

Stanovništvo

INSTITUT DRUŠTVENIH NAUKA
CENTAR ZA DEMOGRAFSKA ISTRAŽIVANJA

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Milica Vesković Anđelković*

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Intergenerational solidarity in care: A case study in Serbia

MIRJANA BOBIĆ¹ | MILICA VESKOVIĆ ANĐELKOVIĆ¹

ABSTRACT

This paper discusses intergenerational solidarity in care from the perspective of women, focusing on mothers as the main providers. It has been carried out in the context of very low fertility, negative population change, and advanced ageing in Serbia, amid conditions of strong familism. Two types of care were analysed: care of children and of elderly parents. Qualitative research was carried out in two towns and their outskirts: Belgrade and Kraljevo. The main method was a case study based on interviews and observation. The first aim was to shed light on the informal support mothers/parents receive around children: who helps them, what help they receive, and why they receive help. The results supported the authors' initial expectations that mothers/parents rely heavily on grandparents, primarily grandmothers. The help grandparents provide is reported to be daily, extensive, and exhaustive. Mothers, however, deem that it contributes to happy and healthy ageing.

Although caring for elderly people is still not widespread among respondents,

they nevertheless presented their views on the issue. Again, in line with initial assumptions, care of elderly people was shown to be an indispensable part of family life. The empirical results reflect that the main explanation stems from strong solidarity based on kinship, which thus moulds both attitudes and behaviour. Elderly parents will be taken care of by their children, and this is considered natural, self-understandable, and an expression of vast gratitude. Putting elderly people into institutional care (nursing homes) is a rare choice that is only made when they cannot live on their own and take care of themselves, or if there are many elderly kin who need support.

KEY WORDS

intergenerational solidarity | care | women
| children | elderly parents

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INTRODUCTION: SETTING THE STAGE

Scholarly literature has extensively documented the fact that Serbia (with-out Kosovo and Metohija throughout the text) is one of the Western Balkan states with long-term and deeply rooted low fertility and negative natural population change. According to data from the most recent demographic statistics, the total fertility rate in Serbia is 1.48 and the negative natural population change is -5.4% (Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia [SORS] 2019a, 2019b). Demographic ageing, being an immediate consequence of long-term low fertility and increased life expectancy at birth, is most pronounced in Serbia and Croatia among Western Balkan countries, with the share of elderly people (65+) being over 18.5% and close to EU levels. This main demographic process is exacerbated by massive emigration, since around five million people have moved out of the region (around a quarter of the total population) over the past two decades (Matković 2017, 2019). Due to selectivity, emigrants are mostly younger, educated, and of working age. Emigration disrupts traditional multigenerational family ties that are beneficial for the care of elderly people who stay behind, thus contributing not only to an increase in the share of elderly people in the domestic population, but also to an enhanced need for long-term care for elderly people (Matković 2017, 2019).

Such demographic challenges are transformed into risks for the social

welfare state via several channels (Matković 2017: 22, Matković 2019:30, 31). First, the increasing volume of elderly people – especially the oldest old (80+) – places a burden on pensions, the health system, and social protection. The shrinking of the workforce due to population ageing deteriorates the economic performance of a society, decreases resources for social funds, and inflates the old-age dependency ratio. In this way, the Western Balkans has become a region where the increased costs of social systems cannot be covered by either immigration or increased economic activity (Matković 2017: 23, 2019:31).

According to the typology of European welfare states, Serbia belongs to the South European or subprotective (familistic) regime, along with Italy, Greece, Spain, and Portugal. Its main feature is a strong reliance on family and informal networks when it comes to sociobiological reproduction, care work, work-family reconciliation, etc. (Bartha and Zentai 2020; Babović 2020; Stanojević 2018; Bettio and Plantenga 2004). Profamilism generates a strong intergenerational solidarity, i.e. dependence on an informal web of kin, friends, and neighbours. An individual is bound to exchange resources with these groups when overcoming major challenges in social biography relating to housing, entry into the desired education and labour market, social promotion, and care for children, elderly people, and sick people, etc. Institutional care and state support for parenthood and family in general is underdeveloped (Bouget,

Spasova and Vanhercke 2016). The very concept of care is defined as “a complex system at the intersections of several human relations, social practices and public affairs that shape the demand, provision and norms of managing physical and emotional assistance to people in need” (Bartha and Zentai 2020: 92).

Southern Europe is also known as a region of protracted transition into adulthood and belated separation from families of origin, all of which is linked to low economic activity among younger generations, delayed entry into marriage and family creation, and low and postponed fertility (Ignjatović 2009: 11; Walther 2016; Tomanović, Stanojević and Ljubičić 2016).

However, there is another contextual aspect of childbearing and parenthood in Serbia. That is persistent patriarchy, presupposing accentuated gender inequality at home, intensive motherhood, and women’s enormous self-sacrifice¹ for children throughout the course of their lives (Blagojević 1997, 2014; Babović 2020; Bobić and Vesković Anđelković 2018). Studies have showed that family has become an even more important resource in the period of post-socialist transformation in Serbia due to the massive pauperisation of the population, a sharp decrease in economic activities,

widespread sacking of workers as a result of economic depression, social and economic restructuring, and the shrinking of social welfare. The ‘run-away into privacy’ i.e. a close reliance on family and relatives has been a spontaneous coping strategy. Material resources, time, activities, social connections, emotional and mental support – all these assets need to be pooled together into family group capitals in order to withstand the hardships of everyday living (Milić et al. 2010; Milić 2004). Therefore, since the beginning of the 1990s, Serbia has been undergoing processes of so-called retraditionalisation and refamilialisation, instead of detraditionalisation and individualisation like in postindustrial states (Milić et al. 2010; Blagojević Hjuson 2014). These processes in Serbia were reflected, inter alia, in the increased share of extended and multifamilial households in urban places in particular, amounting to between a third and a quarter of all households. Strong backing by a family group has been necessary, particularly for young couples and families, as well as single parents – predominantly lone mothers with children as a result of divorce or increased extramarital births. Family solidarity has been shown to be a ubiquitous source of care for elderly, sick, and disabled people, as well as people with special needs, etc. The lack of these private safety nets is conducive to social exclusion and marginalisation, which is documented in fieldwork carried out among homeless, aged, and chronically ill people, as well as immigrants,

¹ The terms ‘sacrificing’ and ‘self-sacrificing’ will be used in this paper in honour of our late colleague and friend, Marina Blagojević Hughson. She was a feminist, sociologist, and demographer who was the first to introduce this emotioanlly fraught concept to the domestic scholarly scene in the 1990s (Blagojević 1997).

refugees, displaced people, and asylum seekers, etc. (Bobić 2019).

There is also one practice that is very common nowadays, as confirmed by our research in this paper: grandparents – particularly grandmothers but with a rising proportion of grandfathers – tend to pull out of the workforce in order to care for their grandchildren and help over-occupied parents. Thus, it is demonstrated that unpaid work at home (in chores and care) by predominantly women takes up several hours per weekday and can even add up to the equivalent of a full-time job (sometimes including weekends). This comes at the expense of leisure time, i.e. relaxation and personal development (Babović 2020). This finding is also mirrored in our empirical research, a part of which will be presented below. On the other hand, as our respondents communicated, poor living standards did not allow for some sort of compensation to the elderly in terms of quality cultural consumption, recreation, leisure, etc., because of poor pensions and salaries, and also the absence of wider public initiatives like free access to cultural events, subsidised visits to spa centres, and travels at least once a year, etc.

Advanced population ageing in Serbia exerts further pressure onto individuals, families, and women, in particular when it comes to caring for the elderly, sometimes even two generations (elderly parents plus their own parents and/or other relatives, residing together or living separately) (cf. Di Gessa, Zaninotto and Glaser 2020). It should be emphasised that care is not restricted only to physi-

cal/practical engagement, but includes also financial resources, time, and intensive emotional investment (Di Gessa, G., P. Zaninotto, K. Glaser 2020, Babović 2020). Empirical studies worldwide show that elderly people prefer home care over institutional care (Bartha and Zentai 2020; Aronson and Neysmith 1997). In Serbia's case, one important reason for opting out of paid assistance originates from a lack of material resources, because poverty is extremely common among elderly people in particular, while public assistance at home (medical treatment, geriatric help, etc.) is not available for many of those in need (Matković 2012; Rašević 2010). The capacities of public nursing homes are insufficient and their geographic distribution is uneven in Serbia (Lukić and Gnjatović Stojilković 2019). On top of that, a strong social stigma against such homes still exists. Private nursing homes have been on the increase lately, but many of them are costly; they offer a variable quality of service and aren't affordable for many in need (Matković 2012).

Middle-aged or 'sandwich' generations – those in between children and the elderly – seem to be faced with prominent and multiple challenges within the aforementioned context in Serbia. Since the former are cohorts of the most economically productive, healthy, and vital people, they are torn between balancing family and paid work, advancing their career, and caring for their children while simultaneously, in some cases, also caring for elderly (65+) and oldest old (80+) relatives. The burden of care imposed

predominantly on women (Bartha and Zentai 2020), particularly lone mothers, contributes to their vulnerable position in the labour market. That is why many of them resort to withdrawal, which further increases the risk of falling into poverty (Bobić and Dragišić Labaš 2020).

Bearing in mind population projections in the EU and Serbia in the years and decades to come, it is plausible to expect three and four generations surviving in one family. Thus, the volume of need for care will expand and include several groups: children, sick, disabled, and more and more frequently, elderly people (Bartha and Zentai 2020; Becker and Steinbach 2012; Matković 2012; Schoenmackers and Kotowska 2005; Avramov and Maskova 2004). This seems to be the reason why in many EU countries – particularly those with universalistic values and state policies – a system of long-term care was introduced as far back as the 1980s. This kind of system recognises responsibilities relating to care in a wider sense. It recognises children and others in need through schemes of cash transfers and in-kind services, such as in-home assistance, paid leave, institutional support at the local level, etc., all of which are aimed at enhancing the quality of life of employed people who are also caregivers (cf: Bouget, Spasova and Vanhercke 2016). In one comparative analysis of relevant social policies, Serbia is placed among European countries with underdeveloped support schemes for carers, following the prevalent familistic model. Benefits tailored to dependents are evaluated as insuffi-

cient, especially at the local level, with eligibility criteria set very strictly. As such, these benefits are assessed to be designed only to assist the most impoverished members of society (Bouget, Spasova and Vanhercke 2016: 9; Matković 2012; 2, 16).

Main concept

The upper demographic and social challenges in Serbia have created the context for carrying out a qualitative study aimed at developing an in-depth understanding of intergenerational solidarity in care.

A theoretical model of intergenerational solidarity has been adopted. It encompasses six dimensions: 1) associative solidarity relating to the extent and nature of personal contacts; 2) affective solidarity, i.e. the perception of emotional closeness; 3) functional solidarity or mutual support; 4) structural solidarity or structural (family) opportunities; 5) normative solidarity based on the affirmation of family values; and 6) conflicts between generations (cf: Becker and Steinbach 2012: 545). Our research dealt mostly with the third and fifth dimensions, while others were tackled only briefly.

The interpretation of results refers to two types of care: childcare and care for elderly people. Intergenerational solidarity in care is presented from the point of view of middle generations, i.e. mothers who act as major caregivers. The main goal was to answer three main questions: who cares for children and the elderly, what do they do, and why do they do it? Answers to these questions can help us

understand the actors and practices, and the reasons behind what they do. This was achieved through two more specific research goals: 1) disclosing the problems mothers encounter in bringing up children and the help they receive; and 2) prevailing attitudes and practices in the care of elderly parents.

METHOD

The fieldwork was carried out from the beginning of March until mid-August 2020. The state of emergency in response to the COVID-19 pandemic had a significant impact on the data collection process. It was almost impossible to convene face-to-face interviews under such circumstances because of concerns about transmitting the infection. After the relaxation of the government's measures against COVID-19, the researchers resumed their fieldwork, although many interviews continued to take place online using Viber, Zoom, and Skype.

The main research technique was interviewing subjects based on semi-structured questionnaire, which was designed in line with the main and specific goals. Observation was also employed as a complementary method. The sample purposefully incorporated mothers from two cities – Belgrade and Kraljevo – from both urban and rural settlements (centre and periphery). Thus, we applied the case study method, with quotas introduced regarding place of residence, age, and education.

The age span of the sample was 26–50. This range was chosen for two reasons: firstly because of the very

aims of the research reflected in a theoretical sample, and secondly because of information from official statistics. According to the latter, the mean age at first birth for women in Serbia in 2018 was 28.6 (SORS 2019a), meaning that many women become mothers at a younger age. This is more of the case among women with lower education (secondary and primary) who start childbearing and serious relationships earlier than their better-educated counterparts, who postpone these activities. The eldest respondents had already had their children and were engaged in care for both their grandchildren and their elderly relatives.

The sample was further designed by taking into account respondents' different levels of education. Our initial plan was to cover an equal number of mothers with secondary and tertiary education. As for those with the lowest levels of education, we expected that these respondents would be least represented due to their overall low share in the total population (Table 1). In the following pages, we will present an exploration of the aforementioned two main dimensions of intergenerational solidarity.

The first assumption was that mothers living in extended or multi-family households would have an advantage compared to small (nuclear) families and/or those living far away from kin (grandmothers in particular) in terms of receiving frequent provision in care. We looked at the type of households our respondents lived in, then whether they received help and to what extent, etc. We also examined

whether single parents were entitled to a larger provision of care than couples.

Secondly, we presupposed that other than proximity, the working and material conditions of both parents and grandparents might have had an impact on the involvement of elderly relatives. Consequently, we asked respondents about their own and their parents' paid work. Thus, we examined whether working status had any effects on childcare.

Thirdly, we asked whether mothers deemed that their elderly relatives were overburdened by childcare. We expected that mothers would strongly support their own parents' sacrifice because they considered it beneficial for the older generation's quality of life and 'happy' ageing.

Our fourth assumption, based on our primary experience, was that the role of grandparents, particularly grandmothers, would revolve mainly around practical activities with children in addition to their help with housework. We also tested whether mothers/couples received financial and emotional support from their elderly relatives. Material support is considered an important asset bearing in mind the difficult socioeconomic settings in the country and the fact that young people typically struggle to find jobs, especially good and well-paid ones. This, in addition to problems caused by a shortage of housing, has been a major challenge ever since the 1990s. These conditions have bolstered the re-establishment of extended households, especially in urban settings (i.e. retraditionalisation and refamiliarisation).

Finally, we presupposed that mothers felt both obliged and wanted to repay their parents by looking after them once they got old. We also assumed that few mothers would opt for institutional care (nursing homes).

In the end, we deem that this qualitative study has laid some basic foundations for further empirical studies, both representative and in-depth ones that need to include other actors' perspectives (fathers, grandparents, wider kin, etc).

RESULTS

The case study included 44 mothers. More than half of them (24) were residing in Belgrade (12 in the centre and 12 on the periphery/outskirts) at the time of the interviews (Table 1). The remaining 20 respondents were from Kraljevo, 10 from urban part (centre) and 10 from other settlements (periphery). As for their education, half of the interviewees from Kraljevo (10) had tertiary education, followed by secondary (7) and primary (3). Similarly, in Belgrade, half (12) had completed tertiary education, two of whom had PhDs. Nine interviewees had only completed secondary education, two only had elementary education, while one had not completed primary school. Interviewers shared the common impression that it was most difficult to find women with the lowest level of education. This can be explained by the age structure of our sample. Since the mothers belonged to middle-aged generations, they were, by default, better educated, which is

due to the higher cultural and human capital of today's mothers and parents, as well as the postponement of childbearing and marriage due to prolonged education, delayed entry into employment, etc. (Mirić 2018). Hence, few members of our sample were lowly educated. The very fact that it was difficult to find mothers with lower education contributed to the fact that the sample was somewhat skewed towards a larger share of

higher education. Namely, the initial plan was to carry out interviews with five mothers with tertiary, five with secondary, and two with elementary education in Belgrade, from both the centre and the periphery. Similarly, in Kraljevo, the plan was to include four respondents with higher, four with secondary, and two with elementary education, also both from the centre and the periphery.

