy. Priorities changed.

> *Somehow at that time, a few of my friends and I were planning to go to an old man and help him arrange his yard. This old gentleman lives alone in a large dilapidated house and is unable to take care of either the house or the garden. The idea was to come to him one day and help him with arranging the garden and the house. Everything was planned but then something happened that made me think. At one point I realized that it doesn't suit me to go to help someone else now when I have too much to do myself. Somehow it seemed to me that now was not the time for that. After I shared it with everyone who was supposed to take part in that volunteer action I got the answer that it doesn't suit anyone that we are going to do it now. Everyone was too busy with their work and helping one old man was not a priority. Especially because it wasn't urgent. We all agreed that it is better to do it when the tourist season is over and when we will all have more time. Like I said, priorities changed.*
>
> *There were a few more attempts at various volunteer activities that were eventually canceled because now was not the time for them since no one has time. We all started looking more at ourselves and our needs instead of looking at others and their needs. Everything that was not urgent was put aside until the tourist season ended and until the tourists left. I remembered the words I heard in the community that we would all remember with sadness the period when we were unwillingly protected from "invasion" from the mainland. And only then did I realize the meaning of those words.*

Reflection on These Experiences

Staying in these two little distant places, for a total of five months, during the winter period, was an unforgettable experience for me. Before this, I had mostly visited these places

during the summer when everything seems idyllic and when the picture of life that is happening does not actually reflect the real life as it is there. I was like all those tourists who come in the summer, enjoy the sun, the sea and swimming and then leave after about 10 days. The image I had of these places and the life in them changed radically. It went from a romantic image to a realistic image that is even more beautiful in some unusual way. At first glance, life in these places during the winter seems desolate and empty and it seems as if people are lonely and unhappy. But after two months spent on Vis and almost three months spent in Janjina, I have a completely new picture of life in those places. People are connected, close and help each other which makes everyone feel part of the community. This contributes to a sense of security and protection. Unlike big cities, no one is left aside. Not only are there no homeless and hungry which is one of the huge problems of modern society and something that many big cities face, but people also feel less lonely which is a kind of paradox. I realized that most of the things that are "missing" in small communities are things that in big cities only create an artificial sense of belonging and a false sense of security.

Another paradox I have experienced is that people in these small communities are trying to bring in tourists to make money and make their lives easier while these efforts are damaging the social aspects of their communities. People in the community are increasingly becoming competitors. There is a less collaboration, connections in the community are becoming weaker and people are moving away from each other. This marketing and attracting of tourists seem counterproductive to the community because, in a way, it is slowly eroding the values that have kept these communities alive for centuries. After the departure of tourists, these small communities are "healing" the wounds that their community gets during the summer months when everybody is oriented to themselves and nobody has time for others. During the winter months people in these communities realize that they are left to their own devices and again begin to care more about each other. Until the next tourist season. The question is what will happen to these small remote communities in the long run. Will they be able to heal all the damage during the winter months or will the impact of globalization prevail, and these communities will become like all other large environments?

The decision to leave my permanent job and spend five months in these two small Dalmatian places to conduct research through the method of observation on the impacts of volunteering now seems invaluable. The knowledge I could gain from various scientific papers and books on the impact of volunteering in small remote environments would certainly represent one particular value. But while that knowledge would be valuable, the experience I gained while living in these small communities seems to me to be something that is hard to

replace with anything. Experiencing life in these small communities during the winter months has helped me not only to learn many things but what is most important it helped me to comprehend life there. This experience allowed me to comprehend volunteering behavior of people in these areas. I believe that the anthropological approach that I used is something that will strongly contribute, bring important value and add more quality to this scientific project.

Appendix 6: Focus groups

Focus Groups – Vis

Focus Group – Recipients and Participants in Volunteer Services at Vis

The first focus group for this research project was conducted with five recipients of volunteer activities and three volunteers from the city of Vis. This focus group consisted of members of community who received different kind of formal or informal volunteer activities in the city of Vis. The goal of this focus group was to find out more about the benefits of volunteer activities to people in the city of Vis, especially during the winter period. The focus group was organized in the city council chambers on March 9, 2020 from 18:00 till 19:00.

Focus Group Profile

The focus group included eight people from the city of Vis, one man and seven women. Present were following persons:

- Ms. Ana Bilić – received volunteer services when her daughter had first communion
- Ms. Dina Vojković – volunteer in city library
- Ms. Ana Tepavac – volunteer in old people's home where she was helping a lady who had a stroke
- Ms. Renata Vojković – received helped from her friends when she moved
- Ms. Ivana Vučemilo – receiving volunteer services at the dance school at Vis
- Ms. Lucija Jurašek – receiving volunteer services at the dance school at Vis
- Mr. Dario Gazija – receiving volunteer services at the chess club
- Ms. Issa Žitko – volunteer who helps with babysitting

The following comment was the starting point of this focus groups. It illustrates how important volunteering was seen by the participants in this focus group with recipients of volunteer services at Vis.

"I had the misfortune of having to move eight times in ten years, and if it wasn't for my friends on the island who helped me, I don't know how I would have done it. There is no migratory service on the island, so their help was extremely important to me. Much more

than helping me out was knowing that I had people in the community I could rely on when needed".

What are the benefits of receiving volunteer activity? How did you feel when you received these activities?

Some of participants said that the most important thing for them from receiving volunteering services was a feeling to have somebody around who would help when you need a helping hand and when it's hardest for you. They said that means a lot for them. Others said that they feel truly grateful because of volunteer services what they received.

What does it mean to the community to have volunteers?

Participants said that having volunteers in the community means being rich for that community. It is a feeling of richness to have people around you and that you can rely on them when it is needed. Also, some of them said that this brings them a feeling of safety, a sense of feeling protected, having someone with them in good or bad situations. It means a lot for the community.

The financial aspect of helping is one part of receiving volunteer services. It is a big thing because you do not need to pay for services and instead of that you are receiving that service for free. But it is not so important such as the other aspects of that help. The fact that they are in the small place where everybody knows each other and will help if the help is needed is priceless for some participants. They said they feel safe and covered in the community like Vis.

Also, some participants said that in the history of the island, it is a habit helping each other and giving back to those help. It is in the culture of the island from the past and it is reciprocal. They said that the people on the island are in some way obligated to help each other and to give back that help. It is like you are borrowing the help and giving it back when it is necessary to your fellow citizens. The participants said that all of them are recipients and givers of volunteer help at the same time. Also, they said that is impossible to split the two roles – of volunteer and recipient – in a community like Vis.

What are the benefits to Vis from volunteering? How does volunteerism make a Vis a better place?

The participants said that it becomes a way of life and it connects people among the community. They consider helping each other as something normal. They said that the habit of volunteering is so deeply rooted in this community that is completely normal to provide help or service when someone asks you. Also, at the same time, it is normal to ask for some help and you can expect that you will receive that help.

How is a big city, like Split or Zagreb, different from Vis?

The participants said that in the big cities, people are much more isolated, they are much lonelier. They usually do not know the first neighbors while in Vis you know almost everybody by their name which makes them more connected.

What are some economic benefits of volunteer services in the community?

The participants said that economic benefits from volunteerism could be that they receive the service which they do not need to pay. However, they said that they do not usually think of it that way. They said that they do not even think about the economic benefits when it comes to volunteering. It is not something what motivate them. They just live like that. They said that is normal for them to behave in that way. To ask for help when they need it and to provide the help when someone else need that help.

What are some other benefits to you as a human being from volunteering?

The participants said that they think that they are better humans because of volunteering. They feel fulfilled when they know that they helped someone. They feel happier and more connected. Also, some of them said that when you are doing something that you are not obligated to do, then you are doing that from your heart. It is something completely different. You are giving and receiving at the same time. There is some kind of wonderful chemistry that happens during that process. Also, some participants said that they are receiving positive energy from volunteering.

What is so particular to volunteering during the winter times?

The participants said that all the tourists and seasonal workers leave the island in the winter period. They said that during the winter period, people are living the way of life how they have experienced it for generations. Some of them said that there is no difference between helping among the seasons and that they are willing to help no matter the season.

On the other hand, when asked about the difference of life between the winter and summer, the participants said that everything is much calmer and people have more time for each other in the winter. They feel closer to each other during the winter. Because of that, they are more willing to volunteer in the winter. Also, they said that they can count on help during the summer period but are less likely to ask for help if it is not urgent because everybody is very busy during that time.

Key Findings for This Focus Group

At first, participants thought that there was no difference between volunteering among the seasons. After the first few questions, they realized that the difference in seasons has a large impact on helping. They know that they will receive help from their fellow citizens during the whole year. But they will not ask for that help during the summer if it is not something that is very urgent.

Focus Group – Volunteers at Vis

The second focus group within this research project was done with volunteers from the city of Vis. This focus group consisted of participants who did formal or informal volunteer activities in the city of Vis. The goal of this focus group was to find out more about the role of volunteerism and its benefits to the community in the city of Vis, especially during the winter period. The focus group was organized in the city council chambers and was held at March 9, 2020 from 19:30 till 20:30.

Focus Group Profile

The focus group was conducted with six people from the city of Vis, two men and four women. Two were representatives of the local amateur theatre, one was a representative of another formal volunteer organization, two were representatives of cultural organizations and one represented an informal volunteering service. Present were the following persons:

- Ms. Dobrila Cvitanović – volunteers for the local journal *Matica Hrvatska* that comes out three times a year, also participates in different kind of volunteer activities (like local choirs) in Vis and put a lot of efforts in conserving a local language.
- Ms. Antonija Bralić – a member of the amateur theatre from when she was 16.
- Mr. Ante Ilić – a member of the amateur theatre and volunteer there. He says for himself that he is like a professional volunteer because he volunteers pretty much in every occasion in the city.
- Mr. Marko Bralić – came back from Split to the island of Vis in 1980 and volunteered for 40 years in the city. Currently is president of association "Lavurat za poja". They organize different kind of activities in the island during the year.
- Ms. Vesna Mratinić – leading Dancing club voluntary for 11 years and work with children and adults.
- Ms. Zoja Zubčić – at the moment volunteers in church choir. Before used to volunteer in different kind of activities, like in amateur theatre, hikers …

Why you are volunteering?

When asked why they are volunteering and helping others the answers varied. Most of them said that ever since they could remember they worked without being paid. It is something that is normal for them. They even do not see their activities as volunteering.