Table 1 The analysis of the sample

		Belgrade	Kraljevo
Type of settlements	Urban/Centre	12	10
	Other/Periphery	12	10
Age structure	The youngest	26	28
	The oldest	50	49
	Mean age	31,8	30,3
Level of education	Elementary	3	3
	Secondary	9	7
	Tertiary	12	10
Living standards	Bad	1	2
	Good	20	16
	Very good	3	2
Household structure	Women and child/children	2	1
	Women, child/children, and kin	4	5
	Spouses/Partners with child/children	15	10
	Spouses/Partners, child/children, and some kin	3	4
Number of children	1	13	5
	2	5	10
	3	4	5
	4	2	/
Age at birth of first child	The youngest	19	17
	The oldest	37	33
	Mean age	26,5	26,3

Source: own calculations

As for the age structure, the youngest respondent from Belgrade was 26 years old, while the oldest was 50, whereas the youngest from Kraljevo was 28 and the oldest 49. The majority were married – 16 in Kraljevo and 14

in Belgrade. Seven mothers lived in a cohabitation – five in Belgrade and two in Kraljevo, while six were divorced (four in Belgrade, two in Kraljevo) with one widow from Belgrade. These results show that the

destandardisation of life and the pluralisation of living arrangements are underway in Serbia, although belatedly compared to more developed European populations (Tomanović 2017). Most of the interviewed women assessed their living standard as good (from categories including bad, good, and very good). Only one coming from Belgrade and two from Kraljevo claimed to have a bad living standard, while five said they have a very good standard of living (two in Kraljevo and three in Belgrade). Household revenues were reported to come from salaries in most cases, i.e., from regular employment. This was stated by 12 respondents in Kraljevo and as many as 19 from Belgrade.

Nuclear family households were most prevalent: half of all in Kraljevo (10) and more than half in Belgrade (15). There were six multiple-family households altogether, comprising women living with their spouses and children in union with parents-in-law (two in Belgrade and two in Kraljevo). Furthermore, two women from Belgrade lived with their husband, children, and parents. Three women from Kraljevo reported unions where they lived with partners, children, and kin (either a grandmother, grandfather, aunt/uncle, or sibling).

There were eight single mothers overall, the majority of whom (five) were living with one or more relatives. Two were from Kraljevo and two from Belgrade. One single mother in Belgrade dwelled with a child and her parents. Only three single mothers lived solely with a child – two in Belgrade and one in Kraljevo. This sup-

ports the aforementioned statement about familism being strongly manifested within one-parent families.

Mean age at the birth of the first child is similar in both cities, regardless of the type of settlement. In Kraljevo, in the urban area, it was 26.3, with the youngest respondent being 17 and the eldest 33. Similarly, in the rural area, the youngest was 18 and the eldest 33, with the mean age being 26.9 years.² In central Belgrade, the youngest respondent was 19 when she gave birth to her first child, while the eldest was 37, with a mean age of 26.5. On the periphery of the capital, the youngest mother was 22 and the eldest 32, with a mean age of 25.5.

The majority of mothers in Belgrade had only one child (13), while in Kraljevo there were as few as five out of 20 with only one child. Half of all women in Kraljevo had two children (10), while only five out of 24 women in Belgrade had two, and two women had four. Five mothers from Kraljevo had three children, while there were four in Belgrade.

In the next chapters, we will analyse the main results. They will be divided into childcare and the care of elderly parents.

Childcare

When designing the questionnaire, we focused on intergenerational solidarity at home, meaning we wanted to look at the informal assistance mothers received with parenting.

² The average age at first childbirth in Serbia was 27.8 years in 2018, thus our respondents are comparatively younger (SORS 2019a: 72).

The following were the guiding questions:

- What generates intergenerational solidarity between parents and grandparents around (grand)children?
- How do mothers perceive and assess the engagement of grandparents (predominantly)?
- How many hours per day are they engaged?
- Do mothers admit that grandparents are overloaded?
- How do mothers evaluate grandparents' quality of life, bearing in mind the vast amount of time they spend providing care?

Based on the interpretation of empirical evidence, we came to the conclusion that elderly people were included in care to a great extent, primarily in looking after children and in housework (cooking, cleaning, washing up, etc.). In quantitative terms, their work can be measured from three to four hours per weekday up to a full working day, i.e. eight hours. In the case of one mother of newborn twin boys, one of whom was sick and required long-term medical care, the grandmother was on duty looking after the healthy child 24 hours a day, seven days a week.

As many as 32 of the 44 interviewed women from both cities reported that they had help from their own or their partner's parents, or both of them. Most of those 32 claimed to receive enormous support from their own parents – 11 from Kraljevo and eight from Belgrade. Two mothers cited solidarity from other relatives: an aunt (Belgrade) and a sister (Kralje-

vo). The latter was travelling on a daily basis from the city to the village. As for the rest, in 10 cases (five in each city), mothers and fathers were the sole caregivers, while in two cases the mother was on her own. Thus, 12 out of 44 mothers (27.2%) reported a lack of help from informal networks.

Our results showed that financial and emotional support were not listed as primary and most important. This is probably because of the huge practical contribution grandparents make in both childcare and housework, thus leaving little time and space for fulfilling higher-order needs such as emotional exchange, time spent together in leisure, recreation, playing, etc. In other words, had grandparents been relieved of everyday, circular, repetitive tasks, much more time and energy would have been saved for emotional support, communication, and interactions with younger generations, both children and grandchildren. The absence of major need for financial help might be linked to somewhat better material conditions reported by mothers. Valuable financial and emotional support were nonetheless identified by divorced mothers and the aforementioned mother of a sick twin son.

As we've already pointed out, our research has confirmed the important sacrifice many grandmothers make – withdrawing from paid work in order to take up care for their grandchildren: *“Although in principle, I know many of them who have left their job in order to help their daughter with the child... Grannies are entirely devoted to their grandchildren because mums*

have to work, and so they choose what is less wasteful. To put it concretely, in this case – grandmother worked in a shop and she resigned to care for a child. Her monthly salary was around 20,000 dinars and her daughter worked in a bank, so why would she leave her job? Something had to be sacrificed. Were my mother employed when I needed help with my first and second children, I would have to take leave, or to juggle somehow, or to hire some women when I didn't actually know what kind of people they were, then let my child stay with them. When I leave my children with my mum, I don't need to think about anything..." (39, secondary school, three children, Kraljevo, centre).

The interpretation of results confirmed our first assumption that women living in extended households received vast support from cohabiting parents, be it their own or their partner's. This was particularly common when grandparents were unemployed or retired. In the case of nuclear families, regular support originated mostly from the mother's parents – primarily grandmothers.

All respondents, regardless of the type of household they lived in, received voluminous help from grandmothers with housework, i.e. cooking and cleaning, in addition to everyday childcare. Many implied that they received financial and emotional support, although they didn't say this openly: *"We receive help from my husband's parents, as mine are a bit far away. Most of help is in keeping up children. My mother-in-law is always there to look after children whenever I*

need, when I need to do something or have to go out, so I don't need to bring the children with me. She is the one who mostly takes care of the children, and occasionally it's my husband's sister. From time to time, when I cannot manage, they (her husband's parents) take the children to kindergarten... if we ask them they also help us financially. They actually support us entirely. I consult with my mother-in-law about everything in the household and we do things together in agreement with her – I prepare lunch... We also decide together what we are going to do in the backyard, like when to plant flowers – we do everything together. When she can, she does things, when I can, I do them" (24, higher education, two children, Belgrade, periphery).

As already highlighted, aside from proximity, grandparents' economic activity has proven to be important. Assistance was much more significant if elderly relatives were either retired or unemployed, as cited by mothers from nuclear families: *"My parents look after my children, take them to and from school, and prepare meals when I am busy. Actually, when needed, they help in every single way. They are always there for me, for advice and support. They live nearby and that makes it easier for them to step in. They are retired. Luckily, they were retired when my first child was born, so they were at our disposal"* (37, secondary school, two children, Kraljevo, centre).

However, even cohabitation and economic inactivity were not a guarantee that grandparents would help

out: *“When the children were small, my husband’s parents did not help at all... They did not have any revenue... they did not want to look after them, especially his mother. My mother would look after them much more often. When we had our first child, we lived with them (husband’s parents) and they did not engage at all. I asked her (mother-in-law) several times why and she responded that it was my duty to look after my children. My mother helped me when the baby was born. My father-in-law lived on his own above us in the old house, while my mother-in-law lived with us. He did not want to interfere; he was that kind of a man... Even when we went to a party, I had to bring my child with me. Or my mother would come to look after her (the daughter). She lived in Kraljevo. She used to come whenever I called her. It was not every day, but once or twice a week, when I got too tired and could not manage. She never complained. She went to work and came to us afterwards”* (46, elementary school, two children, Kraljevo, periphery).

Our expectations were mostly proven correct with regards to single mothers. Namely, irrespectively of living arrangements (whether they lived solely with their child or with relatives), almost all of them received all sorts of support. This was confirmed by other empirical findings on single parents (Tomanović, Ljubičić and Stanojević 2014; Hughson 2015: 115).

One divorced mother did not get any assistance from her family because of their traditional values and

their reluctance to accept her decision to end a marriage. As such, she was full of resentment: *“I would like to have some understanding and support from their side, and that is not the case even today... when speaking of a divorce, because it would be much easier for me to undergo some stuff. I did not have any help from anyone. My daughter and I were left alone in Kraljevo. I did not get to know many people, only my colleagues at work, so we were left on our own. My parents did not offer me the chance to come and live with them because they could not come to terms with that (the divorce). They used to repeat: ‘That has not occurred to anyone in our family,’ and so on... I regret that they still don’t understand it – that’s something they so rigidly stick to and there is no way to talk about it. I am sad because I see other parents who support their children and I see how they have empathy. My ex-husband had a lot of understanding from his parents and sister, there was also violence present... and his parents stayed behind him. Nobody stayed behind me and I feel so aggrieved about that. That’s why my child will always be able to count on me”* (37, secondary school, one child, Kraljevo, centre).

Luckily, refusing divorce as a rational solution for unhappy marriages has not proven to be the rule. The stories of the other divorced mothers confirmed our expectations that physical and, moreover, emotional support was crucial for women’s stability and their children’s healthy rearing: *“Well, I think that at that time my parents were my strongest backup, because*

our marriage did not work out from the very start” (42, higher education, one child, Belgrade, centre).

An outstanding example of unconditional care was reported by a lone mother from Kraljevo: *“At the time when I got divorced, I was pregnant and returned to my parents’ house. There was some contemplation of going for an abortion, but my parents said: ‘No – we brought you and your brother up, so we can accept your child. Therefore, they have been a big support. I always had backup from them, it never happened that they failed... So, yes, from the very beginning I had full support from both my parents and my brother, all of us were living together. It covered financial assistance and also help around the household – in short, 24-hour aid” (49, elementary education, one child, Kraljevo, periphery).*

Besides help received in the course of a divorce and in the aftermath, mothers also spoke about how parents offered them strong support with career development. This was emphasised in the cases of mothers who gave birth while studying: *“Oh, mum’s help was ever-present, from the very first day... to look after my daughter, literally for all sorts of help I needed when my daughter was born. It related to finances, to looking after her, to housework – literally everything. She was already retired and assisted me a lot around the household and with my children. It took up to several hours per day – she used to come and stay here so that I could go and study. So, we were replacing each other until I finished university. She used to come*

to us, and I went to her apartment to study. It was at least five hours per day, thus she literally took care of the whole house” (40, higher education, two children, Kraljevo, centre).

Based on the above interpretations, we can assume that the model of strong reliance on family has been thoroughly confirmed. Grandparents – grandmothers in particular – have been shown to be the main help providers in childcare in terms of practical tasks, while financial support is somewhat less clearly defined. Emotional support is identified as highly valuable in crucial life events such as divorce, completion of education, and career development, etc. In most cases, familial support is reported as enormous, unconditional, and ever-present.

Accordingly, one mother claimed that it had set high future standards for them to live up to: *“I think when we reach their age, we won’t be able to do a tenth as much as they give to us. That is so much sacrifice, and I suspect that our generations will rarely be able to return the favour” (41, secondary school, two children, Belgrade, periphery).*

All respondents who were provided with help agreed that elderly relatives were overwhelmed. On the other hand, they considered that childcare made their lives cheerful and gave them purpose: *“Well, okay, I am sure that she (her mother) is overloaded, because she is already fairly elderly, so this must be, for sure, physically exhausting. Although she would never admit that. I think it is primarily a pleasure for her... and a need to spend*

more time with her grandchildren" (35, secondary school, one child, Belgrade, centre). This seems to be clear evidence of how familism cognitively moulds intergenerational relationships. Grandparents, particularly grandmothers, devote themselves in toto, first to their children, and afterwards to their grandchildren. However, there is still no clear delineation between practical and physical work – which is tiresome and repetitive (cooking, washing up, cleaning, then tasks involving the child: feeding, putting clothes on, walking outside, etc.) – and creative activities (interaction, playing, doing things together, cultural consumption, leisure time, etc.). The latter tasks are less burdensome and regular (not necessarily part of the daily routine) but are much more gratifying and satisfying for all parties.

Finally, it seems worth mentioning that mothers evaluated grandparents' emotional support and their role in the children's upbringing as irreplaceable. They said that it could not be compared to or compensated for by any other type of care, including institutional care (babysitting, kindergartens, after-school care, etc.). Therefore, although fully aware of elderly relatives being more or less snowed under when providing care, mothers still deemed this role indispensable.

Care of (elderly) parents

In most cases, caring for elderly relatives was not part of our respondents' everyday routine, because many of their parents were still independent and remained in paid work. Therefore, their narratives typically reflected

their views/statements and not their everyday practice. However, they mirrored relevant value orientations that seems likely to shape their future behaviour. The following questions were posed to the interviewees:

- Do you think that you and your partner/husband 'owe' support to your (elderly) parents?
- Do you think they are/will be a burden?
- Would you be willing to allow them to live with you once they're no longer able to care for themselves or become widowed?

Caring for elderly relatives is natural, expected, and self-understandable for the vast majority of respondents, even for a small portion of those who didn't receive any help with childcare.

Supporting elderly people is deemed unconditional: *"I don't feel I owe them anything, but I do think it is something that is implied, and not only because someone looked after my child. For example, at the moment, due to particular circumstances – because we all live together – my children are more regularly looked after by my husband's parents, but that still doesn't mean that tomorrow they will be getting more of my attention than my parents, who were less engaged"* (26, higher education, one child, Belgrade, periphery).

A divorced single mother from Belgrade highlighted that elderly relatives would be cared for as a result of sheer love and gratitude. She added that thanks to her parents, not only did she successfully bring up her child, but also advanced in her career: *"Of*

course, I feel an enormous thankfulness, yes. I also feel I owe them, but it is not a debt in terms of the requirement to repay. No. They simply taught me how to return all they did for me to my daughter, and also how to help them once they get older, in a way that their ageing can be decent. It is not a burden in the sense of ‘Oh, why me...?’ but a sort of a duty to be fair... They’ve earned this credit, but not on purpose so they can blackmail me now. No, they’ve given so much of themselves and that’s why so much needs to be given back. It is not mandatory, but it is implicit in a way” (38, higher education, one child, Belgrade, periphery).