Also, they said that they get used to volunteering from the early age. For the community to function it was necessary to do different things on a voluntary basis. They said that they learned from the young age to do something for the community.

Some said that by helping others, they are helping the community make things happen there and to improve the quality of life. They consider that kind of behavior as something as essential for that small area. They believe it makes the Vis a better place for living because of that.

Also, some participants said that there are not so many things to do at Vis, there is a lack of services and not much is happening, especially in the winter. There is no professional theatre, there is no professional dance school and so on. People need to do something to fulfill those missing services, so they are engaging in different kind of volunteering activities.

Some said that they are volunteering because there are strong social needs to be met in this community. Also, volunteering provides a chance for people to be with others and to meet with others socially. So, they do what they can and provide their talents to the community for free. By that they also develop their skills.

Some participants said that in some way they entertain themselves by organizing things and offering other people to learn from them. Also, some of them said that the part of why they are volunteering is because they enjoy the activity by itself.

Others said that they volunteer because of the intrinsic reward they get from volunteer activities. It is a feeling of satisfaction that they receive when they do a good thing to others. Some participants said that the meeting with people and spending time together after those activities motivates them to volunteer.

Some of they said that they are volunteering because they want to preserve their culture and tradition. They want to bring back some things that were before and to keep them from disappearing.

The motivators among the participants are different. Some of them just enjoy doing some volunteer activities, while others said that they are willing to do something for the community. It is a part of their love for their community.

Some said that the one option is to stay home and to do nothing while the other option is to move things, to make things happen. That is another reason why some are willing to volunteer.

Is it harder to find younger people to get engaged in volunteer services in Vis?

Participants said that they are trying to engage the youths into volunteer activities, but it is getting harder and harder. They think that many young people expect to get paid and are not so willing to volunteer. Among new generations there are less things that are for free and everything is measured. Although volunteerism is a part of the tradition and culture, things are changing among the new generations.

Some think that the youth are becoming more materialistic and more selfish. By that they are becoming less willing to volunteer. Also, they think that the changes happened from the point when the island was opened to foreigners and turned more toward capitalism. The mindset of the youth is changing because of the strong influence of globalization. Also, some of them think that the parents do not want their children to have as tough a life as they had. They want to provide the better life for their children and make their lives easier. Because of that they are teaching them to do just what is necessary.

Also, some participants said that it is important for youth to be included in different kind of volunteer activities from the early age. Kids learn about giving and receiving from the early age and it is important to raise them like that. If children learn about helping, they will gain that feeling of responsibility when they grow up. And by that they will be more willing to volunteer. It must be something that it is learned from the beginning. The parents and other adults need to act as a role model.

What is that do you get from volunteering?

Some participants said that they are receive intrinsic satisfaction from volunteering. Also, they said that is a different kind of satisfaction because it is not just about fulfilling yourself. It is more about fulfilling the needs of others with these volunteer activities. They said that is it enough for them to see that their fellow citizens are fulfilled and happy because of their volunteer activity. That is enough for them.

How is Vis a different place because of volunteering?

The focus group participants said that the main difference from other places, especially compared with bigger cities, is that you need to pay to join many of these activities in big cities while in Vis many of these activities are available for free. They said that the lack of services pushed people to organize these services by themselves on a voluntary basis. Also, they said that volunteering makes life more interesting in a place like Vis.

What has volunteerism brought to the community?

The participants thought that there are more social and cultural impacts than the economic impacts from volunteering activities at Vis. The people in Vis are willing to give their talents for free through different kind of activities. They are voluntarily providing services that otherwise would not exists in Vis. When others see those kinds of activities, they are willing to join in and to give back.

How does volunteerism help the economy on Vis?

It is interesting that participants do not see connections between volunteering and economy. They even say that volunteerism does not help at all to the economy because if you are doing voluntary activities you are spending your time and energy on what can be used for your own business. Participants think that their voluntary activities are not connected to their business and that volunteering does not help the economy.

Are business transactions different at Vis because of volunteering?

At first glance, participants thought there is no connections between volunteerism and economy. They thought that the business at Vis is the same as the business in other big cities. But when asked this question, they noticed some things about trust and relationships among the community, and they agreed that these connections are stronger at Vis. By that they changed their opinion and said that it could be likely that business here would be different because of volunteering.

Key Finding from the Focus Group

It was interesting to see that the participants did not see many connections between their volunteering activities and the economy. That was perhaps the most interesting thing from the whole conversation with this focus group.

What was also interesting is that this was very lively group. The participants were often speaking at the same time during the duration of the focus group. They were also completing each other's sentences which is a sign of the closeness of the community.

Focus Group – Leaders within Community at Vis

The focus group with leaders within the community of Vis was organized to gather the thoughts and ideas about volunteering activities from those who are leading the community. The focus group was organized in the charming environment of the city library on March, 10, 2020 from 19:00 till 20:00.

Focus Group Profile

The focus group was conducted with nine people from the city of Vis, five men and four women: two representatives of the City, three representatives of religious institutions, two representatives of educational institutions, one representative of a cultural institution and one representative of an economic association were present, including the following persons:

- Ms. Sanja Tanta – director of the city library in Vis
- Mr. Velimir Mratinić – president of a craft organization in Vis and leader of two volunteer organizations
- Don Milan Šarić – pastor of the parish of Vis
- Friar Pero Kelava – guardian of the Franciscan monastery in Vis
- Friar Žarko Mula - a Franciscan in the monastery in Vis
- Ms. Antonia Runje – deputy mayor of the City
- Ms. Alma Vodopija – principal of the Vis high school
- Ms. Josipa Poduje – professor of biology and pedagogue in Vis high school
- Mr. Marinko Zubčić – resident of the city council and the member of a few voluntary organizations

Most participants of this focus group are also involved in various volunteer activities. Some of them are currently involved in several volunteer associations, some have been active before while some are now doing a lot of voluntary work in addition to their regular work.

This story told by one of the participants started the focus group:

"When I moved to the island in the mid 90's there was no old paper collection service on the island. Given that I came from a country where the service was heavily developed and where environmental awareness was very present, I wanted to do something

about it. So, with the help of my family, husband and son, I started collecting old papers in town so that it could be recycled. I set up empty boxes in different places in the city, such as schools, kindergartens and the like, and when I filled those boxes, I would carry them to the ferry and send them to Split for recycling. I did this for several years completely voluntarily. Now this action is more organized and is a part of the regular job of the local communal company. Something that started as a completely voluntary effort now is an organized activity. I did that because I wanted to do something good for the society. When you do something good for society it makes you feel good."

What are the reasons that explain why people in Vis volunteer? Why do are volunteer?

The participants stated that there are many reasons why they are volunteering. One said he volunteers because it makes the community a better place. Others volunteer because they feel they were fulfilling a social or economic need. Some participants said that they are volunteering because they want to provide better living conditions to the next generation, to their children and grandchildren.

Also, some said that they volunteer to conserve what they have, their culture and tradition. Sometimes they volunteer for personal reasons while sometimes for community reasons. These voluntary efforts can make them feel happier. It can make the community a better place. They can make better connections with other people. Also, some of them said that they have certain talents and they are willing to give these talents to the community for free.

Some said that their regular job is a profession that can be done like any others, with pay or with love. You can do just the basics and go home after that. Or you can take care and voluntarily do the things above and beyond your job responsibilities because of the love you have for the work and for the people. They said that they are trying to make their fellow citizens happy and they care about their progress. They are doing things primarily with love to ensure their fellow citizens have everything as people do in the big cities.

Many people on the island are involved across many organizations so in that way, many organizations are connecting among them. In a small community where there are less people, there is an awareness that if you do not do something, no one will. If you are in a smaller place like Vis, you know you have to do it because if you do not do that, nobody will. People rely more on themselves and each other and they are aware of it.

Some participants explained there are currently active about 40 volunteer organizations in Vis. It was suggested that if there are 10 people in each of them that

means it is about 400 persons who are involved in the volunteer activities. That represents almost 50% of total population during the winter. They said that fact speaks a lot about culture of volunteering in Vis.

What is the connection between volunteering and the social and economic fabric of the community of Vis?

The island by itself, by its nature, is an area that keeps itself separate from other places. It brings people together and brings more social contact among the people on the island. People on the island like to socialize, and people will find a way to do that. It is up to them if something will happen or not and the islanders are very active making sure something will happen, especially when it comes to social and cultural reasons.

On the other hand, there are increasing economic tensions that may be separating people on the island, and these tensions go against the very nature of the island. Those separations are caused by the increasing economic competition for the tourism dollars. Increasingly, they see each other more as a competitor than as someone to cooperate with. It is much harder to come together to socialize when you see each other as economic competitors.

People are aware that they can only solve community problems if they come together to solve these things, yet there are constant pressures of competition. They are aware that they cannot solve the things alone but sometimes they hesitate to come together and pass that boundary and go honestly together with everything due to the economic competition. There are still conflicts present which make obstacles for community development.

When it comes to economic questions, some consider the main motto as: “The resources are ours while the profit is mine “. There is a tension. We own the island together but the profit I make from my tourist business is only mine. Sometimes people forget that if they are doing good for others, we are indirectly helping our community. We are not aware that by doing good and helping others that we are helping ourselves also.

Some participants disagreed and said they do not see this economic competition changing the helping culture of the island and that economic reliance on tourism is having no impact on volunteerism in Vis. They also point out that there are no homeless and hungry on the island, so the idea of helping others out of economic need is not necessary.

Others pointed out that in the past times, the economy of Vis relied more on agriculture and fishing, which are industries that are by themselves more cooperative. Farmers and fishermen are more likely to help each other than those who own tourist

businesses. Today, there is big competition between people involved in the tourism sector. This is promoting a change in core values on the island and it does not encourage cooperation as it was before. Therefore, tourism has a negative impact on volunteering activities on the island.

How do you see the future of volunteering? How are things changing?

The main reason why people volunteer is because of awareness of the common good. The lack of concern for the common good can lead to lack of volunteering, especially when it comes to economic reasons. Most participants in the focus group thought that volunteering in Vis is declining while a few of them think that is still very strong right now.

Some of them said that everything starts with the family, and depending how the parents raise their children, the future of volunteering will continue or not. Others said that if the children are not taught to volunteer that they will not be willing to volunteer when they grow up. They think that is something that is already happening here at Vis and that volunteering at Vis is declining, whether people are aware of this or not.

Other participants said that there is a strange biorhythm or life dynamic that fluctuates across the year in this area. They said that during the summer, because of the tourism season, they do not have time for anything other than their business. Almost everyone is involved in some kind of tourist activities and is very busy during that period. An accelerated lifestyle becomes more prevalent on the island, people are busier and that leads to a decrease in volunteer activities. This lifestyle is present only during the tourist season when no one has time for others. During the winter they have more time, and they are more oriented to each other and they are trying to fill this time with different kind of volunteering activities. They said that if they want to keep their traditions, voluntary organizations and actions are necessary.

Some participants said that the level of volunteerism depends on the growth of our consciousness. It is important not to stay in selfish frames and not to think only of ourselves. When the competition gets strong, people are more selfish and less likely to think about the community and therefore, they are less likely to volunteer.

Key Finding from the Focus Group

In the past, Vis relied more on agriculture and fishing which are industries that are more cooperative oriented. People were used to helping each other and that ensured that

they would survive, as they did for hundreds of years in this distanced island. Now, the economy is almost completely oriented toward tourism which is more competitive oriented. People are competing and becoming less willing to help each other, especially during the summer months.

Focus Groups – Janjina

Focus Group – Volunteers in Janjina

The first focus group within this research project in Janjina was done with volunteers from that area. This focus group consisted of participants who did formal or informal volunteer activities in Janjina. The goal of this focus group was to find out more about the role of volunteerism and its benefits to the community in this area, especially during the winter period. The focus group was organized in the city council chambers and was held at March 11, 2020 from 18:00 till 19:00.

Focus Group Profile

The focus group was conducted with seven people from Janjina, all women. All of them were a representatives of formal volunteer organization and represented an informal volunteering service. Present were the following persons:

- Ms. Antonija Prišlić – deputy of mayor; engaged in mostly volunteer activities among the city; said for herself that she is volunteering from the time she knows for herself
- Ms. Nera Radomiljac – volunteer formally in the anticancer society in Janjina for last 18 years. Also, helps older people in the community by bringing them food, medicine and other necessaries
- Ms. Ana Bjelovučić – volunteer formally in the anticancer society in Janjina for last 18 years; she volunteers because she loves to do that and she is doing a lot of informally volunteering activities during the year.
- Ms. Marina Rašić – volunteer formally in the society children of Pelješac and in the anticancer society; she is a housewife and love to help
- Ms. Marija Kalafatović – volunteer formally in the anticancer society in Janjina and said that this society is most actively during the summer when there is a lot of tourists
- Ms. Ilonka Antičević – volunteer formally in the anticancer society in Janjina for last 18 years. She is willing to anything what is necessary for the community
- Ms. Nada Mratović – member of the anticancer society in Janjina for last 18 years where she is volunteering for last 18 years

Can you tell us a story about how you helped someone who was in need or when somebody helped you? Can you tell us more about that?

Here are some of the direct quotes from the stories of few that were shared by the participants who were volunteers in Janjina.

"There is a habit in this community which speaks about helping. If someone from the community is in some trouble, the other members are ready to jump in and to help. In the old days, people used to have big vineyards. If something happened to the male member of the family and he was not able to maintain the vineyard anymore, then the members of the community organized among themselves and helped him to finish the seasonal work in the vineyard. That habit from the old days teaches that you need to help your first neighbor still exists in this area."

"My parents had a car accident and I was in situation where my family needed help. My mother and father were in the hospital for months, and me and my sister were left alone. I was in the university and my sister was in high school. We lived with our old grandfather and grandmother in the house and that situation was challenging for us from many aspects. It was a situation where we needed help. From working in the field, to helping out with different things in the household. The situation was very complex and demanding for us. The community jumped in and helped about everything – with the vineyard, with our finances and whatever we needed. I feel very grateful and happy because I am part of this community. I know that I can count on my fellow citizens and we understand the situation when somebody needs a help. I am not obligated to give back that help that I received but now I am more aware of the situation when somebody else needs help. It is not reciprocal. It is just that I understand these kinds of situations when somebody is in trouble. By that I am more willing to help and that makes me happy and fulfilled. It comes from my heart."

"There was one old lady in the village who lived alone. I came every day to help her with some basic everyday things. I came to check if everything is fine, if gas is closed or if she needs something? Her "thank you" was enough reward to me."

Some of participants said that they were helping the old people by bringing them food and medical supplies. Others said that they were just checking their neighbors to see if everything is fine or if they need something. They said that they regularly care about their neighbors and that is a normal way of life for them. Participants said that there are a lot of old people in the community who need different kind of help and there is nobody to do that. So, if they do not help them, nobody will.

Since the old days, there was a habit of helping people in the community if they are in need. Whether it was helping in the vineyard, in the field, in the household or anything else, community members were somehow obliged to help one another when they needed it. They said that it is part of their tradition in this community and it still exists as a regular part of life.

Why did you do this?

When asked why they did different kinds of helping the participants said they did that because someone had to do it. If not, nobody else would, so they could not allow that. Also, some participants said that it makes them pleased when they help someone. They feel fulfilled and it makes them happy when they can help someone. They said that they help because it is the right thing to do. Others said that the helping is a part of their religion. The religion taught them to help someone who is in need.

Some participants said that they were in situations where they received help from the community when they needed it. By that, they understand the situation when somebody is in need and because of that, they are willing to help to others. Some said it was reciprocity. It is not that they feel obligated, but it is common in this area to give back help to the members of community when they need that help. Also, participants said that it is something that they need to do and that they cannot refuse help when someone asks them. It is part of tradition and they are raised like that. They said that helping is rooted in their behavior from the early age and that they are helping on everyday basis. They are not helping to feed their ego and they do not think about the financial aspect of their helping. They are just doing that because they want to help someone. Some participants said that "thank you" that they get when they help someone is enough for them.

Some participants said that there are not so many people in this area and therefore, they need to function in that way. They are helping each other because they rely on each other. They do not have a choice if they want to survive here.

What do you see as the social and economic benefits of volunteering to this community? How does volunteerism help to build the community?

Some benefits are easy access to the different kind of services which do not exist. Otherwise, the needs of people would not be satisfied. Also, some participants think that the community gets closer by different kind of volunteer activities. They said that they are becoming more connected by that.

The initial idea of starting the anti-cancer league in Janjina, which works as a formal voluntary organization, was to enable the citizens in Janjina to get together. The

idea was to encourage socializing among the people within the community because the connections among people have become somewhat weaker. The real value of this organization is not just that it is providing this service to those fellow citizens who need help, but also it is adding value for the whole community by encouraging socializing among people within the community. The people are getting together and becoming closer to each other. Participants said that they are getting together, laughing and smiling while they are participating in this voluntary organization.

How would life in Janjina look different if there was no helping here?

Participants said that the people would be more distanced and would care less for each other. Also, the people would be lonelier. Others said that the people would be less connected and that there would be less trust among the community. In fact, they agreed that if there was no helping, there would not be trust at all among the community. Participants said that now they trust each other and that they know that doors from their fellow citizens are always open to them. They do not know how to explain that, but they just know that it is like that and that they can count on each other.

Do you see this is changing in some way?

Participants said that people here have always lived by this way of life, of helping each other. They also said it was more of a regular behavior in the past. The new economic order, the modern economy and globalization is beginning to change that way of living. Their way of life is becoming more money-oriented and because of that, people are less willing to help to each other than in the past. They said that life here is becoming "infected" with globalization and with that new way of living. Life is becoming faster, and people have less time to help. Some participants said that life in the small cities is becoming similar to the life in the big cities. Everything is becoming faster, people are becoming too busy, more distanced from each other and more money-oriented and less oriented by the heart. Life in small places is changing and they said that they are forced to adapt. As a consequence, it leads to the decrease of the volunteering here.

Key Findings from the Focus Group

Participants are helping but they are not always aware of it. They do lots of volunteering activities because it is a way of life for them. They said that they rely on each other and if they do not help, nobody will.

Helping behavior is rooted within this community and there is some kind of informal reciprocity when it comes to helping. They help when somebody needs help and can expect that they will get that help when they will be needed.

Participants said that life in this area is changing. It is becoming similar to life in the big cities. Everything is becoming faster, people are becoming too busy, more distanced from each other and more money-oriented.

Focus Group with Leaders within the Community in Janjina

The focus group with leaders within the Janjina community was organized in order to find out the thoughts about volunteering activities in Janjina from key persons who were in positions of authority in various institutions in the city. The focus group was organized in the City Council chambers and was held at March 12, from 11:00 till 12:00.

Focus Group Profile

The focus group was conducted with six people from Janjina, four men and two women. Four were representatives of the Janjina Municipality, one was a representative of a religious institution, and one represented a fireworks organization in Janjina. Present were the following persons:

- Mr. Vlatko Nožica – mayor of Janjina Municipality
- Ms. Sanja Bjelovučić – official at the Janjina Municipality
- Mr. Tino Dežulović – resident of the city council
- Rev. Don Mato Puljić – pastor of the parish of Janjina
- Ms. Antonija Prišlić – deputy mayor of the Janjina Municipality
- Mr. Željko Nožica – member of the fireworks association and resident of the city council

Can you describe volunteerism here in Janjina?

The participants said that the culture of helping is what they have as a legacy of previous generations. It is a part of their culture and tradition. Also, there is a lack of services in the community, so they are forced to do some things by themselves. They did not have a choice. For example, when somebody needed to pull out their boat from the sea, he needed to find at least five people to help him. Also, when the construction material came for somebody, he needed help from others to take it from the truck. Also, when there was some need in a church, people went there and helped. When there is a funeral in the community, other members come to help. When the old neighbors are in some need, people go there to help. They said that if they do not do that, nobody will. It is a way of life here and it is like that from the past times.

The participants said that helping is like a habit in this community. When something extraordinary happens to the family, like when a family member passes away, the community members are there to help. Some of them, usually women, are cooking

meals for fifteen days for that family. Others, usually men, go to the field and finish the seasonal work for that family. Like cutting the grass or doing different jobs in the vineyard, it depends on the season. It is usually a one-time assistance from the community, until the members of the family are set to deal with that situation. There was a case recently when one of the community members was diagnosed with cancer and he needed to go to the hospital in Split. During the time when he was in the hospital the members of community took care of his fields.