Caring for elderly relatives is placed in the context of reciprocity: *“Well, it is not an obligation, more an expression of gratitude, because everyone needs to bear in mind that the wheel of fortune turns around. When we were small, they looked after us, they brought us up to be good people. Later on, when they become weaker and if our help is of vital importance for them, of course, I do think we should be around” (29, higher education, one child, Belgrade, periphery).*

On the contrary, some respondents expressed a social pressure to fulfil normative expectations: *“Well, I don’t think we have any kind of obligation, but considering that they are our parents, it is expected from us to have feelings for them when they grow older and frail, so we certainly need to help them with whatever they need” (27, higher education, one child, Belgrade, periphery).*

Most of our respondents would allow their parents and/or their spouses to move in with them once they can no longer take care of themselves: *“My parents are fine now, thank God. But when it becomes necessary, of course I will bring them in. I feel obliged when I remember how much they helped me, so I will provide for them when time comes. My mother used to care for my grandma, too. When speaking of my mother-in-law, I don’t feel any obligation, but certainly, I would be there for her because of some relationships and because it is humane. I have a brother and I can agree with him on sharing tasks regarding my parents; he already performs some of these. He lives nearby and takes part in some little things every day. Of course, I would be ready to allow them to live with me if necessary” (37, secondary school, two children, Kraljevo, centre).*

The feeling of duty and genuine willingness to care for elderly relatives is also confirmed by mothers who did not receive assistance despite needing it for various reasons, such as emotional or physical distance, parents’ unavailability, etc. All of them still claimed that elderly relatives – particularly those who are fragile – should be provided with care. An extreme example was expressed by the aforementioned woman who gave birth to twins, one of whom was sick for a long time. She did not get any help from her mother-in-law even though she lived nearby. Despite that, she is ready to help her mother-in-law once she gets old: *“I am not quite sure if I would be able to allow my mother-in-law to live with us after all that hap-*

pened. Probably yes, but to be entirely honest, that is only because of my husband. In other words, only because she is his mother and because of his emotions towards her. As for my will – never” (35, higher education – PhD, two children, Belgrade, centre).

Caring for elderly relatives was already a part of everyday life in several cases, due to their longevity and the presence of multiple generations in family. Thus, some respondents have not only shown themselves to be willing but were actually able to speak about real-life experience. One woman from Kraljevo talked about how she took part in caring for her paternal grandmother: “My father had a mother who was mentally ill and had to live with them when she became unable to take care of herself, because my dad was the only child. However, when those mental problems occurred, they affected the whole family and I helped my father a lot, since it hit him hard. Eventually, we took her to a nursing home upon her request, and then when she got there she wanted to leave, despite having previously wanted to go there. We had visited many such homes, and in the end we selected the most expensive one in order to provide her with good conditions. It was very hard to pay for it then... my father was ready to sell something to avoid placing her in some bad setting, although in the end, due to those mental problems, she did not appreciate his efforts...” (36, higher education, two children, Kraljevo, centre).

A similar narrative was recorded with another interviewee from Belgrade: “Well, both he (her husband)

and I had lived with our parents, and at some point in time, our grandparents came to live with us, because they were old, frail, and sick. So in my case my granny lived with us for 10 years; she had a stroke and suffered major consequences. She was immobile, so she needed full-time care 24 hours a day: diapers, food, help changing clothes, everything. So we took care of her, and... the same happened with F’s granny (initial of husband’s first name). The difference was that F’s granny had Alzheimer’s disease, and naturally as her condition deteriorated, she was more and more bedridden, thus needed more help, so to speak” (35, secondary education, one child, Belgrade, centre).

One very persuasive example of caring for elderly relatives in the current conditions of the COVID-19 pandemic was communicated by a respondent from Belgrade, who, being divorced, lived with her parents. At the time, the Serbian government imposed a state of emergency, during which elderly people (65+) were forbidden from going outside for more than a month. During this time, she was forced to supply both her parents and other older relatives: “But I am aware for example now... during corona time it was obvious how difficult it was when everybody depended on you. And I just talked to I (first name’s initial of her sister), about that, because at the same time, both of them (her parents) were not allowed to go out, as they were pensioners, so they counted on you, you ran to the pharmacy, then they forgot what they needed, so you went to the pharmacy

six times a day... Every second day they needed something from the grocery store, etc. I also have an aunt, aged 85, living in Banovo Brdo. She does not have children, you understand, so I had to deliver items to her as well...” (42, higher education, one child, Belgrade, centre). This woman also looked after her ex-father-in-law: *“Besides all this, a couple of years ago, A’s father (initial of her daughter’s first name), my ex-husband, moved to Montenegro and due to coronavirus, he was under the lockdown there. In the meantime his mother died, and his dad was left alone. He is semi-disabled and does not have anyone to lean on, because he (her ex-husband) is the only son. So I also provided for him. And it was okay! We all have good relationships, this is not a problem. So, in a way I performed a tour: Bežanijska Kosa, Banovo Brdo, Jajinci! And I brought them all they needed: food, water, and other things...”*

A respondent from Kraljevo used to look after her husband’s grandmother: *“Up until recently, we have had a grandmother in house. I mean I also looked after her, she was fair to me, and she helped me. She died recently. I could always leave my daughter to look after K (her son) in a baby-walker, while I went down to give her a meal, to see if she needed a water, to bring her an apple, put in a log and light a fire. It was not difficult for me. She deserved that, so it really was not hard for me”* (28, secondary education, two children, Kraljevo, periphery).

Only three of the 44 women opted for elderly relatives to be placed in nursing homes: *“No, I don’t think that parents can be a burden. They should be able to lead a normal life and be active as long as possible, and when that isn’t the case anymore, that role should be taken up by us as their children, and if we are unable to help, there are nursing homes. I think they are a good solution. If a parent is not able to live on her/his own, I consider homes for elderly to be a better solution because there they will receive 24-hour care, full service and attention, and doctors’ assistance. I think that it wouldn’t be a good option for them to live with their grandchildren and us. In such a case, the solution is a home for elderly people”* (29, higher education, one child, Belgrade, periphery).

The decision to go to a nursing home, however, depends on parents’ willingness, regardless of children’s readiness to live together: *“For sure, we would be willing to live with both my parents and his. However, we know that both mine and his... as they used to say, and they very often repeat, will go to a nursing home straight away once they grow old. It’s as simple as that, that’s how they think”* (27, secondary school, one child, Belgrade, periphery).

As one can assume, caring for elderly relatives seems to be an integral part of a ‘normal’ and natural family practice, irrespective of previous ‘contributions’ and behaviour, i.e. no matter whether they ‘deserved’ that as parents and grandparents or not. The option of institutional care (nursing

homes) is rarely accepted and, if so, only in cases when elderly people cannot live on their own and care for themselves, or if there are many of them in a family, all of whom need care.

CONCLUSION

Our research was designed to cast light on intergenerational solidarity in the provision of two main types of care: for children and elderly parents, from the viewpoint of mothers. Our findings matched initial expectations. Care, being rooted in familism and predominantly woman-centred, is extensive and time-consuming and takes place throughout life. As such, it is shown to be firmly based on mutual or intergenerational solidarity i.e. informal networks of kin, predominantly. It is, however, a double-edged sword – the middle generation (parents) sacrifice for the wellbeing of their children with the immense help of their own parents. Later on, they will compensate for their ‘debt’ towards the older generation by caring for them once they become old and frail.

This implies that intergenerational solidarity is crucial for sustaining the current level of fertility, i.e. sociobiological reproduction in Serbia. In other words, it seems that were it not for informal networks, even (long-term) low fertility would not have been sustained, under the conditions of the shrinking of social state, clientelism, and economic neoliberalism. The latest research shows that the unavailability of grandparents’ care

for children due to physical distancing among relatives because of COVID-19 might influence couples’ fertility plans in the near future, especially in Italy and Spain (Luppi, Arpino and Rosina 2020).

Care, however, drains human capital and affects the quality of life of caregivers, and most probably slows further childbearing, particularly of higher orders, due to the anticipation of an enormous and lifelong commitment. The challenges facing middle-aged or ‘sandwich’ generations relating to resolving multiple problems of social biography (education, employment, career, housing, union formation, childbearing, etc.) in addition to the enormous pressure of care are, in our opinion, the less studied side of low fertility. As such, it requires further research, preferably through complementary approaches. The results of our qualitative study have revealed insights and interpretations that need to be further tested on larger samples.

One of the interesting findings tackles the relationship between younger and older generations, grandparents and grandchildren. We are well aware from both experts’ literature and everyday experience that social interaction is important for elderly people’s wellbeing, emotional stability, and mental health, especially for the prevention of mental illness, i.e. depression in contemporary individualised societies. However, relationships among all three generations – children, parents, and grandparents – would be more rewarding if they were relieved of circular, repetitive tasks, especially in the case of grandmothers

(Di Gessa, Zaninotto and Glaser 2020). Then they could focus more on communication, common (outdoor) activities, leisure time, and playing, etc. This will be particularly relevant in the future, when grandparents will be physically and mentally more capable thanks to medical and technological progress in treatment and care (Stojilković Gnjatović 2018).

In advanced economies, active or productive ageing is common (part-time jobs, temporary work activities, hobbies, leisure time, recreation, life-long learning, volunteering, etc.). This implies that elderly people have been adopting diversified lifestyles, released from responsibilities and duties to family and kin, and according to personal affinities (Castagnaro and Cagiano de Azevedo 2013; Schoenmaeckers and Kotowska 2005; Avramov and Maskova 2004).

Prolonged economic activity combined with delayed and gradual retirement, under the conditions of improved quality of life in Serbia, at least for some groups and social strata, will probably impose challenges sooner or later. Thus, grandparents might not be able to fully devote themselves to childcare as they do now.

Last but not least, if under the conditions of the current and future demographic regime of accelerated ageing, familism remains a basic policy response to human reproduction, then the state will be pressed to support family much more and much better, especially people engaged in care. As comparative analyses demonstrate, one primary task of Eastern European states is to enhance economic produc-

tivity so as to raise wages and pensions in order to enlarge personal and family resources. This would allow for the diversification of consumption and improved standards of living, including the pluralisation of lifestyles (Schoenmaeckers and Kotowska 2005). The other task seems to be the development of the concept of 'long-term care,' which has been underway in European countries since the 1980s and 1990s. Its focus is on the work-life balance of employed carers ('sandwich' generations), and not only dependents, children, elderly people, and others in need. State-supported in-home services (e.g. medical assistance, household services) and institutional care would significantly relieve family members of the burden of care and allow intergenerational relationships to become much more satisfying and rewarding.

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Međugeneracijska solidarnost u staranju – slučaj Srbije

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SAŽETAK

U radu se raspravlja o međugeneracijskoj solidarnosti u staranju iz ugla žena – majki kao glavnih aktera u ovom kompleksnom domenu. Analiza je smeštena u sociodemografski kontekst veoma niskog rađanja, negativnog prirodnog prirašaja, depopulacije i poodmaklog starenja, a u uslovima snažnog familizma. Dva oblika staranja su analizirana: briga o deci i o roditeljima u starosti. Sprovedeno je kvalitativno istraživanje u dva grada u Srbiji – Beogradu i Kraljevu, uključujući urbani deo i ostala naselja, odnosno centar grada i periferiju. Metodološki je primenjena studija slučaja, zasnovana na intervjuima i posmatranju. Osnovni cilj je bio da se osvetli neformalna podrška u roditeljstvu, polazeći od odgovora na sledeća tri pitanja: ko, šta i zašto. Dobijeni rezultati su potvrdili početne pretpostavke autorki da se majke, odnosno roditelji, snažno oslanjaju na babe i dede, posebno majke sa majčine strane. Pomoć baba i deda je ocenjena kao svakodnevna, velika i iscrpljujuća. Ispitanice/majke, međutim, smatraju da briga o unucima popravlja kvalitet života babama i dedama, te da im olakšava i ulepšava starenje. Mada u uzorku nije bila prisutna aktuelna praksa brige o starima u većoj

meri, jer je većina roditelja još uvek bila vitalna, ispitanice su iskazale svoje relevantne stavove po ovom pitanju. Ponovo, sasvim u skladu sa očekivanjima autorki, briga o starima se pokazala kao važan sastavni deo porodičnog života. Analiza empirijske evidencije pokazuje da je razlog tome u snažnoj međugeneracijskoj solidarnosti zasnovanoj na srodstvu, koja kao takva oblikuje i stavove i ponašanja. O starima će se, onda kada to bude potrebno, starati njihovi potomci, jer je to normalno, prirodno, podrazumevano, i izraz je velike zahvalnosti i ljubavi. Veoma mali broj ispitanica se zalaže za institucionalna rešenja (domove za stare) i to samo ukoliko stari nisu u stanju da se sami brinu o sebi ili ako bude mnogo starih lica u užoj i široj porodici kojima je potrebna stalna briga i nega.

KLJUČNE REČI

međugeneracijska solidarnost | staranje | žene | deca | stariji

Rad je zasnovan na rezultatima istraživačkog projekta „Uloga majki u međugeneracijskoj solidarnosti“ (2020), koji je podržao Kabinet ministra bez portfelja zaduženog za demografiju i populacionu politiku Vlade Srbije.

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Organisational culture in Romania: The fine line between success and failure for women in academia

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ABSTRACT

Experiences of discrimination in the academic world discourage women from taking part in contests to occupy higher academic positions. People tend to evaluate academic management based on what they consider to be normal behaviour for both women and men. Because of this, women are often perceived as less appropriately equipped to occupy an academic managerial position than men, especially in fields (such as the academic field) where male stereotypes are regarded as more efficient.

This research was intended to evaluate the organisational culture and environment within the largest university centres in Iași (Romania) in relation to the accomplishment and execution of academic and scientific tasks by academic staff, as well as measuring their personal and professional satisfaction. We used a qualitative method (the 'life story' interview), as we wanted to identify certain events and defining traits of women in academia by focusing on their subjective experiences. For this purpose, we took into account the following three indicators: professional

motivation and satisfaction, balancing personal and professional life, and success and failure in the academic world.

Focusing on the obstacles women meet in their attempt to reach scientific/academic management positions, we have noticed that one of the major difficulties women in the academic world are confronted with when becoming academic managers is creating a balance between family life and their career. The interviewed women are not willing to give up domestic tasks for the benefit of professional tasks, as they are part of the traditional family model. On the other hand, this study shows that these women do not lack motivation to take up a managerial position, but that the norms promoted in the academic environment disadvantage women, despite the fact that the interviewees consider these formal norms to be gender-neutral.

KEY WORDS

personal satisfaction | academic performance | management position | male stereotypes | work-life balance

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INTRODUCTION

One of the major difficulties women in the academic world are confronted with when taking on management positions is creating a balance between family life (especially when they have dependent children in their care) and their career. Domestic activities are normally time-consuming, limiting the period that can be dedicated to professional activities (Gardiner et al. 2007; Tomas et al. 2010). Even in this era, domestic activities often remain the responsibility of women as a result of gender stereotypes.

Organisational culture is born under the influence of structural conditions, such as opportunities, power, and female and male staff distribution in the organisational hierarchy. In order to understand the persistence of gender inequality in the academic and scientific world, it is also important to understand the latent, subtle, and indirect processes within organisations that form the basis of gender differences. These processes are often referred to as second-generation gender barriers (Ibarra, Ely and Kolb 2013). To this extent, we can say that rational procedures and institutional structures give rise to an apparent neutrality and impersonality that hides class, race, and gender (Benschop and Doorewaard 1998).

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The trajectory of science depends largely on the talent pool of future researchers available. At the moment,

women represent a large part of that pool, but some studies show that, compared to men, women are more likely to “go to waste through the drain” (the ‘leaky pipeline’ phenomenon) (Ceci, Williams and Barnett 2009).

This research addresses a subject that has been poorly studied in Romania compared to other countries; the only results involving Romania are found in studies conducted at the level of European Union institutions. For example, according to the She Figures report, in Romania the percentage of women leading higher education institutions is very low: only 15.5% of the heads of higher education institutions are women (European Commission 2019: 128). When we shift our focus to universities that have the capacity to deliver PhDs, the situation is worse: just 7.3% of the heads of these particular higher education institutions are women (European Commission 2019: 130). These percentages make Romania one of the few remaining countries in the European Union that does not encourage the appointment of women among heads of universities. Multiple reasons have been offered to explain the rather small proportion of women within the field of research or the difficulties women encounter in furthering their academic career. During the 19th century there was the idea that women had inferior minds, an idea no longer accepted today. Nowadays, the most sensible argument for justifying the absence of women in high academic positions relates to

maternity (Noback, Broersma and van Dijk 2016).

Another explanation for this phenomenon – this time psychological – implies that women have difficulties in furthering their careers because they are shy, not aggressive enough, and don't have enough role models (O'Connor 2011). Other reasons explained below point to the motivation and strength required to build a career in the academic and scientific world.

Motivation can manifest itself in the desire to have multiple responsibilities and achieve the common goals of the organisation. This is assessed as positive ambition. On the other hand, negative motivation is characterised by self-serving conduct and individual desire for power. Positive motivation is linked to learning, development, and self-accomplishment, while negative motivation is linked to hierarchy, status, prestige, and salary. Both motivation categories are significant from a cultural point of view (Benschop et al. 2013).

Discourses around career and motivation can be catalogued as gender discourses, but are paradoxical at the same time. The centre of the paradox lies in the fact that two elements or situations that apparently cancel each other can actually occur at the same time (Van den Brink and Stobbe 2014). Employees who wish to climb up the hierarchy must let the organisation know without explicitly mentioning it. This is problematic especially for young women, who are often perceived as being less ambitious than men. This places them in a double dilemma, as they need to explicitly

show their managers that they have not lost their ambition, yet without being allowed to say it explicitly. If women do not explicitly state that they have the motivation to climb up the hierarchy, they reproduce the dominant discourse on women and their lack of ambition (De Vries 2010; Van den Brink et al. 2016). Women in the academic world must be visible and invisible at the same time in order to be able to evolve professionally: visible with regard to their ambition and skills, but invisible with regard to their feminine bodies (Van den Brink and Stobbe 2014).

All of the issues highlighted above – as well as the relation between family life and career, the second generation of gender barriers, and motivation issues – are discussed in the 'Results' section. At first sight, it might appear that there is a theoretical discrepancy between these sections. However, the aspects mentioned in the introduction and the conceptual framework of this article, such as the relationship between professional and family life, the second generation of gender barriers, and professional motivation are discussed in the 'Results' section as follows: work-life balance; failure and success in the academic environment; satisfaction and organisational culture. This article intends to focus on those indirect causes that lead to the lack of women in academic management, among which are those mentioned above.

METHODS AND OBJECTIVES

This research was intended to evaluate the organisational culture and environment within the academic world of Iași in relation to the accomplishment and execution of academic and scientific tasks by academic staff, as well as measuring their personal and professional satisfaction.

In light of this objective, we decided to use a qualitative method, as we wanted to identify certain events and defining traits of women in the academic world by focusing on their subjective experiences. For this purpose, we have tried in the present research to take into account the following three indicators: professional motivation and satisfaction, balancing personal and professional life, and success and failure in the academic world. Qualitative research encourages the ongoing discovery of problems and takes into account the points of view of the interviewed subjects (Scheele 2005).

We chose to use the 'life story' interview method in order to identify, sequentially and very precisely, the professional development stages that women in the academic and scientific world go through, taking into account the fact that the reality of the academic world is a very dynamic one. From a methodological point of view, choosing such an interview type is deliberate, as life story interviews allow very complex experiences to be expressed (Rhoten and Pfirman 2007).

This type of interview is often considered to belong to feminist methodology. The main points of this instru-

ment focus on the continuity of the story and the personal reflection of the person interviewed (Atkinson 2002).

The interview inquiry is based on a semi-structured interview – the interview guide that was compiled having established only the main themes the study focused on – being adjusted throughout the interviews (Piercy 2004). The research results are not representative for the population the interviewed subjects are part of. First of all, we need to remind everybody that in the case of a study conducted using the interview method (as with all qualitative methods), the purpose is not to generalise the results, but to explore the subjective meanings of the phenomenon; therefore, the sample does not need to take into account representation, but only its saturation (Creswell 2005). This necessitates selecting candidates who display the qualities necessary to achieve the objectives. *The criteria used to select the population to take part in the study were:*

- *gender*: the participants at this stage of the study were only women who work in the largest university centres in Iași (Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iași – eight women, Grigore T. Popa University of Medicine and Pharmacy, Iași – three women, Gheorghe Asachi Technical University of Iași – two women);

- *field of activity*: some of the women carry out only research activities (four women), while the rest of them perform both research and teaching activities (nine women);

- *professional experience*: considering the objective of the research, we

decided to find out whether there is a difference between generations regarding the chosen objective. For this reason, women were selected based on whether they could be classified as senior or junior women;

- *personal background*: three of the participating women have one child, five of them have two children, and three women have three children. Also, 11 of the women who participated of this study are married, while two are unmarried.

The test sample of the study comprised 13 women involved in the academic and scientific world in Iasi. They were grouped into two categories: senior (women with experience in the academic and scientific world) and junior (women who are just starting out in the academic and scientific world). The names of the women participating in the research were modified so as to ensure their anonymity. Categorisation was done by taking into account the research and teaching experience of the women who were the subjects of the study. Thus, women with up to seven years of experience were included in the junior category, while women with teaching experience of more than seven years were placed in the senior category. This categorisation was made following a study conducted in Romania in 2010 (Balahur and Balahur 2010) and was inspired by research coordinated by Harper et al. (2001), which states that the average period necessary for a new employee from the academic and/or scientific environment to obtain a position in middle management is seven years.

Of all the women interviewed, six are juniors and seven are seniors. Due to the nature of the research, we also need to mention that 11 women have children, while two do not. For carrying out the research, a non-randomised 'snowball' sampling method was used; the women interviewed were recommended by people who are part of the STAGES project (Structural Transformation to Achieve Gender Equality in Science).

We decided that the two selected categories should comprise senior and junior women alike, since, as Marston and Brunetti (2009) stated, the professional satisfaction of women in the academic world varies depending on the position they occupy. At the same time, advancing from one position to another requires a certain level of productivity and takes time.

RESULTS

Satisfaction and organisational culture

In order to assess the satisfaction level of the women who were part of the study in relation to their academic activity, we tried to identify which are the main factors that contribute to their satisfaction or dissatisfaction. From their accounts, we could identify their motivation in pursuing an academic profession, as well as their attitude towards the factors defining women's work in the academic and scientific field.

Rosser (2005) identified four areas where academic satisfaction could appear: remuneration and benefits,

career satisfaction, job security, and relationships with students, colleagues, and superiors.

To emphasise the necessity of distinguishing between junior and senior women when it comes to their professional satisfaction, we can refer to the studies of Marston and Brunetti (2009) or Wilson (2012), who focus on the fact that academic satisfaction varies depending on the professional level. A higher professional position will normally provide a higher level of satisfaction. In our case, an individual's professional level depends largely on their productivity (in order to rise to a superior academic position, it is essential to publish research papers in that specific area of expertise). Thus, the longer a person spends within the academic world, the greater their chance of becoming more productive.

In the case of the present research, women with professional (work) experience in the academic field are part of the senior group. To emphasise what was stated, Sabharwal and Corley (2009) show that senior academic staff are more satisfied with their professional life than junior staff. The results of the interview pointed to the same conclusions as the study above; junior women more often brought up their professional dissatisfactions from the moment they entered the university and scientific world: *"I regret that I don't have a good relationship with Mr B (her superior), although things would have been better... that was the situation"* – (Liliana - junior, married, two children).

Although, as previously mentioned, senior women presumably have much

higher productivity, there are cases when junior women focus on this aspect in order to express their professional capability. However, their accounts of their own productivity are closely related to situations in which they considered themselves aggrieved: *"I want to have 20 papers. I have over 100 in the bibliography. Nobody has more projects than me. I need a course and some more articles. This is all I need. And then I go, no problem. And I can let A. have it with a minimum"* – (Larisa – junior, divorced, two children). By this, Larisa means to say that she wants to keep improving her skills before she seeks a promotion, even though she is already qualified for a more senior position. The junior women's situation is also mentioned by Valian (1998) when he states that the volume of material published by a woman is larger at the beginning of her career, and then gradually decreases.

In the case of the accounts given by the research subjects, all women referred to the second area mentioned above: career satisfaction. *"It is a prestigious profession, but you get it after years and years of effort and patience"* – (Irina – senior, unmarried, without children). Although the women did state that they were happy with their career paths, one of the senior subjects pointed out her dissatisfaction regarding the position she was in after very many years dedicated to academic and scientific activities: *"You know, I have been an assistant since year X... the steps were as follows: to get to be lecturer, then assistant professor and... to dream of becoming a profes-*

sor, but, unfortunately... I have a file for each of these positions, but there are no vacancies” – (Maria – senior, married, one child). The legal system in Romania does not stipulate any age or seniority requirements in order to move up the ladder, yet other demands – including a minimum number of published articles and books – make promotion possible only for those who have a certain level of experience. The reality in this country has not shown any pattern in terms of the number of years it takes to reach a higher academic position.

In accordance with the Law of National Education, and depending on the maximum number of potential students allocated to a faculty through the Order of the Minister of National Education, universities approve the organisational function chart for each component faculty. Thus, a faculty can have on its organisational chart nine assistant lecturers, six lecturers, five associate professors, and three professors. Based on the above, an assistant lecturer cannot hold a lecturer position if this position is not vacant, even if he/she meets the requirements regarding participation in research projects and number of published papers.

As regards their satisfaction level in relation to their salary, most women said they were unhappy: *“The money is very, very little for all the effort we put into it” – (Luiza – junior, married, three children). Despite all the inconveniences and discontentment, seniors admit that the difficulties those now beginning their career have to face are a lot more challenging than their own: “I don’t know how these young women*

manage. I think I would go someplace else to work, I wouldn’t stay here for this kind of money” – (Claudia – senior, married, three children). In the academic world, salary is closely related to position. Thus, as Valian (1998) mentioned, even small differences in treatment can lead to huge differences in advancement, and implicitly in salary. What the women said in interviews showed such dissatisfaction only where the juniors are concerned: “I didn’t feel discouraged... because at some point, in two years’ time, Mr. G will retire... then, if M. doesn’t do the work, there’ll be no one else to do it” – (Larisa – junior, divorced, two children). The same author (Valian 1998) states that women need to reach a higher productivity level than men in order to get a promotion in their career, as many of the juniors in the study actually showed when they highlighted the fact that their professional achievements are superior to those of their fellow male colleagues: “Where quotations are concerned, I have over 100, almost 200. Nobody has more projects than I do [among male colleagues]. I need a course and some more articles... Now I can let A. [male colleague] get it [a superior position] with a minimum” – (Larisa – junior, divorced, two children). This explains very easily the paradox described in the theoretical part of the article. Although she has the competency to get promoted in academia (in this case, significantly more projects and citations than her male colleague), a man was targeted for promotion ahead of her. She let her colleague take the position although

she was more qualified for it. Her 'silence' made the appointment possible. This can be explained by the fact that she does not explicitly mention having the motivation to climb up the academic hierarchy. This example could add to the discourse on women and their lack of ambition.

The third area where professional satisfaction may be achieved is in relationships with students, colleagues, and superiors. Most of the research subjects highlighted this factor as significant. In one paper by Marston and Brunetti (2009), teaching activities represent a very strong source of satisfaction for teachers. Interacting with students brings more satisfaction to junior women. They draw attention to the fact that one of the reasons why they like their work in the academic field is because of the interactions with their students: "*I like young people. I like their company and I know that I can be a source of knowledge for them*" – (Luiza – junior, married, three children). In contrast, Sabharwal and Corley (2009) consider that professors who allocate much of their time to teaching consider themselves more dissatisfied with their work. This is the same as what most of the seniors said: "*Teaching kind of gets in my way*" – (Corina – senior, married, two children). In spite of all this, juniors are aware of the fact that in order to advance in their academic careers, they have to concentrate more on research than on teaching, although they get more pleasure from the teaching side of their academic and scientific activities.

Work-life balance

Balancing family life with work means that a person should identify a satisfying way to accomplish both their professional and family tasks (Greenhaus, Collins and Shaw 2003). The conflict between professional life and personal life could be defined as one in which accomplishing work-related goals affects family-related goals, and vice-versa.

Fox, Fonseca, and Bao (2011) also mention the fact that women are much more likely to face conflicts linked to finding this balance between their professional and personal lives. This statement correlates closely with the results of the study due, on one hand, to social and cultural expectations regarding the role of women within the family – an aspect also present in the discourses of the junior women ("*My mother told me: stay in the kitchen, you're married now*" – Ioana – junior, married, one child) – and on the other hand, to the traditional education women receive in their families, where they are taught that one of the woman's duties is to take care of domestic chores. This topic mainly arises in the seniors' interviews ("*The fact is, I'll say it again, I really wanted to stay at home for the first two years, being a mother and all*" – Nadia – senior, married, one child).

In overcoming the conflict between work and family, Mathew and Panchanatham (2011) emphasise the importance of the involvement not only of the state, through its protection mechanisms for maternity and family ("*Is there anything else except for maternity leave?*" – Corina – senior,

married, two children), but also of the management of the higher education institution (*"It would be nice if the university contributed with something when one of the employees has a child. They gave me one monthly salary, that's all"* – Veronica – junior, married, two children).

One of the differences between seniors and juniors was that with seniors the feeling of guilt was more poignant when they failed to carry out domestic duties as planned, given that they consider domestic chores to be their job: *"From a family point of view, my opinion is that I should have done much more. That is to have had more time to spend with them, to communicate with them"* (Maria – senior, married, one child). Maria's case contradicts the results of a study performed by the Center for Advanced Human Resources Studies with Cornell University (2010), which found that if employees feel that their family life affects their work, they feel guilty, while if they feel that their work affects their family life, the feeling of guilt is absent.

Maybe the most important factor contributing to the escalation of the conflict between work and family is having children (Amstad et al. 2011; Thompson and Prottas 2006), a fact also supported by the present study: *"If women have two, three children at home, they find it very hard to publish and do research, let alone handle a management position"* (Oana – senior, married, two children). In order to get promoted, women in the academic field have to prove their competence by means of research and publications.

To accomplish these objectives, the interviewed women, regardless of their category, have adopted various strategies designed to relieve them of their family tasks, especially of those linked to children, such as: hiring a person to take care of the child (*"I mean I have somebody, the nanny of my boy, who comes to our place from time to time"* – Ioana – junior, married, one child) or asking for their grandparents' help (*"He started to go to daycare when he was only one year old. Before that we used to care for him in shifts, my father and I"* – Corina – senior, married, two children). The various impositions related to raising children cause a lot of women – as is generally the case of the seniors in our study – to postpone their desire to occupy a position in the academic management hierarchy until their children are old enough not to be dependent on their mother's care anymore (Baumgartner and Schneider 2010): *"...the worries about family have faded in the meantime. E. is older now, so I am not needed at home anymore. Already things have taken a trend where I feel I can manage them and live up to them"* – (Corina – senior, married, two children).

Academic activity has the advantage of a flexible working schedule, a factor many of the junior women mentioned. But this also implies that some work-related activities must be transferred from work to home (*"This is mostly how I worked, at night, after the children went to sleep"* – Dana – junior, married, three children), which can cause conflicts relat-

ed to failing to accomplish domestic chores.