Also, there was another example when a community member had a car accident and was seriously injured. During the process of recovery, the community members jumped in and helped with different kind of things. They did not help just with the things that needed to be done physically, like help in the household and the field. They also helped to keep that person socialized. Some members of the community visited her every day and enabled her to be engaged in the community life. Also, they encouraged her to do some of her regular jobs from home so she could maintain her mental health.

There is also a habit within the community that when somebody was building a house, the community members came to help. They were not to be called and they came on their own to help. On the other hand, when they needed help the other member of the community came to help them also. That was like an unwritten rule and some kind of informal reciprocity.

How is volunteerism changing in the community?

The participants said that the volunteerism has a positive impact on the community because they feel safer. They said that they can count on others when they have some problems and when there is a tough time for them. They can expect that the community will take care of them during these situations. They felt that they can rely on each other and that they feel protected because of that.

How does volunteerism change during the winter and summer time?

Some participants said that the needs of the community are the same during the winter and the summer period. They just need different types of help regarding the season. Because of that there is no difference between helping during the year. They said that they are there to help when there is need no matter of season.

Others thought that the formal volunteering organizations are more active during the summer when there are more people present in this area because of the tourist season. They are trying to use that fact to collect more money for their activities for the rest of the

year. During the winter period these organizations are just preparing their activities for the summer.

On the other hand, other participants said that the lack of services is more expressed during the winter period. Most shops and restaurants are closed, the bakery does not work during that period also. So, the members of the community are helping more during the winter, especially to those who are not able to satisfy their needs. Some of them are bringing breads, milk or medicine supplies to old people who live alone. Others are cleaning their yards.

Also, some participants said that life during the winter is much simpler and that people take more care of others during the winter.

How would life be different if there would be no volunteering?

Participants said that people would be more distanced from each other. Also, they said that there would be a lack of services and many needs would not be satisfied. The people would be lonelier, and the fields would be un-cultivated.

Why do the people volunteer? What are the drives that motivates the people?

Some participants said that they are motivated by their heart. They said that it is impossible not to help when you see that someone needs help. Their heart does not allow them not to help when they see somebody who needs help. Others said that they are mostly Catholic in that community and that their religion teaches them to help others.

How does tourism affect volunteering here?

Some said that tourism brings more money into the community and because of that the people are less likely to volunteer because they can pay for services. On the other hand, the formal volunteer activities are organized more often during the touristic season when there are more people present in this area. By that, they are collecting more money for the rest of the year.

Is volunteering declining in this community?

Some participants think that a new time is coming in their community. They are not as isolated as they were before, and new services are appearing which did not exist before. People are becoming aware that the new services are appearing, and these new services take over the services that were done before by volunteers. They feel that many things now are not their responsibility and will be done by others, usually professional services.

Their life is becoming more similar to the life in the big cities and people are becoming more distanced in the small cities too. Some participants said that people in small areas are becoming more oriented to themselves and looking just for their own

needs. They said that the things are changing in the small communities also. They still know the names of their neighbors, but they are now not as much aware of their problems as they were before. There are still present some people who are willing to help but less and less. These things are changing slowly but everything is going into that direction. Some said that before it was easy to find the women from the village who will clean the church while now that job need to be paid and done by professional services. Before people were more willing to do things for the community than now. Globalization is coming and will affect the small communities also.

Some said that doing good is inseparable from the Catholic religion. Out of love for my neighbor I do him good. Some said that there is cooling among people within the community. The less we believe in our faith, then the more insensitive we are to their problems and needs. Also, they said that there is a decline of faith in the community and that as a consequence has the decline of helping.

Some participants think that the old members of the community are keeping this way of life going and are more willing to help, while the youth are not so engaged in different kind of volunteer activities and are not so willing to help.

Others believe that this change will first affect the economic side of volunteerism. They think that it will first affect activities which now can be satisfied by professional services. People now are becoming less willing to volunteer to do the things which can be done by paid professional services. For example, before people were willing the clean the roads which go to their vineyards. Also, before people were cleaning and preparing their villages for touristic season. Now they are expecting that the Municipality will take care of that and pay for professional services to do that. They said that kind of volunteerism started because of the need, while now when there are some professional services appearing that need is becoming satisfied and people are not willing to do that by themselves.

At the same time, they believe that this change will not affect so much the social and cultural aspects of life in this community. They think that the situation regarding the social and cultural volunteering will stay the same or even raise in the future.

Key Finding from the Focus Group

The culture of helping is a part of their culture and legacy from the past times. There were lack of services in this area, so people were forced to do that. They did not have a choice.

Voluntary organizations in this area are functioning like a business and have different seasonal dynamics. They are using the opportunity of the tourist season when there are many tourists present and organizing different kinds of activities during that period. By that they are collecting the money they need for the rest of the year.

It seems that the informal volunteerism is more present during the winter while the formal volunteerism is more present during the summer period. When there are not so many people in this area the people are more oriented to each other, while when there are many tourists present they are more oriented to the formal volunteer activities by which they raise money for their activities during the rest of the year.

The participants said that the volunteering toward services which now can be done by professional services, such as cleaning streets and churches, are declining, while the helping and taking care to others will stay the same or even raise in the future.

The participants said that the economic impact of volunteerism started because of the need while now when there are some professional services appearing that need is becoming satisfied by paid services and people are not willing to do that by themselves. They believe that the helping regarding the social and cultural impacts of volunteering will stay the same.

Focus Group – Recipients of Volunteer Services in Janjina

The last focus group within this research project was done with recipients of volunteer activities from Janjina. This focus group consisted of some members of the community who received different kind of formal or informal volunteer activities in Janjina. The goal of this focus group was to find out more about the benefits of volunteer activities and its benefits to the community in Janjina, especially during the winter period. The focus group was organized in the city council chambers and was held on March 12, 2020, from 18:00 till 19:00.

Focus Group Profile

The focus group was conducted with six people from Janjina, all women, and all were recipients of volunteer services, and some were volunteers at the same time. Present were the following persons:

- Ms. Nataša Marinković – recipient of volunteer activities and volunteer in association which help children with special needs;
- Ms. Marija Kalafatović – recipient of volunteer activities; volunteer formally in the anti-cancer society in Janjina;
- Ms. Zdenka Tomić – recipient of volunteer activities; volunteer in association which helps children with special needs;
- Ms. Ilonka Antičević – recipient of volunteer activities; volunteer formally in the anti-cancer society in Janjina for last 18 years. She stated that she is willing to do anything that is necessary for the community;
- Ms. Nada Mratović – recipient of volunteer activities; member of the anti-cancer society in Janjina, where she has been volunteering for last 18 years
- Ms. Đurđica Dujić – recipient of volunteer activities; also helps older people in the community by bringing them food, medicine and other necessaries. She stated that she has a big heart.

These two short stories were shared at the beginning of the focus group with the recipients of volunteer services in Janjina:

"There is a habit in this community which also shows the closeness among the community members. When a community member passes away, other community members

are there to help that family. They help financially and with some work if that family needs that. But what is even more important, they are helping with visiting that family. So, every day after someone in the community passes away, the community members are visiting this family. They are coming at least one person per each day for some period of time, to ensure that they do not feel lonely. They are bringing them that social aspect and bring to them the fact that they are not left to themselves and that they are part of the community."

"I have a child who needed a speech therapist. Because of that, I was forced to go to Metković every weekend, which is a city that is one-and-a-half-hour drive from here. I noticed that there are more children in this area who have this need. Because of that, I encouraged my friends to establish the association which will help the children with special needs from this area. We saw the unsatisfied need and organize ourselves to satisfy that need."

"Me and my husband had a very hard car accident nine years ago. After that, we recovered for months and the members of community helped us with different kind of things. Aside from the fact that they helped us financially and with a number of jobs in the house and the field. Perhaps the most valuable help was when someone came to your home and spoke a few words of encouragement to you. Then you know you are not alone."

What motivates you to do volunteer activities? Why do you volunteer?

Participants said that when they see a need which is not satisfied in the community, they are motivated to satisfy these needs. Some of them also said that they like to volunteer because they feel happier and more connected to others. They said that they feel good when they volunteer. Also, they said that they are raising their friendships. The participants said that they feel fulfilled when they are doing something that is good for their community.

The people in this community rely more on each other because this is a small community and there are not so many people who live here. Also, there is a lack of services which needs to be fulfilled with different kind of formal or informal helping. Also, they said that they volunteer because they want to contribute to something. Some participants said that they volunteer because they like people and have a big heart. Others said that they feel helpful when they help to someone who is in need.

How does the volunteerism bring benefits and changes community?

Participants noted some psychological benefits of volunteering that could be bringing positive vibrations to the community members, to the volunteers and the recipients of volunteer services. There are a lot of old people and sometimes it is just

enough to speak a few words to some of them and they will feel better by that. You will make their day better by that and you will feel better also because of that.

The participants said that the most important thing for them is that they can count on their community if they will need any help. When some problem appears, they know that can rely on their fellow citizens and that they will receive the help they need. The participants said that is probably the most valuable things in a small community. Also, people get used to do many things by themselves but when a problem appears, the community will jump in to help them. Many community members are givers and receivers at the same time.

Some participants think that people in this area get used to doing things by themselves and they will not ask for help just like that. People are quite independent, and they rely on themselves. But also, when some problem appears, they will take care of others. Also, they know that they can rely on others if is needed.

Participants also said that when someone from the community goes to the big city like Dubrovnik or Metković, then that person asks others if they need something from these areas. That is a normal behavior in this area. They bring different things to each other from the big cities and depend on each other when someone goes there.

Also, they said that there is another example of helping and receiving in the same time. A few children from this area go to the music school in Orebić so their parents are organizing themselves to drive them there. The parents take turns picking up the kids and driving them to Orebić and back.

Participants said that some community members call the older women “aunts” and the older men “uncles”, even if they are not related by family. That shows the closeness of community. The community is like one big family.

Do you see this way of life continuing? What do you see about the future of volunteering here?

All participants agreed that the volunteerism in this community is raising and that the younger generations will continue to live like this. They said that they are teaching their children to behave in this way and to be aware of the community needs. They are trying to transfer this kind of behavior to their children. There are more older people and the needs for volunteers now are even bigger. Because of that they believe that this way of living will continue because they do not have a choice. It is their way of life.

Key Findings from the Focus Group

The community here is like one body which will take care of all of its members whenever it is necessary. People in this area are quite independent and they tend to rely on themselves. But also, when some problem appears, they will take care of others. Also, they know that they can rely on others if is needed.

They are receivers and helpers at the same time. It is hard to distinguish these two roles in this area. Participants said that everyone treats each other as family. They call people “uncle” and “aunt” even when they are not related. That shows the closeness of community. The community is like one big family,

Appendix 7: One-on-one interviews

One-on-one interviews - Vis

Interview with the leader within the community at Vis

Monday, March 10, 2020.

City of Vis, Mayor's office

This interview was with the mayor within the community of Vis, Mr. Ivo Radica. It was conducted as part of formal research for the purpose of dissertation project about impacts of volunteering in small remote communities. Mr. Radica has been the mayor of the city of Vis for the last 11 years.

Q: Dear Mr. Radica, first of all, thank you for your time. We know you are busy, and we appreciate that you take time to participate in this interview. Can you tell us about the volunteerism in Vis, particularly in the winter?

A: There are always some people who will give their effort to make island better place. And the city will support these people and that kind of activity by giving them the place for their activities. There are lot of cultural events in the city where people volunteer.

Q: How does volunteerism add to the economy?

A: In the winter, through volunteering activities we are getting together. In the summer, there are a lot of people present in this area and a lot of happenings. During the winter, there are not so many things that happen here. A few years ago, we said we should do something in the winter for us who live at the island during the whole year. And we started with different kind activities during the winter

Q: Why is that important?

A: If you have a company you usually do teambuilding every once in a while, to keep your workers satisfied. These activities are the teambuilding of our community. We are getting together and raising our connections.

Q: How does volunteerism make Vis better place to live?

A: Volunteerism can bring many things to the community.

Q: How does volunteerism add to the economy to Vis?

A: Not directly, but indirectly for sure it adds to the economy.

Q: Why do you think the people volunteer?

A: You will always find people who care for this place.

Q: What do you think motivates people to volunteer?

A: I do not know, maybe it is how you are born. The money that I receive for this job is not something that motivates me to do this job.

Q: So, what motivates you to do that?

A: I do not know, maybe God (religion). It might be a heart also. When I finish with this job, I want that people say you did a good job. That will make me proud of myself. I am very grateful that this position allows me to help people. I have a lot of connections around the country which allows me to help my fellow citizens when they have some problem and when they need some help. For example, when they are going to the hospital in big city, I can call the doctors and ask them to please help my fellow citizens. And they will do that not because I am the mayor but because we are friends. When I can help them, it makes me feel good, makes me feel happy.

Q: So, the money is not something that motivates you to do this. And the money is not something that motivates many people in the city who care for it and are doing different kind of volunteer activities. So, what does motivate these people?

A: Better life. We can stay in home and watch TV, or we can do some volunteer actions and make some things happen here. Especially during the winter. In summer, the life is more oriented to the economy. We do not have time for each other. During the whole summer, I meet my friends maybe two or three times. Can you imagine that in this small island we do not see each other for a month sometimes?

Q: Can you say more about that? So, the winter is a time that builds community, people build relationships. Why is that important to Vis?

A: If you compare Vis with a big city there is a big difference. In the big city you might do not know your first neighbors while here we all know each other. We are calling others by their name. With volunteering what we are doing we are creating one big family here. There are some people that are not so willing to volunteer but when they see that some others are doing it, they start to be ashamed. And that could be a motivation for them to include in some volunteer activities.

Q: Seeing other people volunteer motivates some people to volunteer. What causes that change? What happens in that person?

A: They started to be ashamed. There are two type of people. One kind that are motivated with valet and the other that are motivates with heart. Volunteering makes you feel good.

Q: If one person is motivated by the valet and other person is motivated by the heart and the person who is motivated by valet change, what motivate that person to change?

A: Might be age. When we are getting older, we can see better. We can see the big picture. And the other things start to be more important to you. You grow up as a person. People who are motivated by valet see only the material staff. The things that money can buy. The others that are not motivated by money are motivated by heart. They want to be happy, to keep tradition and our culture. Here at the island you can create the good life if you work just six hours per day. You have time to go to the vineyard, to be with your friends and family. You have time to do the things that will bring you happiness. We need to do something in this nice, beautiful world to leave something behind us. We can do that only if we are motivated by heart.

Q: As mayor can you tell me how the people who are motivated by the heart add the quality of life at Vis?

A: There are enormous benefits. The social life is getting richer.

Q: Can you tell more about informal volunteerism here at Vis? The small things that people are doing for each other.

A: That is a normal thing in our community. We do not talk about volunteerism when doing that. It is just a way of life.

Q: Can you say more about why is that important? How does that make living in Vis different from living in the big city?

A: It is completely different here. Here you feel more like a person while in the big town you feel more like a number.

Q: Can you say more about why is that more important to a human being to treat each other in that way?

A: It is a normal thing. We are human beings. We need to help each other.

Q: Do you know everybody here people by name?

A: Yes, from the kids in kindergarten till the oldest ones.

Q: Why is it so important to know people by their name?

A: You are becoming closer to each other by that.

Q: Can you speak to why this is important for business?

A: In this community, the handshake is enough. When you shake a hand, it is a big thing. It is like an informal contract here. I think we still live like the people were living in the 50's or 60's when there was more trust among people. The relationships among people were closer. And the volunteerism is building and tightening those relationships which allows to make business based more on trust. It makes a better climate for doing business.

Q: Can you speak to the need for more people to live here in the winter?

A: They will live here because the life in the cities is like in the jungle while life here is like in paradise. I would rather spend the time planting my lemon trees and working in my vineyard than to spend the time chasing the things in the big cities.

Interview with volunteer at Vis

Tuesday, March 11, 2020.

City of Vis, Amateur Theatre "Ranko Marinković"

This interview was conducted with the volunteer at Vis, Mr. Lenko Blažević. It was the second interview done as a part of formal research for the purpose of dissertation project about impacts of volunteering in small remote communities. Mr. Blažević is a founder and leader of the Amateur Theatre, "Ranko Marinković", in Vis and he has been volunteering as a leader for this theatre for last 25 years.

Q: Dear Mr. Blažević, first of all thank you for your time and willingness to participate in this interview. We are very interested in your voluntary work. What do you think, what motivates someone to volunteer?

A: My first motive is my love for the theater. I first came into theater when I was 10 years old. From that time till now, more than 70 years, I am involved and active in amateur theatre. In 1995, I established the amateur theatre here at Vis and I have been leading this theatre for the last 25 years, completely voluntarily.

Q: What is something special about theatre that motivates you? Why theater, why not something else?

A: I was raised in the theater spirit and my love for theater appeared from an early age. During this time, my love for theater just raised and became the integral part of me. The theater was under my skin and became part of my DNA. When I came to live in Vis with my wife, I said to her that I need to do something here because there was not any theater here, no professional or no amateur one. I could not image myself to live somewhere and that there is no theater there.

Q: OK, so what is so unique about theater that so interesting to you?

A: It is hard to say what is so special about that. It gives me a life.

Q: How is theater adding to the social and economic fabric of Vis? How does it add to the community?

A: Before we established theatre there was a period of 40 years when there was nothing similar at the island. We promoted amateur theatre here at Vis. Also, we traveled a lot and represented our city around the Europe. Through our theater shows, we are presenting our culture, local language, tradition and so on.

Q: How does theater change the community? For those 40 years when there was no theater, how was life different here?

A: In the last 25 years, every time when we made our theater show the hall where the theater is showing, is full of people, about 150 people per show usually. And before us there were not any kind of similar cultural activities here at the island. People here accepted us and they are experiencing this as some kind of cultural expansion.

Q: Why did the people come to your theater shows?

A: First, they came because they were curious. After that, when they saw how their children, grandchildren, friends or fellow citizens are included into the shows they cannot wait for the next shows. They were coming also because it brings them joy.

Q: OK, is that a reason why you volunteer, to bring joy to people?

A: Of course, that is one of the reasons. Another reason is that I do this from my heart.

Q: How would Vis be different place if you did not do this? What would be missing?

A: The city would be mentally poorer. Our work is like a cultural entertainment and richness for the city.

Q: How is winter and summer different here at Vis?

A: The summer period is very busy while the winter period is deserted and sad. During the summer people are more oriented to the different kind of activities which are related to tourism and most of them are very busy. They do not have a time for anything. While during the winter, they cannot wait for the next show.

When the tourist season is over, people on the street start asking me when the next show will be. The members and the visitors of theatre also. While we are preparing the show, our members are socializing and getting together, especially during the winter. This is an opportunity for them to come out somewhere during the winter months and have some cultural content. During the winter. people are left to themselves because there is a lack of activities. We are providing some content to the community, to the members of theatre and visitors of our show, in the period where there are not so many activities in the city.

Q: So, the theater becomes even more important during the winter period?

A: Of course, it is more important to the city during the winter. We are also doing the shows during the summer period and these shows are more oriented to the tourists and to the people who are coming from the outside. To be honest, this part of the year is also an opportunity for us to earn some money. I could say that we behave similar as the others at

island when we want to the chance for a big number of people present on the island because of the tourist season. But for the domestic people our shows are much more important during the winter period because it provide theme some cultural content in the period where there are not so many happenings at the island. It also provides an opportunity for the members of theatre to get together and socialize during the long winter nights. The run for profit makes people more distanced from each other's during the summer.

Q: What I hear is that one of the things that motivates you is that theater brings people together and builds relationships and builds a sense of community, especially during the winter period?

A: Yes, I completely agree. That's one of the things. We want people to get together and to socialize. Not to be separated and watching the TV for the whole time. We want to get people out of their homes to spend some time together.

Q: So perhaps that is one of the things you love about the theater?

A: Maybe. For example, the children are staying in front of their laptop for whole days. They become less social. With our shows we are pulling them and their parents out of their homes. We are bringing them among the people and providing them some cultural content.

Q: You said that this year is your last show. What are you going to do about the next generation? How you will keep the theatre going with this new generation?

A: There is nobody that will continue this and when I stop doing this the theatre will stop with my work. Whoever comes after me will demand some amount of money to lead this theatre. And maybe nobody will be interested to do this without money incentives. And I am responsible for that because the people get used to that I am doing this without being paid. Today people are not willing to work without being paid, they are even not willing to work for a small amount of money.

Q: What are you going to do to change this? How can we change this situation where young people do not want to volunteer?