One study by O’Laughlin and Bischoff (2005) found that women’s busy schedule (mixing home and work activities) affects their productivity. This is contradicted by the interviewed women, both seniors and juniors, who choose either to go back to their workplace after finishing their domestic activities, or transfer their work tasks to home. This is because, as a study by the Center at Cornell University (2010) has shown, although they spend long hours at their workplace (“*I work on average 10 hours per day*” – Florentina – senior, married, without children), women also have to deal with most of the domestic chores and family care activities: “*Mostly, everything at home is my responsibility*” (Nadia – senior, married, one child).

In her study, Hochschild (1989) described several family typologies: traditional, transitional, and egalitarian. According to her, in the traditional family, the woman believes herself to be dependent on her husband despite having a job; her main tasks have to do with the family sphere, whereas the husband is the one who provides the main financial support of the family. When the woman needs the man’s help in accomplishing one of the domestic chores, she asks for it only because she cannot handle it alone, not because the chores are seen as the duty of both partners. This type of family is standard for many of the cases discussed, but mainly where the juniors are concerned. They often argue that their partners do accomplish many of the chores they would normally do

themselves, but only when asked to do so (an attitude that women consider normal): “*...he asks me all the time, ‘Why didn’t you tell me?’... It’s the same with picking up children from school. I realise around 3 p.m. that I don’t have time and I have to pick them up from school just when I realise that I still have something else to do*” (Luiza – junior, married, three children).

In regard to the accomplishment of family tasks, all cases bring to the foreground the same situation: women are those who have to deal with all tasks linked to childcare and family duties, their life partners getting involved only when women find it impossible to accomplish these tasks on their own: “*When we have to hand in our reports I sometimes stay at work until midnight... that’s when my husband takes care of the children and food*” (Luiza – junior, married, three children). The interviews clearly show that the women involved in the study belong to the traditional type of family, about which Schippers and Grayson-Sapp (2012) state that it promotes the responsibility of women over family tasks. Even when women with life partners try to prove that they are not part of such a family model, their discourse still leads to the above-mentioned conclusion. One study by Amstad and Semmer (2011) argues that the family model of one partner can influence, depending on its intensity, the behaviour of the other partner, who adopts that specific family model.

Failure and success in academia

One of the studies conducted by Pyke (2013) argues that women are isolated and kept to the side of the academic field because of their low numbers. These results contradict the findings of the present study, regardless of the participants: *“I like what I am doing ... I have colleagues I get along with very well, no matter their gender”* (Claudia – senior, married, three children). In spite of this being a common sentiment, some senior women argue that the informal norms of the academic world benefit men: *“Well, we women can’t, for instance, reject our students in general, or things like that...”* (Oana – senior, married, two children). It can be argued that improving organisational conditions for women is not enough without a change in the societal perceptions of the skills, abilities, and roles that a woman can have. Unlike men, women internalise gender roles specific to them – such as a higher degree of empathy – as part of early socialisation. Thus, it can be said that women's vision of employment relationships includes a closer connection with students. This is time-consuming and produces inferior results on indicators that are important for professional development in the academic and scientific environment (publication and participation in research teams).

The personal experiences of women regarding fair treatment can make them feel that they belong in the academic world (Richman, vanDellen and Wood 2011). The cases of senior women often reflect the results of the

above-mentioned studies, as in their discourses we often find the idea that they've never felt treated by their husbands with an attitude of superiority and that relationships between men and women promote equality: *“They are not made for men or for women... In the academic world, norms are impersonal. Now, if we want to give them a certain interpretation, we can interpret them”* (Florentina – senior, married, without children). We see the same conclusion (that formal and informal norms do not favour men over women) in the juniors' discourses, although some juniors have experienced discrimination. One example is that of Ioana (married, one child), who was supposed to be included in a research project before she gave birth. However, the woman in charge of hiring told her colleague: *“Why did you hire her for two months for this project when you knew she was going on maternity leave?”*

At the same time, a similar study conducted by Richman, vanDellen and Wood (2011) underlines the fact that being exposed to a discriminatory situation can stunt academic performance. Although, as stated above, some junior women have experienced such a situation, they have gathered their strength in order to prove their abilities in their field of expertise: *“He’s been occupying the position of lecturer for six or seven years [male colleague]. Professor G. has recently been including his name on all the papers just to help him get some promotion. However, I managed to overtake him by my own strength”* (Larisa – junior, divorced, two children).

As one of the senior participants in the study stated, one of the reasons why women do not end up in academic leadership positions has to do with the fact that women are not willing to give up the time dedicated to research and their family for such a position: *“Now, those who assume management positions are people who practically sacrifice a professional area, something that has to do with their professional career. Some are willing to do it, others are not. I don’t think there are many women who would be willing to give it up”* (Irina – senior, unmarried, without children). Peterson (2014) states that academic leadership positions, which implicitly include administrative tasks, are time-consuming. In spite of this, Clarke, Hyde and Drennan’s study (2013) showed that, contrary to what one participant in the study declared (*“In addition to teaching, there are other activities... they take up a lot of time, such as the administrative activities... Yes, I’d like to keep getting involved in this administrative part”* – Florentina – senior, married, without children), that most senior women dedicate a significant part of their working time to accomplishing administrative tasks, even if they don’t want to deal with these responsibilities.

The women’s discourses have unveiled the fact that, especially with senior women, one of the problems the academic staff has to face is the struggle for resources, which leads to a lack of cooperation and communication between academic staff members (Gasser and Shaffer 2014). This can produce a deficiency in the infor-

mation and resources necessary for carrying out teaching and research activities: *“I don’t know why, but it seems to me that the more we have access to information, the more we frighten one another. I don’t know if my colleagues know what I do. We tend to become very secretive and very focused on one direction”* (Corina – senior, married, two children).

Furthermore, according to Clarke, Hyde and Drennan (2013), women are much more affected than men by what the reference literature calls reduced academic mobility (taking part in conferences, practice sessions, training courses etc.). As it creates the possibility of establishing connections with colleagues in the country or from abroad, academic mobility can lead, among other things, to beneficial results in terms of a person’s rate of publication in scientific journals. In Romania, moving up the hierarchical ladder entails being subjected to a calculation scheme (the calculation scheme of the score necessary to apply for a higher position is provided by the Law of Education). The women’s discourses have emphasised this problem not only for junior women, but also for senior women who have dependent children in their care. In this case, the difference is not between junior and senior women, but between women with independent children and women whose children are dependent on the presence of one of their parents. Similarly, there is no difference between the case of women who have a partner and those who do not, one example being that of Claudia (married, three children): *“My husband has*

a very busy schedule... If we are talking about mobility, especially longer-term mobility, then I can't commit because there's no way to do it... for the time being... my child is seven years old and needs all my attention. Another woman, divorced, with a five-year-old child says: *"At this point, a long journey cannot be discussed..."* (Larisa – junior, divorced, two children). Consequently, it becomes clear that women, regardless of their situation, with children or not, married or unmarried, are professionally affected by the impossibility of traveling for long periods of time.

Moreover, domestic duties – especially those related to raising and caring for children, which fall under the responsibility of the participants – have a domino effect on their mobility level. The reduced mobility of women affects their chances of conducting research and their opportunity to create collaborative relations with their colleagues. All these factors make the accomplishment of professional development tasks even more difficult.

The fact that academic management teams don't get heavily involved in supporting academic staff in situations that require their input can lead to dissatisfaction regarding the balance between family life and work: *"The University did not help me at all when I gave birth to D..."* (Corina – senior, married, two children). According to Marston and Brunetti (2009), universities should more carefully examine the problems members of their academic staff face in balancing the two spheres of their lives, as this can generate positive or negative outcomes in their

academic performance. Sensing the gap between the staff and the academic management, one of the participants declared: *"...I think the university could do more for mothers in that period following their giving birth"* (Ioana – junior, married, one child).

In the end, we can mention Chandler's observation (2011) that people tend to evaluate academic management based on what they consider to be normal behaviour for women and men respectively. Due to this fact, women are perceived as being less appropriate to occupy an academic management position than men, especially in areas where male stereotypes are deemed more efficient. Thus, there appears to be a question whether women could bring something new to academic management. Most women agree that women can have the same qualities as men, and the other way around: *"Both women and men can have the same leadership qualities"* (Irina – senior, unmarried, without children). In addition, the interviewees mentioned that there could be some differences linked to skills, pointing out the fact that women can actually have some managerial skills that men lack, such as: organising skills (*"...I think many women know how to organise their time, to do more things at the same time"* – Maria – senior, married, one child), more practicality due to their maternal instinct (*"A woman is more linked to the reality and the pragmatism of day-to-day life, because if a woman is a mother, she understands better"* – Veronica – junior, married, two children), intuition (*"Generally, a woman can empathise*

better with various problems that may appear with the people she works with" – Oana – senior, married, two children), and proficiency in adopting a collaborative management style ("*...when I have difficult decisions, I prefer to consult several people before I make a decision*" – Larisa – junior, divorced, two children). However, in the academic world, women are perceived as being less appropriate for occupying an academic managerial position. Participants do not consider this perception to be true, asserting that actually women have skills that exceed those of men in some areas.

Although all participants in the study agree that they are at a disadvantage regarding their professional development, they do not consider themselves discriminated against. This lack of awareness about potential discrimination will allow the academic organisational culture that promotes 'male' norms and regulations to continue putting women in second place.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Focusing on the obstacles women face when trying to get a position in academic and scientific management, it turns out that one major difficulty these women deal is finding a balance between family life (especially if they have dependent children in their care) and their career, as domestic duties are time-consuming and limit the period available for professional activities (Gardiner et al., 2007; Tomas et al., 2010). Although it may seem that this could be a valid concern for all partic-

ipating women, their interviews show that it appears mainly as an issue for senior women. According to Gardiner et al. (2007), when having a child, a lot of women in the academic world 'access' one of the benefits granted by the state (such as maternity leave), which creates a difference between themselves and their male colleagues. Such an explanation occurs in the case of both senior and junior women.

Regarding the accomplishment of family tasks, all cases bring to the foreground the same situation: women typically have to deal with all tasks linked to childcare and household duties, their life partners getting involved only when women find themselves unable to accomplish these tasks on their own. The interviews clearly show that the women involved in the study belong to the traditional family type, viewed by Schippers and Grayson-Sapp (2012) as one that promotes the responsibility of women over family tasks. Even when women with life partners want to prove that they are not part of such a family model, their discourse invariably leads to the aforementioned conclusion. One study performed by Amstad and Semmer (2011) argues that the family model of one partner can influence, depending on its intensity, the behaviour of the other partner, who comes to adopt that specific family model.

This micro-study proved that, for the participating women, professional failure or the reduced chance of occupying a managerial position in the academic sphere are derived from the negative effects that domestic responsibilities have on their career devel-

opment. From a different perspective, the major difficulties women in the academic world face when having to decide whether to participate in academic management revolve around finding a balance between family life and career, as domestic duties are time-consuming and limit the period that can be dedicated to professional activities.

This research has revealed the importance of a flexible schedule that would allow the development of professional activities in the academic and scientific environment in a context dominated by household duties. Although the academic environment can be described as offering a flexible schedule, it is also unpredictable, which puts mothers in a difficult position.

Turning our attention to the barriers women face in accessing a position within the academic and scientific management system, it becomes apparent that one of the major difficulties women in academia face when deciding to get involved in management is balancing family life and career, household activities being time-consuming and restricting the period that can be allocated to professional activities.

This study has shown that women are not willing to give up domestic tasks for the benefit of professional tasks, as they are part of the traditional family model as it was described by Hochschild (1989). Based on this finding, in order for the academic world to benefit from women's abilities and competence, the system needs to be reformed and redefined so as not to

hinder their ability to perform family responsibilities.

The analysis of the interviews shows that the women participating in this study do not lack motivation to take up a managerial position, but that the norms promoted in the academic environment disadvantage women, despite the fact that the participants consider these formal norms to be gender-neutral. In Romania, gaining a promotion in the academic environment is based on performing research activities that are disseminated at conferences and via specialist publications. The fact that women devote a small part of their time to research is the result of pervasive gender stereotypes in society: domestic tasks are considered the responsibility of women. Therefore, unlike men in academia, women are unable to allocate too much time to research activities.

As in a domino effect, domestic responsibilities also have negative effects on women's mobility. They find themselves 'stuck' in a particular area, which leads to an inability to create professional support networks, to work in international research teams, or to attend conferences. With all this in mind, we can say that the women participating in this research are not devoid of motivation, any information resulting from our study being based solely on the gender stereotypes existing in society and, implicitly, in the academic environment. Thus, women will be concentrated in low positions, and will consequently be paid a lower salary than men.

This article is not intended to debate whether cultural stereotypes or the

work-life conflict are the reasons why there are so few women occupying managerial positions in the academic environment. However, we can conclude from the article that these concepts are interconnected, and that if we do not take measures to prevent them from replicating, the academic environment will come to be dominated by masculine characteristics.

The results brought to the fore through this paper could represent the starting point for a new study oriented towards innovative research directions likely to address a much more specific dimension of the topic or, conversely, extend the study of these issues to the level of several university centres.

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Organizaciona kultura u Rumuniji: Tanka linija između uspeha i neuspeha žena u akademskom svetu

GEORGE MARIAN ICHIM¹

SAŽETAK

Ovo istraživanje bavi se temom koja se slabo proučava u Rumuniji u poređenju sa drugim zemljama; jedini rezultati koji uključuju Rumuniju mogu se naći u studijama sprovedenim na nivou institucija Evropske unije. Prema izveštaju Evropske komisije (2019), samo 15,5% šefova visokoškolskih ustanova u Rumuniji su žene, odnosno tek 7,3% kada se u obzir uzmu univerziteti koji dodeljuju doktorske titule, što ovu zemlju čini jednom od retkih članica EU koja ne podstiče imenovanje žena među šefovima univerziteta.

Prikazano kvalitativno istraživanje, sprovedeno u najvećim univerzitetskim centrima poznatog univerzitetskog grada Jaši, metodom intervjua „životna priča“, uzelo je u obzir tri pokazatelja: profesionalnu motivaciju i zadovoljstvo, usklađivanje ličnog i profesionalnog života i uspeh u akademskom svetu. Pokazalo se da profesionalni neuspeh ili smanjene šanse za zauzimanje rukovodećeg položaja u akademskoj zajednici kod intervjuisanih žena proizilaze iz negativnih efekata koje porodične obaveze imaju na razvoj njihove karijere odnosno iz poteškoća da pronađu ravnotežu između porodičnog života i karijere budući da kućne obaveze oduzimaju puno vremena ograničavajući period koji se može posvetiti profesionalnim aktivnostima.

Istraživanje je otkrilo značaj fleksibilnog rasporeda koji bi omogućio razvoj profesionalnih aktivnosti u akademskom i naučnom okruženju u kontekstu u kojem dominiraju porodične obaveze. Iako se akademsko okruženje može opisati kao fleksibilno po pitanju rasporeda radnih obaveza, ono je takođe nepredvidivo, što majke dovodi u teškoće.

Takođe, istraživanje je pokazalo da ispitanicama ne nedostaje motivacije da zauzmu rukovodeće pozicije, ali da norme promovisane u akademskim krugovima stavljaju žene u nepovoljan položaj, uprkos činjenici da ispitanice ove formalne norme smatraju rođno neutralnim.

Ovaj članak ne namerava da raspravlja da li su kulturni stereotipi ili sukob između poslovnog i privatnog života razlozi zbog kojih u akademskom svetu ima tako malo žena na rukovodećim položajima. Međutim, iz članka možemo zaključiti da su ovi koncepti međusobno povezani i da će, ako se ne preduzmu mere da se spreči njihovo umnožavanje, akademska zajednica biti dominantno muška.

KLJUČNE REČI

lično zadovoljstvo | akademski učinak | rukovodeća pozicija | muški stereotipi | usklađivanje poslovnih i porodičnih obaveza

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Labour Rights of the Rare Diseases Population – Breaking the Glass Ceiling

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to introduce a legal framework for exercising one of the most basic socio-economic rights of people with rare diseases: the right to decent work. Considering the specificity of the medical and, consequently, social status of the people affected, the appropriate labour-law measures need to be determined. Applying the comparative and normative method along with the contemporary anti-discrimination principle, the labour status of the rare diseases population has been analysed based on the proposed classification in legal terms. As a precondition for labour legislation, new Serbian healthcare legislation on rare diseases should be supported through the process of implementation to reduce adverse cases as effectively as possible, advance genetic and other clinical diagnoses, and thus increase

the efficiency of available medical treatment. Concerning public health policy, updated registries and better health statistics should be created. These activities require certain amendments to both general and specialist labour legislation (disability legislation), aiming to include patients with rare diseases in the working (and social) environment without discrimination.

KEY WORDS

rare diseases population | labour status | anti-discrimination law | legal classification | dignity

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INTRODUCTION

Nowadays, patients with rare diseases form a social group with particular needs whose fulfilment implies the achievement of fundamental human rights. In their efforts to improve their socio-legal status and exercise these rights, patients and their family members have established associations that seem to have eventually crossed national borders and acquired the character of regional organisations that aim to improve people's right to healthcare and other related social rights.¹ Consequently, people with rare diseases are identified as representing a vulnerable social group with all the characteristics of health minorities (Lerner 2003: 8).

Minority social groups are those whose needs do not match the needs of the majority population. Acknowledging this is significant in allowing these groups to exercise a fundamental human right (Satterfield, Mertz and Slovic 2004: 1115): the right to a dignified life.² In the past, the differentia-

tion of minority groups from the majority population was based mostly on religious, ethical, and linguistic differences, but later differentiation has also been made based on people's health status in the context of increased health risks (Pasqualucci 2008: 31). Vulnerability as a sociological characteristic of minority groups is a feature of all social groups, regardless of their ethical, religious, or other status if there are significant inequalities in exercising their fundamental human rights. Vulnerable social groups and vulnerable populations are considered to be mostly "religious minority groups, the economically disadvantaged, the very sick, or institutionalised people". Additionally, the concept of vulnerability as an ethical and sociological principle is closely related to the legal principles of justice and the concept of the prohibition of discrimination (Levine et al. 2004: 45). In contemporary legal systems, any form of differentiation, exclusion, or limitation based on various grounds aimed at or leading to the denial or limitation of fundamental human rights and the fulfilment of elementary needs represents discrimination sanctioned by legal norms.

The health status of patients with rare diseases and the activities of their daily and working life are closely linked. Most rare diseases (80%) are of genetic origin, which necessitates legal protection against cases of genet-

¹ By "social rights" we consider also the broader term 'socio-economic rights' *i.e.* the right to education, right to work, right to healthcare, right to social protection and care etc. without going into further determination of any possible differences between social and socio-economic rights (Tushnet 1992: 25). About this issue, also see: Young (2008: 113).

² By "right to dignified life" we considered „not only the right of every human being not to be deprived of his life arbitrarily, but also the right that he will not be prevented from having access to the conditions that guarantee a dignified life (*Vida Digna*)" that stands in favour of the interdisciplinary approach of this article *i.e.* taking into consideration the healthcare and

labour status of people with rare diseases as prerequisites for dignified life (Pasqualucci 2008: 31).

ic discrimination. On the other hand, a person's working capacity is determined by his/her medical status and the requirements of the particular job. Thus, several developed countries have adopted anti-discrimination laws regarding genetic privacy in health insurance and labour (Erwin 2008: 869).

According to the Statute of the World Health Organization, the concept of human health is defined as a person's complete state of physical, mental, and social wellbeing, so the complexity of the legal status and difficulties in protecting patients' rights have to be considered (Üstün and Jakob 2005: 802). The third component of health suggests the inclusion of patients with rare diseases in the social environment, which consequently means inclusion in the working environment, free from any form of discrimination. At the regional level, the European Union's recommendations referring to healthcare in the field of rare diseases require a global approach based on special and combined efforts to improve the quality of life and socio-economic potential of affected people (Council Recommendation on an action in the field of rare diseases 2009; Directive of the European Parliament and of the Council on the application of patients' rights in cross-border health care 2011). Aside from this, they emphasise the need to empower patients with rare diseases as a pre-condition for health, encouraging proactive measures to improve quality of life amongst the chronically ill (Council Recommendation on an

action in the field of rare diseases 2009).

In the literature, the prevailing opinion is that the concept of 'quality of life' is multifaceted and covers the following five aspects: physical, material, social, and emotional wellbeing, as well as development and activity (Felce and Perry 1995: 60). Along with this narrative, the physical aspect of people's health, mobility, and physical safety is closely linked to the material side of health, including income/finance, security, food/meals, and worldly possessions (Felce and Perry 1995: 61). So, the research hypothesis relies on the interconnection of the notions – the quality of life and general wellbeing of patients with rare diseases as a 'prerequisite for health,' implying the necessity for broader regulation, *i.e.* the regulation of both the medico-legal and labour status of those people. A holistic and integrative approach would also favour mutual regulation in healthcare and labour regarding the status of people with rare diseases. Furthermore, according to European Union recommendations, Member states should encourage centres of expertise to be based on a multidisciplinary approach addressing the needs of people with rare diseases. That suggests the inclusion of broader, passive social policy and active employment measures to improve living conditions for patients affected by rare diseases and their families.

THE CONCEPT AND CLASSIFICATION OF RARE DISEASES

Today, there is neither a unique classification, nor even a generally accepted definition of rare diseases. Defining rare diseases on an international level, establishing a registry of rare diseases, and defining health and other problems that patients with rare diseases face are all of great importance for affected people's general status. Such a registry would require the adequate classification and codification of rare diseases, as well as the policy possibility of establishing rare diseases registries, registries of the people affected, or both. These are lacking in Serbia (although some preconditions for their creation have been established). At the European level, the most important such registry is the Orphanet classification of rare diseases based on a clinical principle where approximately 5,400 rare diseases have been listed in the Orphanet database, while the classification and codification of rare diseases for the latest version of the International Classification of Diseases (ICD-11) – which was released by the World Health Organization (2018) – uses the Orphanet system as a template for updating international terminologies (Rath et al. 2012: 804). The main reason for the invisibility of rare diseases in both international and national healthcare coding systems is the individual rarity of genetic and other types of rare diseases, which leads to uncertainty in exercising fundamental human rights for affected people (Aymé, Bellet and Rath 2015).

Statistical data on the incidence of the manifestation of certain diseases in particular geographic areas (Besag and Newell 1991: 1) are used for defining rare diseases. The criteria for rarity are defined by national regulatory bodies. The definitions of rare diseases are different in various states depending on the development of registries and available medical services regarding healthcare planning and allocation of scarce resources. In 2009, the European Union adopted the Recommendations in the Field of Rare Diseases, which are not legally binding for Member states, and instead represent an instrument of so-called 'soft law.' Nevertheless, they create a political and moral obligation for Member states to make a framework for the regulation of rare diseases in national healthcare systems.

European soft-law instruments have great significance nowadays, particularly in terms of regulating issues under the exclusive jurisdiction of Member states. This refers to social policy issues including both healthcare and employment policies (Trubek and Trubek 2005: 351). In the field of social security, based on the Treaty Establishing the European Community, the method of coordination has been applied to adjust social security systems amongst Member states, stressing that, in this area, existing EU legislation on social security does not aim to replace each state's national systems, but instead strives to guarantee that the right of free movement laid down in the Treaty of the Foundation of the European Union can be fully exercised (De la Rosa 2005:

620). On the other hand, for specific domains, the dominant method in the European Union is the method of harmonisation, which implies the change of the national legislation by which the differences in the legislation of Member states have to be eliminated (De la Rosa 2005: 249). The method of harmonisation is applied by adopting directives and rules, whereas the method of coordination is applied by adopting recommendations, guidelines, strategies, and action plans.

The EU Recommendation on Action in the Field of Rare Diseases (2009) defines rare diseases based on their prevalence *i.e.* all diseases that affect fewer than five in 10,000 people in the European Union are classified as rare. This definition is taken from the Action Plan in the Field of Rare Diseases, implemented between 1999 and 2003. The same definition is used in the European Council and Parliament Regulation on Orphan Medicinal Products (1999). Earlier, in 1983, the concept of rare diseases was presented in the legislation of the United States of America *i.e.* in the Orphan Drug Act (1983), where rare diseases were considered to be those affecting fewer than 200,000 people. Later on, the definition was incorporated in the Rare Diseases Act (2002). This definition became binding for all federal states. However, there is a need for a more detailed definition of certain categories of rare diseases that appeared as a consequence of the availability problem of so-called orphan drugs.

In 1962, an amendment (Huyard 2009: 465) to the Food, Drug, and

Cosmetics Act prescribed the obligation to provide proof of the efficiency of pharmaceutical products that had been in use since the law was adopted in 1938. This meant that many pharmaceutical products were to be revised or withdrawn from the market (Huyard 2009: 466). The ones labelled ‘orphans’ – which could be administered in hospital pharmacies – were among these drugs (Huyard 2009: 466). In 1968, as requested by the American Society of Hospital Pharmacists, the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) defined orphan drugs as drugs whose production was strongly limited due to low demand (Huyard 2009: 466). The Orphan Drug Act (1983) included two groups of drugs here: (i) drugs for rare diseases, *i.e.* for diseases affecting fewer than 200,000 people in the USA, and (ii) other drugs that are non-commercial, *i.e.* in the production of which the pharmaceutical industry does not have commercial interests.

At the time the Orphan Drug Act was adopted, patients who had various severe diseases of low incidence joined together to demand that their rights would be guaranteed by the US Constitution and other laws (Huyard 2009: 465). The requests referred to the provision of not only drugs and medical products for treating the diseases, but also for other conditions necessary for those people to completely integrate into the social and working environment. At the time, the basic aim of these organised activities was for people with rare diseases to get fair access to healthcare, education, employment, and social protec-

tion. One should bear in mind that the only similarity among rare diseases is their low incidence and low prevalence, which is why they are called rare. Patients are connected by the need for integration into the social and working environment as much as their disease allows them to.

Historically, rare diseases as a medical phenomenon became more visible thanks to the adoption of the Orphan Drug Act in the USA, which categorised rare diseases as a special group of diseases. Later on, this term became widely accepted in Europe and across the world. Until the late 1970s, the 'rarity of a disorder' was used to mark the characteristics that a doctor was supposed to take into consideration when diagnosing severe diseases, but not as a special category of diseases (Huyard 2009: 464). In the medical literature, rare diseases are not presented as a special category of diseases. Rare diseases appeared as a socio-economic notion *i.e.* a socio-economic category, resulting from the socio-economic needs of certain social groups in the USA in the middle of the 1970s, in the context of the adoption of the Orphan Drug Act. The category of rare diseases was developed in society. It represents the expression of the collective efforts of patients with rare diseases and their family members to regulate their social and legal status.

Determining the concept of rare diseases, their medical classification, and their codification forms the starting point for the legal regulation of patients' personal status. Regulating the legal position of patients with rare

diseases and their status from the perspectives of healthcare and labour law requires the adoption of the particular model of classification applied in social and legal discourse. The protection mechanisms of the fundamental social and economic rights of this population could be determined based on the adopted model. For the first time, the Advisory Group for Rare Diseases was established to create the ICD-11 classification model (Robinson 2012: 7). This group's duty is to suggest the comprehensive classification of rare diseases, which will primarily be based upon the clinical principle, as well as on the supplementary poly-hierarchical principle, which would also include those rare diseases that affect multiple organ systems.

At this point, the rare disease registry and classifications of certain rare diseases are presented on the Orphanet portal – the European reference portal that provides the greatest scope of information on rare diseases and the availability of drugs for their treatment. The database contains about 6,000 special forms classified according to published classifications (Robinson 2012: 7). These classification systems are based on scientific foundations: the clinical approach primarily, with the etiological as a secondary factor (Robinson 2012: 7). Orphanet classifications of rare diseases form the basis for classification in the new ICD-11.

The fact that rare diseases are very heterogeneous and complex means it's still difficult to obtain medical classification that can be socially and legally accepted: (i) the exact number of

rare diseases has not been determined; there are between 5,000 and 8,000 rare diseases in the world; (ii) most of them are chronic, progressive, and affect the life expectancy of patients (Heemstra et al. 2009: 1166); (iii) symptoms vary from one type/case to another, but also do so within the same rare disease; (iv) most rare diseases are of genetic origin (80%), but some are caused by infections (bacterial or viral infections) or related to hazards in the patient's living and working environment (European Organization for Rare Diseases 2005); (v) there are diseases that appear as a consequence of autoimmune disorders or allergies; (vi) some rare diseases are of unknown origin (Rinaldi 2005: 507). Eventually, rare diseases represent a grave social problem where the quality of life of the people affected is very poor due to the reduction or complete loss of working capacity, implying that rare diseases have certain consequences on patients' labour status. Having said that, analysing the labour status of people with rare diseases requires classification, which will enable the comprehensive determination of the existing mechanisms for the realisation and protection of social rights, particularly the right to work. On top of this, it means the recognition of people with rare diseases as a vulnerable category of workers with special needs that must be considered in the context of creating national anti-discrimination policies and laws.

THE LABOUR-LAW STATUS OF PEOPLE WITH RARE DISEASES – BASIC ISSUES

From the perspective of labour law, people with rare diseases could be classified based on the criterion of genetic status and its influence on working capacity. The influence of infections as well as patients' living and working environment has not been taken into consideration, since the research question is limited to rare genetic diseases. Also, there is no compiled evidence about the influence of infections or living and working conditions on the emergence of rare diseases.

According to their genetic status and its influence on their working capacity, people with rare genetic diseases could be classified into two different categories: (i) healthy carriers of pathogenic genes and (ii) sick carriers of pathogenic genes. The first category includes those people who have not experienced and who might never experience the manifestation of the disease, who generally have the full capacity to work, who are active, and who are aware of the disease. It also includes people who have experienced the manifestation of the disease, but for whom treatment received immediately at birth or later in life has prevented the further progression of the disease. Thus, they tend to be in a phase of complete remission, which means they have full working capacity in its complete sense.

The second category includes those people whose diseases have manifest-

ed themselves in the form of physical or mental impairments that qualify as a disability. The working capacity of these people depends on the level of their impairment and the type of job they perform. Their working capacity could be limited or they could have full working capacity. Sick carriers of pathogenic genes also include people experiencing the full extent and level of the disease, many of whom cannot work.

Based on the aforementioned classification of people with rare diseases, the legal framework regarding the status of every individual category needs to be determined. Those people who belong to the category of asymptomatic carriers have complete working capacity, while the general regime of labour has to be applied along with the provision of anti-discrimination laws regarding the genetic status of an individual. Genetic discrimination implies discrimination directed against an individual or a family member based solely on an apparent or perceived genetic variation, *i.e.* variation that differs from a normal human genotype (Billings et al. 1992: 476).

The prohibition of genetic discrimination in the field of employment and labour refers to the prohibition of genetic testing as a condition for employment, a condition for promotion, or when deciding to terminate employment, unless such testing is necessary for protecting the health and safety of workers. The worker needs to give informed consent for testing. In cases when genetic testing is justified, there are limitations on the use of genetic information, which means that

received genetic information can be used only for the purpose for which consent has been acquired *i.e.* to protect workers' health and safety. The genetic information of an individual is protected under the domain of privacy.