A: I do not know. You need to have that in yourself and you need to be raised like that. There are few young that are willing to do that. People do not have the time or the will to volunteer during the whole year. I never thought about money and the money was not the thing that motivates me. I was driven only by the heart.

Interview with recipient of volunteer services at Vis

Tuesday, March 11, 2020.

City of Vis, City Council Hall

This interview was conducted with the recipient of volunteer services at Vis, Ms. Anela Borčić. It was done as a part of formal research for the purpose of a dissertation project about impacts of volunteering in small remote communities. Ms. Borčić is the principal at the elementary school in Vis.

Q: Dear Ms. Borčić, first of all thank you for participating in this interview. Can you tell us what you think about why people volunteer?

A: I think that volunteering is the way of life on the island. It is a part of island tradition. We do not recognize that as volunteering because we are raised to do that. It is a part of us. We are raised on the way that the city is our home while our neighbors are our family. So, we are do not recognize the volunteering as some special, unusual thing.

Q: You said it is not an unusual thing. What do you think, why is this usual?

A: Our community raises the children in that way because we think it is the right thing to do. It is a big shame not to help someone when somebody asks you for a help.

Q: Tell us about how you are feeling when you are volunteering? What kind of feeling does volunteering evoke in you?

A: I feel happiness when I help someone. Also, I am proud of myself. That is a nice feeling which can be compared only with love. And you remember that when you are in the tough times and that brings you these feelings. You are obligated to help people when they need help. And also, you can expect that you will receive the help when you will need it. It is some kind of reciprocity. It is like an unwritten rule and life is much more comfortable here because of that.

There is one story that is related to the island and its tradition. Namely, when people went fishing at sea before, they were oriented towards each other. No matter what the relationship, during their stay on board, in case of any distress, they were obliged to help one another. When they returned to the mainland, they could continue to behave as they wanted, but during their stay at sea they were obliged to help one another.

Similarly, it is that way with us on the island. Given that we are on the farthest island that can sometimes be cut off from the mainland, we are like fishermen on board. No matter what the relationship, we are aware that we need to help one another in order to survive on

the island. It is for this reason that volunteering may be so deeply rooted in our culture a tradition that we no longer experience it or recognize it as something special. It's simply a way of life.

Q: So, volunteering is a way of life. Can you tell us some experience where you have been the recipients of volunteer services?

A: When I found out that my mother had been diagnosed with a tumor, my first thought was what would happen to my father. Namely, my father is immobile and blind, and all these years, my mother took care of him. Now that she had to go to surgery in Split, as a matter of urgency, and I had to go with my mother, I was very worried about what to do about my father. The surgery was urgent, so I tried to find someone to guard my father while I was with my mother in Split. Since there is no company in Vis that provides this kind of service, I tried to find someone on the mainland who would come to the island and take care about my father for money. I couldn't find anyone, and the time was short. Suddenly, three people from Vis, two women and one man, came forward, and decided to help me. Namely, since Vis is a small community, everyone knew that I was looking for someone to help me and look after my father while I was in the hospital with my mother. I was pleasantly surprised because I didn't say anywhere that I needed help. What particularly was touching was that they answered themselves. The three of them split up and for a certain part of the day each of them was with my father. This lasted for a month until later, I was able to find a woman from the mainland whom I paid to look after my father. The surgery succeeded and my mother stayed alive.

Q: What a story. What do you think about the future of volunteering at the island? Do you think that the next generation is not so willing to volunteer?

A: In the time of globalization, we are all becoming the same and that is something what is scary. People are changing their minds. That is a process which is unstoppable, and we can keep our traditions to slow that process. People are becoming more distanced. In the past time when there was less material wealth it seems that people were closer, and that the community was much more homogeneous. We are becoming more materialistic and we are moving from ourselves. People are becoming less flexible. People think in terms of money. The things are more measuring and it is a consequence of the globalization world. The grannies before were reading the stories to their grandchildren while now they are watching the TV for the whole days.

Q: What will happen if the volunteering disappears?

A: The life will be crueler, and everything will be measured by the money rather than the hearts.

Q: How can the community keep the spirit of volunteering?

A: When it is something common to you, you do not even notice that. So, it is the same with volunteering here. We are get used to have it. Maybe we will be lucky to keep it.

One-on-one interviews - Janjina

Interview with the leader within the community in Janjina

Monday, May 18, 2020

Janjina, City Council Hall

This interview was with the deputy mayor within the community of Janjina, Ms. Antonija Prišlić. It was conducted as part of formal research for the purpose of dissertation project about impacts of volunteering in small remote communities.

Q: Dear Antonija, first of all thank you for your time. We know you are busy and we appreciate that you are taking time to participate in this interview. What do you think about volunteering or helping in this area?

Helping here means volunteering because people here do not know what volunteering means. Helping dates from the old days when people did not have that much so they were supposed to share and help each other in any possible way. And they learned to lean on each other. From those old days we inherited that behavior. Probably it is deeply connected with the Roman Catholic religion and that approach to life. And maybe it was connected to that simple and poor life also when people did not have much.

In the last two months, we had a marvelous time of quarantine because of the Corona virus when we were completely blocked and when the Pelješac peninsula was turned into an island. At the beginning of that period of quarantine, I realized that I do not need to worry so much for the community. I realized that there always will be someone who will take care of someone here although we might not even notice that, or we are aware of that. And that really happened in the reality during that period.

A few days after quarantine was announced, I called old people and told them not to go out and just to stay in their houses. Because there were still people circulating across the peninsula and it was not completely safe for old people to go around. I offered to those old people to call the municipality and to organize delivery of groceries and everything that they need to their homes, so they do not need to go out. Some of them accepted that proposal and it functioned easily. They sent me a list what groceries they needed, and I forwarded that list to the market shop. The shop prepared the box for each of them and volunteers came to shop with my credit card to make payments and to take a box of

groceries. And then people transferred the money by internet banking to my bank account. There was no contact at all and the old people were able to get necessary things that they need.

Q: Why did you do that?

I did that because someone needs to protect people who live in this area. I did that because I am socially sensitive to old people. Maybe that comes because I am raised with old people and I am aware of their needs. I lived in the household with ten old people and maybe because of that I am able to understand the needs of old people.

Q: What also motivates you to volunteer and help?

I hate to see that someone is suffering, especially if I know how to stop that suffering. And especially if it will take just an hour or two for me and their suffering will be gone because of that. Why not invest a small amount of my time to help someone?

Q: Why is that important?

Life is hard anyway so I like when I can make people happy, healthy and alive.

Q: What kind of feeling that evokes to you?

Just the happiness that someone's life is improved. And I forget that I helped as soon as I do that. Some people called me a few days ago and mentioned how I helped them four years ago. They are still thankful but I forgot I done that. They tried to remember me, and I could not remember that helping. I said that it was probably done by someone else while they were convincing me that I had done that for them and helped them a lot. I do not accept anything to get back.

Q: How do you think that kind of behavior is making Janjina a better place to live?

I do not know if it is making this area a better place to live. Because there are more people around who are not satisfied with themselves. And when you are not satisfied with your life and yourselves, you are not able to be helpful in the full meaning of helping someone. So, I think that everything begins with that point. You need to be happy and satisfied with yourself to be able to help others in that unselfish way. And there are some people who are not happy and they do not understand that kind of behavior. They are afraid of such behavior because whenever I help those people think that I have some materialistic interest.

Q: You said that you are not sure if the helping is improving the life in this area? What would life in this area look if there was no helping here?

Probably more like Roman empire when it was falling down when people were killing each other among themselves. People would live only in their houses and their only purpose would be their life. And how to become rich. This area and the people here are already rich although you cannot see that at the first sight. Most of us have a big inheritance like a big parcel where they grow olives, vineyards and so on. They are able to sell that and to earn more money. There is tourism also which brings lot of money. I could say that people here live a nice life, quite simple but nice life. Meaning that they are financially secured.

If there is no volunteering and helping here that would mean that the people need to pay for everything they need. Also, individualism would be more expressed if there is no volunteering here and people would be oriented only to themselves. And the community would be more devilish where the people would only look for their financial interest in everything. And in this community, there are still people who would do something for others without financial interest. This community is a little bit cruel to people who are not from here until they prove themselves in the community. After that we accept them as the members of community. There is a case of a young couple who arrived in this community and they had not been accepted until they showed that they wanted to do something for the community. We are cruel at the beginning and that is like some kind of initiation period. When that period passed and when they showed that they wanted to be a part of this community then the community will accept them. I noticed that social moment through many cases. This community is very closed to the people who are coming from the outside. Sometimes, more closed than we think. And I think it dates from the old days.

Q: You said that life before was harder and that people had less material wealth while now they have more financial wealth. What do you think, what are the differences when it comes to helping, before in the past times and now?

Some of the people are richer than they were before, and they have less time for others. It does not mean that they will not help others if you asked them, but they do not have time to see if someone is in need. They have a lot of things to do and their brain works hundred percent on how to earn the money. I could say that their priorities are different. Their priority is their life, not the life of the people around them. That is a situation that I can see now here in this community. I think that is something that is in the human brain and it is not so much different with the people around.

There is one interesting social moment what appeared in this community in recent years. There was a spot in the village when people used to get together after their work in the fields. It was usually males who got together and relaxed after the hard work. They were drinking the beer and talked with each other. They were sharing their experiences about their work and issues in the fields. That spot was good because they were sharing information. When some problem in the community appeared, they discussed and looked for the solution. It was like some kind of brainstorming in order to help someone within the community when some problem appeared.

Q: Can you tell us more about the volunteerism in Janjina, particularly in the winter time? How is volunteering different in the winter compared to in the summer?

Differences are in jobs that must be done. In winter, we have more time to think about others. In winter, we are feeling alone while during the summer we are crazy because all those "invaders" come from outside. And fulfilling their wishes. But definitely in winter, we are helping more to each other than during the summer. In summer, we are organizing more formal volunteer activities when we are trying to use the fact that there are so many people here. But it is hard to compare these two seasons when it comes to helping. Everything depends on the moment. People are more willing to help during the winter because they have more time. It is hard to say that they are more willing to help. It is just that summer is so confusing and crowded. There is the same amount of time in a day during the summer and winter, but the occasions are different. By that, the motivation of people is different.

Q: What are the social benefits of volunteering for community like Janjina?