Genetic discrimination in Serbia is generally prohibited by the Law on the Prohibition of Discrimination (2009). Nevertheless, there is no adequate regulation concerning legally allowed or prohibited procedures of genetic testing in the field of employment, *i.e.* labour. Specific regulations for conducting genetic testing in this field have not been adopted. To prevent genetic discrimination, the regulation of genetic testing is essential for the protection of labour rights for workers with a rare heredity disease. This requires uniform standards for the acquisition and disclosure of genetic information – collators of genetic information would have to justify the collection and usage of the information (purpose issue). Governments need to create the mechanism for an independent review of the justification for gathering genetic data (procedure issue), ensure the protection of the worker's autonomy to control personal data (informed consent issue), and provide them the right to review and correct personal data (control issue) (Gostin 1995: 327).

In labour legislation, the conditions for employment can be both general and specific. They refer to a person's ability and qualifications for performing a certain job. General medical ability represents a condition for employment exclusively for jobs with increased health risks (Sorgdrager,

Hulshof and van Dijk 2004: 271). There is a common belief that pre-employment medical examination – which could also include genetic testing aimed at determining someone's ability to perform a certain job – rarely leads to a valid diagnosis. Therefore, there is no relevant evidence for the statement that a person is incapable for work *i.e.* “work capacity is mainly determined by job safety measures and physical demands required for the job rather than on the medical conditions of candidates” (Serra et al. 2007: 309), which consequently shows a growing tendency in labour legislation to indicate the need to abolish pre-employment medical examination as a general condition of employment (Pachman 2009: 530). However, in those legal systems where one's general health capacity is a condition of employment, the determination of whether a person is qualified for a job must be made at the time of employment and cannot be based on predictions regarding the possible manifestation of a disease in the future (predictive genetic testing) *i.e.* in terms of the future health status, because otherwise it shall be considered discrimination (Gostin 1991: 128).

Healthy carriers of pathogenic genes are people with manifested symptoms of a certain rare disease that is under control. The person's disease is in remission and they have the full capacity to work. Still, unlike people who have not had any manifestations of the disease yet, these people are at justifiable risk of that disease recurring, which is why their working conditions should be adjusted to their

health status. After a risk assessment in the workplace and medical examinations have been performed, working conditions should be adjusted to the employee's needs, a process that can also include transferring to another job if the current one could cause the recurrence of the disease. In this regard, there is a lack of consensus on the justification of pre-employment medical examinations or periodic examinations of employees, arguing that the evidence demonstrating the efficiency of pre-employment examinations aimed at the prevention of employees' future health risks is unfounded and deficient (Shepherd 1992: 617-621).

Having said that, it is recommended that job seekers/employees should complete medical history forms and, in cooperation with their doctor, *i.e.* occupational health physician, determine the risk factors of the workplace and review any strategies for promoting their health (Pachman 2009: 532). Furthermore, other working conditions should also be adjusted to the employee's health status according to workplace risk. This could imply a reduction in working hours, the provision of longer breaks during working hours, longer vacations, and special paid leave regarding the nature of a rare disease. It is argued that a special labour institute – paid leave for the purpose of therapy for chronic diseases – should be introduced. Employers should also provide these workers with periodic, preventive health examinations to monitor the employee's health status. In Serbia, there are no provisions regarding the special protection of labour rights (special work

conditions regarding vulnerable health status) of workers with chronic diseases, which can include rare diseases.

The working capacity of people with rare diseases who are considered to have disabilities depends on the level of their physical or other impairment and the type of job they are trained for. If their full working capacity is preserved, the general regime of labour relations in terms of employment and working conditions should be applied. However, if their full working capacity is limited, the special regime of the protection of the rights of special categories of employees (*i.e.* people with disabilities) needs to be applied. These people are categorised as having disabilities, and there are special protection regimes in the labour legislation for them. This calls for the application of reasonable accommodation in the workplace, with working conditions that are adjusted to the real needs of people with disabilities in terms of anti-discrimination laws. Discrimination on the grounds of disability is considered to be any distinction, exclusion, or restriction on this basis.

According to the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (2006), ratified in Serbia in 2009, discrimination also includes unjustified denial of reasonable accommodation (Stein and Lord 2009: 26). According to this Convention, reasonable accommodation means necessary and appropriate modification, not imposing an undue burden for an employer, and ensuring that people with disabilities can exercise all fundamental human rights and freedoms on an equal

basis with other employees (Stein and Lord 2009: 26). People with disabilities have the right to adjust existing work facilities to their needs and make them accessible, as well as the right to modifying the work arrangement. This implies the possibility of flexible work arrangements: part-time work schedules, remote work, reassignment to an adequate vacant position, the modification and adjustment of work equipment and devices, the appropriate modification and adjustment of examination papers and training materials, as well as the adjustment of other conditions according to the needs of people with disabilities (Doyle 1993: 97).

For those with rare diseases who have manifestations of the disease to such a level and extent that they are regarded as fully incapable of work, it is necessary to determine the opportunity and availability of exercising their right to social protection.

CONCLUSION

Rare diseases are serious, often chronic and progressive diseases that affect a small percentage of the population. They currently affect between 3.5% and 5.9% of the worldwide population, which equates to an estimated 30 million people in Europe and 300 million worldwide. In Serbia, there is no precise information about the exact number of people affected because there is no register of patients. This impedes the planning system in both healthcare and social security. Despite their great overall number, rare disease patients are the 'orphans' of healthcare systems, often denied diag-

nosis and treatment. Consequently, they find themselves in the vulnerable category of employment and labour.

Regarding the vulnerable status of people with rare diseases, their living conditions and associated problems imply the necessity of being recognised as specially protected workers. Patients' lives are characterised by health difficulties, as a result of which their rights in the field of health seem to be more important than all other related social rights. However, the accomplishment of 'adequate quality of life' for these people and the realisation of the social component of health requires appropriately regulating the labour status of patients suffering from rare diseases. The comprehensive regulation and protection of related social rights including the field of labour, dignity, and non-discrimination issues based on genetic and health information is proposed in developed countries. The right to healthcare and access to services of a certain quality is considered to be a precondition for the realisation of related socio-economic rights, which are of vital importance to them. Sometimes, the status of people with rare diseases in labour legislation is preconditioned by their medico-legal status and, vice versa, their status in labour legislation has an effect on the medico-legal status of patients with rare diseases. This mutual influence should be taken into consideration when we address the area of rare diseases within the legal context. Healthcare and employment/labour conditions should be adjusted to the needs of this vulnerable social group.

Concerning the situation in Serbia, the provisions regarding healthcare and health insurance related to rare diseases have been amended due to patients being neglected by having to wait too long for the right diagnosis, which sometimes leads to the rapid and progressive deterioration of their health. New legislation on rare diseases in Serbian law should be supported through the process of implementation to reduce adverse cases as effectively as possible, advance genetic and other clinical diagnoses, and thus increase the efficiency of available medical treatment.

Concerning public health policy, updated registries and better health statistics should be created. These activities also require certain amendments to general, as well as to special labour legislation (disability legislation) aimed at including patients with rare diseases in the working (and social) environment without discrimination, as well as realising elementary socio-economic rights, primarily the right to (decent) work. Classifying people affected by rare diseases into two categories according to their genetic status and the influence of their disease on their working capacity could represent a legal framework for the future regulation of their labour status, particularly taking into consideration the great heterogeneity of rare diseases, which requires the application of a variety of measures of labour law.

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Radna prava lica sa retkim bolestima – uklanjanje barijera

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SAŽETAK

Lica sa retkim bolestima smatraju se naročito ranjivom kategorijom stanovništva, gde ostvarivanje osnovnih ljudskih prava zahteva utvrđivanje dodatnih mera, uključujući tu i prava na radu i u vezi sa radom. Radna sposobnost ovih lica determinisana je njihovim medicinskim statusom ali i prirodom konkretnog posla, odnosno zavisi od vrste radnih zadataka. Hipoteza rada počiva na povezanosti pojmova – kvaliteta života i opšteg blagostanja sa karakteristikama bolesti što ukazuje na potrebu šireg, odnosno sveobuhvatnog pravnog regulisanja, tj. regulisanja kako medicinskog tako radnopravnog statusa lica koja žive sa nekom retkom bolešću. To znači primenu kako pasivnih mera socijalne politike tako i aktivnih mera politike rada i zapošljavanja sa ciljem unapređenja uslova života i rada, te priznavanje lica obolelih od retkih bolesti kao posebno ranjive kategorije radnika. Regulisanje medicinskopravnog statusa u smislu implementacije postojećih zakonskih odredbi, ali i izrada preciznih

registra bolesti, kao i registra lica obolelih od retkih bolesti preduslovi su za regulisanje statusa u radnom zakonodavstvu. S tim u vezi, predložena klasifikacija lica obolelih od retkih bolesti predstavlja osnov za regulisanje radnopravnog statusa ovih lica u domaćem pravu, budući da je zasnovana na holističkom i interdisciplinarnom pristupu, te da ima intenciju da obuhvati što veći broj mogućih slučajeva manifestacije bolesti, s obzirom na karakteristiku značajne heterogenosti i diverziteta ispoljavanja bolesti koje se kvalifikuju kao retke.

KLJUČNE REČI

lica obolela od retkih bolesti | radnopravni status | antidiskriminatorско pravo | dostojanstvo | pravna klasifikacija

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Socio-demographic characteristics and students' entrepreneurial intentions

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to analyse the entrepreneurial intentions of tourism students, who represent a significant base of future entrepreneurs and are the drivers of innovations and competitiveness in the travel and tourism industry, which is an important part of the economy of the Republic of Serbia. The study examined whether there are differences in students' entrepreneurial intentions depending on socio-demographic characteristics: gender, place of residence, years of study, and previous work experience, as well as their parents' education and type of employment. The survey was conducted in four higher vocational schools in Serbia on a sample of 330 students of tourism and hospitality management using the Entrepreneurial Intention Scale. The results showed that students had medium intention to start and run their own business and indicate that –

among the selected socio-demographic factors – gender, years of study, and prior work experience play an important role in fostering entrepreneurial intentions. Understanding the factors that impact entrepreneurship may contribute to the development of theory in this field, as well as helping paint a clearer picture of how entrepreneurial intentions are formed as a starting point in business.

KEY WORDS

entrepreneurial intentions | socio-demographic characteristics | students | higher vocational education | Serbia

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INTRODUCTION

Recent decades have brought about significant changes in most countries around the world. The drivers of economic development are small and midsize enterprises, which prove their success by enhancing their competitiveness and improving their market positions.

The experience of developed countries shows that a successful SME sector is an important developmental factor for efficient economic development, as well as for solving many economic and social issues.

Entrepreneurship is, aside from when referring to large companies, one of the factors of economic development in the world, Europe and Serbia included.

Small and medium enterprises are essential for the development of any economy, both in developed countries and in countries in transition. Small and medium enterprises contribute to economic growth and strengthen competitiveness, which results in improving the quality of products and services, lowering prices, innovating, and developing new technologies.

A large number of SME enterprises are part of the tourism industry. According to the World Travel and Tourism Council (Jus 2020), tourism as an industry holds a 10.3% share of total global GDP, directly or indirectly providing 330 million jobs and accounting for 10.4% of global employment. Tourism is a key economic activity in the European Union due to its impact on economic growth, em-

ployment, and social development (European Commission n.d.). The importance of tourism is reflected in its activation and employment in tourism industry organisations. Those organisations include catering companies, travel agencies, and transport organisations, etc. But tourism also activates other industries that indirectly meet the needs of tourists, including trade, agriculture, and the chemical industry, etc.

Previous research into the entrepreneurial potential and activities of students in the Republic of Serbia has been conducted on a sample of students of universities and higher vocational schools (Jovin and Jošanov-Vrgović 2018; Subotić 2017; Đorđević et al. 2012; Markov and Izgarjan 2009; Markov and Mirkov 2006). According to the authors of the paper, so far in the Republic of Serbia, there is only a modest number of studies that have addressed tourism students or students of vocational studies as a special population (Jovičić Vuković and Papić-Blagojević 2018), as well as studies that analyse the entrepreneurial intentions of students in the context of socio-demographic characteristics (Markov and Izgarjan 2009).

The paper aims to analyse the entrepreneurial intentions of tourism students, who represent a significant base of future entrepreneurs, i.e., drivers of innovation and competitiveness within the tourism sector, which is an important part of the economy of the Republic of Serbia. Also, the paper strives to determine whether there are differences in the entrepreneurial in-

tentions of students depending on certain socio-demographic variables: gender of respondents, place of residence, years of study, and previous work experience, as well as their parents' education and type of employment.

Understanding the factors that affect entrepreneurship may contribute to the development of theory in this field, as well as helping policymakers, researchers, consultants, educators, and other stakeholders get a clearer picture of how entrepreneurial intentions are formed as a starting point in business.

ENTREPRENEURIAL INTENTIONS AND SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

It is useful to distinguish between entrepreneurial invention and innovation, because although they are two different terms, people sometimes use them interchangeably. Invention can be defined as a systematic purposeful activity, planned and organised with high predictability concerning both the intended results and those that are likely to be achieved (Bhattacharyya 2006). According to the same author, if entrepreneurs try to create new and different value propositions to convert a 'material' into a 'resource,' or to combine existing resources in a new or more productive configuration, then they are innovating.

Some authors define entrepreneurial intention as the process of creating and establishing a new business – as

well as the possibility of starting a new job – and as a key element in understanding the process of founding a new enterprise (Jovin and Jošanov-Vrgović 2018). It could also be defined as “the conscious state of mind that precedes action and directs attention toward entrepreneurial behaviours,” such as starting a new business and becoming an entrepreneur (Moriano et al. 2012). Molina-Sanchez and Garcia (2020) explain entrepreneurial intention as thinking about entrepreneurial activities and having a positive attitude or a strong intention to become an entrepreneur, while Huq Huque, and Rana (2017) explain it as a personal orientation that might lead to venture creation.

Having a new idea on its own is not sufficient. Still, it is necessary to have an idea with clear market potential supported by a team of innovation management professionals who can bring the innovation to consumers in a profitable way.

Intention models offer an understanding of antecedents to new business and entrepreneurship, as well as personal or situational factors (Krueger, Reilly, Carsrud 2000), individuals' planned behaviours (Shepherd and Krueger 2002), and individual intentional decisions (Esfandiar et al. 2019).

A review of the literature (Jovin et al. 2018; OECD et al. 2019) suggests that it is possible to distinguish between personal, social, and technical dimensions of entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurial motivation and potential to achieve personal goals indicate the personal dimension; the potential to

create structural change indicates the social dimension, while goal-oriented behaviour indicates the technical dimension of entrepreneurship. Technology-based entrepreneurs are especially important in modern society, as they make the most of new scientific advances, especially in the fields of information technology and engineering.

The results of some studies have proven the impact of certain socio-demographic factors on entrepreneurial intentions (Wahidmurni et al. 2020; Fragoso et al. 2020; Moa-Liberty, Tunde, Tinuola 2016). In this paper, special emphasis will be given to variables such as gender, place of residence, years of study, and previous work experience, as well as parents' education and type of employment.

In general, men have manifested a more positive attitude towards entrepreneurship and more pronounced entrepreneurial intentions than women (Moa-Liberty, Tunde, Tinuola 2016; Sanchez-Cañizares and Fuentes-Garcia 2013; Dabic et al. 2012; Shinnar, Giacomini, Janssen 2012). Men are also more likely to be involved in starting a business than women (Minniti & Nardone, 2007), and Dabic et al. (2012) have shown that men better perceive the feasibility of entrepreneurial activities. Women are less likely to transform their intentions into entrepreneurial activities (Haus et al. 2013) and are more likely to perceive different barriers to entrepreneurship (Shinnar, Giacomini, Janssen 2012). On the other hand, some studies have demonstrated that there are no differences between women and men in

starting new businesses (Sarri, Lapsita, Panopoulos 2018; Chaudhary 2017; Smith, Sardeshmukh, Combs 2016). Some studies have proven the influence of socio-demographic conditions and that female students use social networking sites more often than men to start their entrepreneurial ventures (Marjanović et al. 2018).