I think that relationships among the community are warmer in the winter. You can still feel some warmth between people in the community. Also, there are more connections among the people in the winter. People feel free to ask for help. I think this area is perfect for social and any other kind of life. Especially after the community accepts that person. After an initiation period, what I mentioned before. It is like that because everybody takes care of everybody. It is a nice moment because people pay attention of their neighbors and their needs. It is nice to have people in the village that you know they are willing to help. That gives you a feeling that you are welcomed in the community. Also, it gives you a feeling of carelessness. It is a nice feeling of security.

Q: What are the economic benefits of volunteering for a community like Janjina?

If you help someone, you are investing your time and you are not searching for money. You are not searching for reward. That reward stays with that person. It stays in their pocket no matter what value it is. And they can use it for something else. On the other hand, they are receiving something noble. It a question whether they can recognize the gift that they receive. The only thing they need to do is to proceed their help to help someone else.

I think volunteering is good and through social and economic impacts help people in this community. No matter if the people are always aware of these impacts. Some value is appearing through the whole process, in an emotional and materialistic way.

Q: What do you think about the future of volunteering here at Janjina? Do you think that the next generation is willing to volunteer?

A lot of people are leaving this area and there are less and less people here. There is a strong depopulation present and there will not be so many people who will help around. I believe that there is something in human nature, some little inheritance where we all think that we need to help each other. All humans have some switch inside of them and when there is somebody in need or trouble that switch activates. I think the future of helping here will be the same. People who live here are teaching their children in this way of behavior and I think it will stay the same in the future. There is some knowledge about helping in this community. I think the next generations here will inherit that knowledge from their parents and grandparents and I think it will continue in the future.

Interview with volunteer in Janjina

Tuesday, May 12, 2020.

Janjina

This interview was conducted with a volunteer in Janjina. It was done as a part of formal research for the purpose of a dissertation project about the impact of volunteering in small remote communities. Guillerme came from France to Janjina to volunteer and he has stayed within this community for the last two months.

Q: Dear Guillerme, first of all thank you for participating in this interview. Can you tell me what are you doing here in Janjina?

A: Initially, I was supposed to start working in Croatia in the sector of tourism. Before my contract supposed to start, I just decided to spend like one month in a small place here in Janjina, to just have some volunteering experience so I could get to know Croatia better before starting to work in tourism. Basically, my stay here was supposed to be like a month but because of this situation with the coronavirus and everything, I stayed here longer. I came here to volunteer to get more in touch with Croatian culture and with this region because I was supposed to start working in this region, in Dubrovnik. The idea was before starting my professional contract just get some more better insight into the Croatian culture.

Q: Why did you want to do that?

A: This is not my first volunteering experience like this. I have been doing this in New Zealand, in Scotland and I think it is a great way, a cheap way to travel. So, it is more like slow traveling and getting in touch with people in a more genuine way. When you spend one week on holiday you usually do not see anything, you do not get to know the people, especially the local ones. This is way more important for me to take this time, to get to know the local people and how they live. Here I am volunteering as a part of the volunteering project. My host welcomed me to stay in their house and help them with work about their house while I am looking for experiences where I will be able to learn something, like some construction building technics or agriculture technics. That is what I am learning here so far. I am getting some different knowledge and skills from the volunteering that I will be able to use later in life.

Q: What else are you getting from volunteering?

A: The first thing that I am looking for is a cultural experience and knowledge of the people in this area. I am sharing the things that I know and offering my skills to the hosts but also, I am learning some new skills and gaining knowledge from them. What you can get also from this experience is more confidence. When I come back to my country, I am usually more confident because I learned new skills. Because you have been in touch with something new, you discovered new things, you stepped out of your comfort zone. I liked it because you know the different countries, different people and everything. So, every time you moved to another country you have to manage by yourself and usually all these experiences make me a stronger person. Like a more confident person. I feel richer inside.

Q: How do you mean richer? Can you tell more about that?

I feel richer because I am giving. It sounds a little bit weird and it might sound like a paradox, but I am feeling richer because I am giving. You give your time, your energy. It is a way you involve yourself in others people's life.

Q: How do you feel when you volunteer? What kind of feeling that evokes to you?

A: I have a feeling that I am being useful because I am helping my hosts. I feel like I am helpful. Regarding connections here in Janjina, me and my hosts have a lot of things in common, we are sharing the same cultural references which helps to get with each other. Regarding connections within the community I had not experienced it a lot.

My host spoke to me about an old man who is over eighty years old and who lives alone. He has a nice garden with lemons and oranges. He is all by himself and no one seems to care about him. And his garden is turning into the wild forest now because he is not able to take care of his garden. I am a foreigner here, but I could not help thinking about how bad that is. Maybe he is someone that I could learn from. I was already thinking shall I go there and help that guy. I would be able to come a few hours a week just to help him with his garden and everything. It is a bitter feeling to know that there is someone left alone.

Q: What do you think about this community here in Janjina?

A: I do not know. Now, it looks like a very quiet and peaceful place. There are not so many people here right now, you are basically seeing the same few people every day. It is not so crowded, it is pretty empty right now.

I have seen a few examples of helping between people here. Like, younger women are making grocery runs for the older people. The older people could not go to the grocery shop because of the coronavirus and so the younger people were doing that for them.

The feeling that I have since I have come here is that people are pretty smiley. The people are ready to talk and help even if they do not know your language.

Q: Can you single out some special experience what you encountered so far when it comes to receiving volunteering services?

A: Hmm. Maybe talking with an old lady from the village. She is our neighbor here and when she sees that we are working she comes over to say hello. That's probably the only interactions that I have had so far here within the community but think that is a nice example of connections. She only speaks Croatian while I barely understand Croatian. But we are communicating.

Q. How do you communicating?

A: In the end we are two humans. Two human people trying to communicate. It is not like usual communication but we are trying to understand each other. And we are succeeding.

Q: What are the impacts of volunteering for a community like Janjina? What do you think they are getting from your volunteer work?

A: Maybe it is about getting some services that are for free. Maybe is some added economic value to this community. That's another paradox. Making economic value by not paid work.

I usually use the website called "Work Away" where I get in touch with people around the world who need some help. The concept is simple, you want to travel somewhere and you are willing to give your personal time and skills to your host. From building their house, painting, taking care about their pets and so on. Different kind of things. And I am providing them that help while they are providing me food and bed in their house during my stay there. There are no money transactions in it. There is no contract, there is no salary.

Q: If there is no money, what is the value?

A: There is an added value in whole with this thing. You are improving yourself, you are improving the place. You are also showing the other people in community that you can improve this place and make it better based on simple things. Like friendship,

communication, help. The values are all about experiences. It is about experiences, about emotions.

Q: What kind of emotions?

A: I do not know, it could be many things. It is really cool because you feel like you are useful. At the end of the day there is something that you can be proud of. Maybe just by little things that you have done. Like when me and my host are working a whole day around his house, he is grateful and thankful and that is something that is really very important to me. I feel good when I am useful to someone. Maybe for some people it does not really matter but I like that feeling of achieving something. Like a good work that was done. For me it means that I was able to do something and to bring some changes. Also, it is about the team work. It is a small team, just me and my host but it is still team work.

I have been here for two month and you can definitely see the changes that we were be able to achieve here in this place. In his backyard, his garden, moving the boat from the basement. There are small little things that were not being done here before these two months. We made a lot of nice things together. We have been doing heavy work sometime but when the changes are visible, it is quite satisfying.

Q: You said that there are some visible changes around your host house that is a result of your work with him. What do you think are the invisible changes that happen?

A: Definitely, our relationship is different. When I got here before these two months, we were strangers. Now I feel like we are more like friends. That is different. I would be more than happy to come back here whenever is possible. I would be happy to come back and help them again in the future. Or, just to come to see him. Our relationship has changed from strangers at the beginning to the friends that we are right now. When your volunteer work is over, and you go back to your home you want to stay in touch with these people where you have been volunteering. I do not want be in a place and just doing some volunteer work for my host. Like cleaning the garden and helping him while he will provide me a bed and food. And to leave when I am done and nothing after. I do not want my volunteer experience to be based just on that. That is also an invisible value. It is actually in your heart. It is maybe about emotions that we have been talking earlier. I am not just looking for hosts where we will sit out at the table for dinner and then go right to bed. And after two weeks or one month, we say by to everyone. It is more about the people that you will remember your whole life. This experience here is definitely something that I will remember my whole life.

Q: When you spoke about invisible values, you mentioned something about your heart. Can you tell more about that?

A: I am quite sensitive about nice relationships. For example, here we have a very simple relationship. Everything is about caring.

The day when I will stop volunteering in the way that I am doing that right now, I will be willing to receive the volunteers in my house. Like my host receives me right now I will be willing to receive the volunteers in the future. It is because you are taking and you are giving. Now I been taking the things from these guys here and maybe I will not give back directly to them but I could give back to someone else. Someone you feel like you have to give back to someone because that person has been helping. I feel happy to receive. When you receive something from someone you just want to do that same thing to that person. Sometimes it is not possible because you will never see that person again. And if you cannot give back to the same person that helped you, you can give back to someone else.

Sometimes the people are surprised when you are helping and not asking for money. But people have been helping me and I know these situations. I just have to take help and then when your turn comes, you just give it back. That's maybe the invisible values that we have been talking about.

Q: What do you think about the future of volunteering?

A: I think people will continue to volunteer. I think it won't stop because the people will always look for exchange experience. I do not know exactly. The world is a such a mess. And volunteering is some alternative to that. It is alternative way of life. Volunteering is based more on ethical values. It also generates a virtuous cycle.

Q: What will happen if there volunteering disappeared?

A: It is bit hard to figure out. Many people will not be able to afford some things. I think that a lot of people are counting on volunteering. And it would be devastating if volunteering disappears. Some people would die, some people would get weaker. It is like the system which is connected by helping and volunteering. And if you take all these links between the people. I think that system would collapse. It would be an end of human interactions and many people would be left apart. Maybe for me it is not really possible to imagine how the world would be without helping.

Interview with recipient of volunteer services in Janjina

Sunday, May 10, 2020.

Janjina

This interview was conducted with a recipient of volunteer services in Janjina, Mr. Lukas Visagie. It was done as a part of formal research for the purpose of a dissertation project about impacts of volunteering in small remote communities. Lukas moved to Janjina five years ago from South Africa.

Q: Dear Lukas, first of all thank you for participating in this interview. Can you tell us what do you think why people volunteer?

A: From my perspective it is because of new experience. People come to my house to volunteer from different parts of the world and they are looking for a new experience, just to see the area or place. It could be cultural or other kind of experience. They are coming here because they want to experience the true life here. They do not want to stay in a hotel or resort where they will not be in touch with the real life of the community. They want to see how things are going here for real.

Q: What do you think, why is this important?

A: It is a fuller experience. It is a truer experience. If you are somewhere in a nice hotel, you are enjoying perfect beaches, drinking cocktails and enjoy perfect services. That is not reality. Most people cannot afford this in their daily lives. Because of that the people coming in my house to volunteer to connect with the experience which is more accurate to their real life. They are participating in everyday life here and this type of volunteering experience is a more realistic experience. We get to know each other better. When you go on a holiday, you are just buying the experience or holiday package. You do not really experience real things because you are paying people who are putting on their show. They give you what you want and life doesn't always give you what you want. I do not think it is something special. I think it is a way the world is moving. It is more about sharing. It is not just "here is my money, give me something." We are both winning and losing. We are both experiencing something.

Q: Can you single out some special experience that you experienced so far when it comes to receiving volunteering services?

A: I can give you a few of them. One girl was here from China. She came and she gave us a gift as thanks for welcoming her to stay in our house. She did a lot of cooking for us while she was here. We were basically living in a Chinese restaurant during that week when she was here. Another case is about the French guy who was a carpenter and was traveling abroad. His car documents expired, and he was not able to go further to Montenegro, so he stopped in Janjina. We randomly met him on the street and invited him to our house. We gave him a bed and food and told him that he could stay in our house. After a few days, he asked if he could help and I told him you are a carpenter, there is wood, what do you want to make. He said that our terrace needs a table so he made a table for us. He lived with us for some time and helped us with lot of work around the house. He left us with a nice dining table and a lot of nice memories.

Q: You said that you received a lot of nice memories. What are the other intangible things what you have received?

A: The best interaction was with volunteers who stayed at least one month. What they leave behind for that span of time, they become like family. And you share everything that you would as a family with this stranger that you never saw before in your life. You learned things from this person's culture, from how they personally do things, how they think, how they speak, how they see life. And that's what stays with us when they leave. Sometimes you never speak with that person again but that moment in time never gets lost. And that is a better experience than any things that money can buy. Because you can pay as much you want and people will give you that. But it won't be true.

Q: How do you feel when you are receiving volunteer services? What kind of feeling does that evoke in you?

A: You become part of something greater. You just feel something. There are lot of feelings. It creates a sense of community. It is someone that maybe I would never connected in real life because we have nothing in common. But for this span of time where the person is here, we find common ground. We have to work around things that could possibly cause dysfunction. That could result with different things. It could result with a new perspective of life or with a new table which is on my terrace. It can range anywhere. Because each person is different. It doesn't always result with "roses". I would say that in 90 % it results with good things and the rest are not bad things. It is just a part of life.

Q: What do you think about volunteering in this area?

A: I do not have much experience with helping people here. I think you have to step out from your comfort zone and almost go out of your way, and force it, to help someone. It doesn't feel that natural for me. It doesn't feel that is something that happens a lot. So, if I helped someone it is like they expect that now they have to do something for me. Like some kind of reciprocity. You have to force it and even then, it is like people push you away because they feel like now, they owe you. They do not want to receive the help because now they think that they need to give you something back in some way. And even if you do help someone, they will say "no, no, I do not need anything", and then they continually feel they are forced to give you something back.

For instance, I helped one of my neighbors, an old woman. She had some wood delivered and she was by herself emptying and moving these pieces of wood with her wheel barrel in front of our house to her house. I looked at that and thought, why is this old woman doing all by herself? It doesn't make sense for me. So, I started helping her pack and carry the wood to her house. When we finished, she continually insisted to give me some of the wood. But my basement is full of wood, I do not need wood. I kept on saying "no" to her and then later after that when I finished with my lunch, I came back downstairs to do something and in front of basement there was a pile of wood. She felt like she owed me wood because I helped her. But I had time, energy and did that just to help her. Not to receive something in the back. It is normal. Someone older like that cannot help me pack my wood. But we need people like this in the community, because her age and her knowledge help everyone if she is putting that forward. And maybe that is enough. When she was my age maybe she was helping her neighbor. I do not need to think about it. For me it is a normal. I am not thinking like I am helping her because fifty years ago she helped someone else packing wood. For me is normal to see the neighbor packing wood to help her. It is maybe because of my religion, culture, how I was raised. I do not know. Maybe it is a combination of everything.

Q: To what extent do you think volunteering might be changing in the community?

A: When you want to change something, it comes together with economics. And economically, if people are coming to Janjina, whether they have a lot of money or whether they are just volunteers, they are going to the shop and spending their money. They are interacting with neighbors, there is movement. And movement in that respect I feel is good for the economy of Janjina. We improve the environment around our house with the help of these volunteers and when older people are passing next to our house, they

have a sense that the things are becoming alive or waking up again. We are also among us a few young couples that live here. That contributes to the people's wellbeing because they feel better, because there is another light in the village. A few of the old ladies said to us that they feel happy because they see that there is one more window where there is a light on. It would be difficult for me and my wife to do all of these things in the house without all volunteers. It is bigger than us, it is too much. Economically and physically, we cannot sustain our house without the volunteers. We are not receiving economic benefits directly but indirectly yes.

Q: What are the social benefits of volunteering for a community like Janjina?

A: Social benefits are the interactions with people. People who come here are interacting with neighbors and they try to interact respectfully. They usually do not behave as tourists who came here. They are behaving in the way that they are respecting the community and environment where they arrived. Those people who come here are usually helpful. They will go to the street and pick up the plastic if they see it. When they go to the beach, they will pick up the garbage that they see. Also, they interact with people. They smile and laugh. They do not understand everything, because it is not the same language but they interact likely. And it is the same with us. This house becomes alive when there are more people here. It is a 300 square meter house with two permanent residents. It does not make economic sense. It only makes sense if we fill this house to keep it alive. It is a same with Janjina and the Peninsula.

Q: What do you think are the differences between volunteering during the winter and during the summer?

A: There are differences. In the summer there is more to do, there is more of the holiday spirit so there is a lot of time spent on the terrace eating, drinking and going to the beach. The volunteers who come to my house volunteer just a few hours per day. Winter, because it is windy, rainy, dark and gloomy, there is more time spent indoors. There are less people coming around. There is less interaction with neighbors. There are less people here because most people that are here are here in the summer. And there is a very small community left behind during the winter. I do not see a lot of helping around because my interaction within the community is quite small. I do not have big interaction for a couple of reasons. One is that I am actually socially anxious which stops me from interacting. Second is the language. Language is a big barrier for me.

In the winter, people are just working and going with their normal tasks. They have their jobs during the whole year and staying here. Whether they are farmers, or they are working in the shops, or teachers or something else. The rest of the people who come during the summer are the people who do not work here, and they do not live here permanently. So, they are easy-going, they are light, they are friendly, they are spending money, they are having fun. They are not as serious as the winter crowd. The winter crowd is serious while summer crowd is light and having fun. And also, the atmosphere, the climate suggests that as well. The life here becomes very quiet and it is a grey place in the winter while in summer it is life and color. During the winter, I feel happy when I see any person on the street because there is not many of them. But at the same time, I am appreciating the winter because it is a quiet time to do other things. It is not necessarily a bad thing. It is just the quiet time or the busy time. The dark and grey time or the sunny and lively time.

Q: What do you think about the future of volunteering here at Janjina?

A: I do not think the volunteering is necessarily is growing or dying. It is just changing from time to time, generation to generation. But it is not expanding or dying. It is just carrying on. Currently, I think we brought a big change to this area because there were almost no volunteers before us. I haven't seen or heard of anyone doing anything similar to what we do.

I think that people here will continue to help each other, and I see that now through this pandemic, that people are even more helpful than before. In the time of crisis, people seem to be more helpful. Our neighbors that were not helpful to us with anything before this time are becoming more helpful and helping us with different things. External threat makes people become closer. It seems that we are becoming a part of this community after five years.

Also, I think that people are becoming more helpful with others in this time of crisis because they realize that the outside world maybe will not be able to come here and help so we have to do things together and by ourselves. Maybe it will push things more forward when it comes to volunteering and helping here. That is maybe the future of volunteering here. That's one of the aspects what I see.

Q: What would happen if the volunteering disappeared?

A: If the volunteering with the people who are coming to our house disappeared we would find another way. If the local volunteering or helping disappeared that would be

catastrophe because there are a lot of old people here. Old people usually need more help than young people so if there would be no helping then there will be a lot of helpless people left by themselves. So, if some old lady that is living in her house alone and struggling to walk, she will die quicker. Because she will not have somebody to take care, to take her to the walk, to take care that she is eating correctly. She would not be able to go to the shop as often. She would be left by herself and would not be able to survive. And that would be catastrophe. Anything else would not be so bad because people will take care. If the shop has one less assistant, the person who packs the shelves would just need to work harder. But if an old lady has no one coming to help her and she cannot walk, she will die alone, and no one will even know that has happened. And that would be a catastrophe for this area.

Q: How we can keep the volunteering?

A: As people within the community, we have to keep our finger on the pulse to know what is going around. You cannot close yourself in your house and just think about yourself. Because you are not the only person here. It is like me living in my house with my life. I have to respect her and do whatever it takes to sustain the house and relationships. And to a certain extent, I need to do the same for the village, in the community. There is an extent of that in the country and there is an extent of that on earth. So, you have to be responsible for that.

Appendix 8: Pictures from field research

Picture 3. Focus group with volunteers in Vis



Picture 4. Focus group with volunteers in Janjina



Picture 5. Interview with volunteer in Vis



BIOGRAPHY

Rino Medić was born at September 9, 1980 in Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina. He graduated in 1999 from 7th Gymnasium in Zagreb. He attended the Zagreb School of Economics and Management from 2002 – 2006 where he gets his B.A. in economics. He graduated with his MBA in marketing from Zagreb School of Economics and Management in 2009.

Rino Medić worked 10 years at VERN' University as project manager at where he led many projects. He is a member of the program committee at the international multidisciplinary scientific conference MIC – Vis. Also, he is an author of many scientific articles and executive editor of two Conference Proceedings. He is a former athlete with many honors and awards.