Studies have shown that entrepreneurial activities also differ according to the environment in which individual lives. Some studies show that these activities are less common in rural areas (Sternberg 2009), while others actually show that opportunities to take entrepreneurial action are greater in the case of rural regions (Baumgartner, Schulz and Seidl 2013). Faggio and Silva (2014), in their research on entrepreneurship in rural and urban areas, point out the fact that various factors drive individuals to start their own businesses. In urban areas, this is typically a sense of innovation and willingness to take risks, while in rural areas entrepreneurship often begins as a hobby (Sivenesan 2014) and self-employment is often the only way to get a job (Subotić 2017). Lalić et al. (2017) have concluded that customers represent the most common source of innovative ideas, even though, overall, ideas are usually generated from internal sources.

Some studies have demonstrated the positive correlation between education and entrepreneurship (Zhang, Duysters, Clodt 2013) and the impact of entrepreneurship education on entrepreneurial intentions; respondents who have had an education in entrepreneurship show greater entrepreneurial

intentions (Wurthmann 2014; Solesvik 2013; Quan 2012). On the other hand, Nabi et al. (2017) have shown that education could have a negative influence on starting a new business. Jovičić Vuković and Papić-Blagojević (2018) point out the key problems and difficulties for students in terms of entrepreneurship, such as insufficient knowledge needed to start their business venture, lack of information on existing entrepreneurship support programs, and the low level of support from higher education institutions.

Fatoki (2014) suggests that there is a clear association between prior work experience and entrepreneurial intentions. Previous work experience affects future business decisions and performance, and in this respect, engagement, having role models in business, and getting access to a network of business contacts relevant to starting a business are significant factors for future entrepreneurs. Also, experience in business planning, as well as entrepreneurs' attitudes on this matter, are influenced by entrepreneurial intentions because effective strategic planning can mean higher performance (Ivanišević et al. 2019).

The influence of parents' occupation and owning a family business has been proven as a driving factor (Chaudhary 2017; Bhandari 2012), that is, children of entrepreneurs are likely to become entrepreneurs by continuing their family business. Family models (Minniti and Nardone 2007), social capital (Liñán and Santos 2007), and startup capital (Sîrbu, Bob, Săseanu 2015) have also been proven to be the driving factors.

METHOD

After establishing the aim of research and analysing the literature and previous studies in this field, the hypotheses of the research were defined:

H1. There are statistically significant differences regarding students' entrepreneurial intentions depending on gender;

H2. There are statistically significant differences regarding students' entrepreneurial intentions depending on place of residence;

H3. There are statistically significant differences regarding students' entrepreneurial intentions depending on their years of study;

H4. There are statistically significant differences regarding students' entrepreneurial intentions depending on work experience;

H5. There are statistically significant differences regarding students' entrepreneurial intentions depending on parental employment type;

H6. There are statistically significant differences regarding students' entrepreneurial intentions depending on their parents' education.

The instrument used in the study consisted of two parts was adopted from previous studies (Liñán, Rodríguez-Cohard, Rueda-Cantuche 2011; Nguyen 2018). The first part of the questionnaire focused on socio-demographic variables: gender, place of residence, year of study, work experience, and parents' employment type and educational level. In the second part, students' entrepreneurial intentions were measured using the Entrepreneurial Intention Scale, which

was adopted from the Entrepreneurial Intention Questionnaire (EIQ) (Liñán Rodríguez-Cohard, Rueda-Cantuche 2011). The respondents expressed their level of agreement with the six items using a five-point Likert-type scale, ranging from 1 – strongly disagree to 5 – strongly agree.

The research was conducted in four higher vocational schools in Serbia on a sample of 330 students of tourism and hospitality management. The study was part of a research and development project funded by the Provin-

cial Secretariat for Higher Education and Scientific Research of AP Vojvodina. Following the project call and proposal, the selected sample was limited with the obligation to cover only higher vocational schools. The first part of the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents is shown in Table 1. The second part of students' socio-demographic characteristics primarily focused on education level and the type of sector in which respondents' parents work. These are shown in Table 2.

Table 1 The power of the study versus the effect size of the significant results

Variable	Category	Number of respondents	Share (%)
Gender	Men	95	29.2
	Women	230	70.8
Place of residence	Urban	201	62.0
	Rural	123	38.0
Year of study	I	113	35.3
	II	100	31.3
	III	107	33.4
Work experience	Yes	158	49.2
	No	163	50.8

Source: Authors' calculations

Table 2 The socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents' parents

Variable	Category	Number of respondents	Share (%)
Employment type of mother	Private sector	103	33.0
	Public sector	75	24.0
	Entrepreneur	38	12.2
	Unemployed	96	30.8
Employment type of father	Private sector	99	30.0
	Public sector	86	26.1
	Entrepreneur	48	14.5
	Unemployed	72	21.8
Education level of mother	Secondary school	210	65.2
	Faculty/College	112	34.8
Education level of father	Secondary school	209	65.1
	Faculty/College	112	34.9

Source: Authors' calculations

The data were collected using pen-and-paper questionnaires. Students filled out the forms during classes. All

respondents were informed that research is anonymous and were also told about the aim of the research.

The statistical package for social sciences IBM SPSS 20 was used to analyse the collected data. The statistical techniques that were used in the paper are descriptive statistics and frequency analysis. In contrast, for the hypothesis testing we used the *t*-test of the independent samples and the ANOVA test.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Entrepreneurial Intention Scale consists of six statements that were used for this research. Table 3 shows measures of descriptive statistics for each of the six statements. The reliability of the scale was 0.940. Ideally, Cronbach's alpha coefficient should be above 0.7 (Nunnally 1978), which indicates that the internal agreement of this scale is very high.

The statements show a medium mean in terms of students' entrepreneurial intentions. The highest mean is for the statement: "I will make every

effort to start and run my firm" ($M=3.27$). This indicator can be considered significant given that, according to the Ministry of Labour, Employment, Veteran and Social Affairs (2020), the youth unemployment rate in Serbia in 2017 was 31.9%. As such, it is among the highest in Europe. According to the Serbia's Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development (2019), in European countries, only young people in Greece and Spain have a higher unemployment rate than in Serbia, while the rate in Italy is almost the same as in Serbia. The willingness of young people to decide to start their own businesses could be a significant impetus in reducing unemployment. According to data from 2017, the position of young people in the labour market is still unfavourable (Pavlović, Bjelica, Domazet 2019), with a significantly lower employment rate than other age categories.

Table 3 Descriptive statistics – Entrepreneurial Intention Scale

Items	M	SD	N	Cronbach's α
I'm ready to do anything to be an entrepreneur	2.50	1.257	329	
My professional goal is becoming an entrepreneur	2.59	1.299	329	
I will make every effort to start and run my firm	3.27	1.365	328	
I'm determined to create a firm in the future	3.11	1.396	329	
I have very seriously thought about starting a firm	2.88	1.372	327	
I've got the firm intention to start a firm someday	2.94	1.398	326	
<i>Entrepreneurial intention - Total</i>	2.87	1.177	324	.940

Source: Authors' calculations

In this regard, some authors point to the need for a stronger link between universities and the labour market. Specifically, the relationship between universities and the labour market should be more integrated, linking

theory and practice to foster the development of competencies in higher education (Mesquita et al. 2015).

On the other hand, many respondents do not show sufficient determination and seriousness to enter into an

entrepreneurial venture after graduation. This is supported by the mean value of the statement: “I’m ready to do anything to be an entrepreneur.” It is only $M = 2.50$, which indicates that the answers were mostly grouped around the responses ‘disagree’ and ‘neutral’.

It is obvious that young people are caught in a rift between desires and opportunities. The appropriate programs and incentives, both during and after completing formal education, should encourage youth to become more actively involved in the labour market by opening their own or strengthening existing family businesses. A survey conducted by the Union of Employers of Serbia shows that 48% of young people believe that the knowledge they have acquired

during formal education does not meet the needs of practical work, while 46% believe that it does so only partially (Ristić, Rajić, Pavlović 2013). With the adoption of the Law on the Dual Model of Studies in higher education in 2019, it can be expected that changes will be made in this field. It is hoped that through ‘learning by doing’, young people will be better prepared for future challenges in the labour market.

The *t*-test of independent samples compared the results of the entrepreneurial intention in female and male students (Table 4). Significant differences were found in males $M = 3.25$, $SD = 1.13$ and females $M = 2.70$, $SD = 1.15$; $t(98) = -3.81$, $p = .000$. Based on the results of the research, hypothesis H1 is accepted.

Table 4 *T*-test of independent samples – gender differences

Gender	N	M	SD	t	Sig. (2-tailed)
Female	227	2.7078	1.15864	-3.810	.000
Male	92	3.2500	1.13349		

Source: Authors’ calculations

Previous research in the Republic of Serbia, which has analysed entrepreneurial aspirations from the perspective of gender, points to varying results. The results show that male students are more willing to start their own business (Markov and Izgarjan, 2009), which has also been determined in other studies in the region (Bartoš et al. 2015; Yordanova and Tarrazon, 2010). The data published in 2016 in the publication *Index of Gender Equality in Serbia* are in line with the results of this research. That study indicates that self-employment is twice as high among men than among

women (within the 15 to 64 age group, 29% of men and 14% women), while women are significantly less likely to be the main providers of the household than men (in Serbia, 17.3% are represented as main providers of the household). Most women in entrepreneurship today are entrepreneurs due to existential issues (66%), in most cases they do not have a family tradition in this area and operate mainly in the local market within the service sector (Vrbanac 2018). The study conducted by Daim, Dabic, and Bayraktaroglu (2016) on a sample of students in 10 countries showed that the

country of origin of the students significantly influences whether there will be differences between women and men.

The *t*-test of independent samples also tested hypothesis H2. The results of the research indicate that the entrepreneurial intentions of the students

don't differ depending on their place of residence (Table 5) because no statistically significant differences were found in the respondents from the rural setting $M = 2.96$, $SD = 1.20$ or the city $M = 2.79$, $SD = 1.15$; $t(98) = 1.25$, $p = .20$. Therefore, based on these results, hypothesis H₂ is rejected.

Table 5 *T*-test of independent samples – place of residence

Place of residence	N	M	SD	t	Sig. (2-tailed)
Rural	121	2.9669	1.20332	1.259	.209
Urban	197	2.7961	1.15765		

Source: Authors' calculations

According to a study by Duricova (2014) conducted in rural and urban areas of the European Union, it has been shown that people who live in villages that are not developed have more opportunities to start their own business than residents living in cities and developed areas. The research mentioned above also points to different results regarding the environmental impact on the development of entrepreneurial potential, where compared to rural areas, the urban environment has a significant impact on the development of entrepreneurial activities. In contrast, the results of other studies indicate that both urban and rural areas significantly affect the development of entrepreneurial potential, which is in agreement with the results obtained in this study.

Table 6 shows the results of the ANOVA test used as a method of testing hypothesis H3. The results show that $F(2,312) = 6.40$, $p = .002$, meaning there are statistically significant differences between students of different years of study, which is why hypothesis H3 is accepted. It is worth

noting that the highest average values for entrepreneurial intentions are present in first-year students.

The results are in line with the opinions and findings of several authors (Gurel et al. 2010) who argue that formal education can reduce curiosity and vision, while causing an increase in risk aversion. On the other hand, senior students would be expected to have stronger entrepreneurial intentions, encouraged by entrepreneurial education and the market and business insights they receive during their studies. The key task of higher education institutions in this sense is to help develop entrepreneurship among students through courses and training programs (Gyamfi 2014). Also, institutions should stimulate students' innovation, creativity, entrepreneurial traits, and critical thinking to make them proactive, flexible, and ready for a changing business environment, and above all determined to transform their ideas into action. Results of the research by Jovičić Vuković and Papić-Blagojević (2018) indicate that entrepreneurship education is still not

sufficiently present in the case of tourism and hospitality students at schools of higher vocational education. Kim-Soon, Ahmad and Ibrahim (2016) emphasise the importance of having an internship during studies, learning

and practising skills that enhance entrepreneurial behaviour, and studying at least one compulsory subject on entrepreneurship during education (Gurel et al. 2010).

Table 6 ANOVA – differences in years of study

Year of study	N	M	SD	F	Sig.
I	111	3.1231	1.07912	6.405	.002
II	99	2.5572	1.22525		
III	105	2.9175	1.15727		
Total	315	2.8767	1.17229		

Source: Authors' calculations

The hypothesis H4, which tests differences in entrepreneurial intentions depending on work experience, was tested by the t-test of independent samples. The results (Table 7) indicate that there are statistically significant

differences $t(314) = 3.21$, $p = .001$ between respondents with work experience $M = 3.08$, $SD = 1.15$ and those with no work experience $M = 2.66$, $SD = 1.16$. On this basis, hypothesis H4 is accepted.

Table 7 T-test – work experience

Work experience	N	M	SD	t	Sig. (2-tailed)
Yes	154	3.0887	1.15174	3.211	.001
No	162	2.6698	1.16637		

Source: Authors' calculations

According to Mutibarić, Prodano- vić, and Raspopović (2012), many successful entrepreneurs have started their own business based on the work experience they have acquired in the previous period. This provides both organisational and technical knowledge and experience, as well as a network of business contacts, which is a prerequisite for successful development. Ahmed et al. (2010) point out that students who have previous work experience (their own or within the family business) are more inclined towards entrepreneurial careers.

Work experience is particularly important when talking about work experience within an entrepreneurial firm

(Fayolle and Gailly 2015). In that case, individuals become aware of the problems they may face, such as establishing the new firm, management and communication problems, and the need to have knowledge relating to the market, customer relations, or access to resources. An understanding of the relevant circumstances makes it easier for an individual to evaluate the feasibility of starting a new business (Ngyuen 2018).

The reason for such results may be the fact that students of higher vocational schools have to complete a compulsory professional internship, within which they have the opportunity to gain relevant work experience in

tourism and hotel businesses. The internship is compulsory through at least two years of basic vocational studies, during which the student is monitored by a mentor in a higher education institution and also by a mentor in the business itself. During the internship, students have the opportunity to learn about business processes and gain practical experience by participating in daily business activities, directly observing employees, and working on specific business tasks. Another benefit of this is that cooperation with firms in the field of tourism creates a dialogue between the labour market and higher education institutions. On one hand, it takes into account real market needs in terms of knowledge and skills, while also allowing students to put theory into practice and develop current skills in

cooperation with a mentor within the business. This empowers students to be able to respond flexibly to changes, recognise new market demands, and cope with the challenges of the contemporary business environment after their studies, which are particularly dynamic when it comes to the tourism sector. In this sense, professional practice during studies becomes a key catalyst for future entrepreneurial intention and activity.

The fifth hypothesis, H5, was tested by ANOVA (Table 8), confirming that there were no statistically significant differences in entrepreneurial intentions between students depending on the employment of their mother $F(3,303) = 1.061, p = .366$ and father $F(3,297) = 2.571, p = .054$, based on which hypothesis H5 is rejected.

Table 8 ANOVA – parental employment type

Variable	Category	N	M	SD	F	Sig.
Employment type of mother	Private sector	102	2.7565	1.18286	1.061	.366
	Public sector	75	3.0689	1.26577		
	Entrepreneur	36	2.8426	.96522		
	Unemployed	94	2.8404	1.16113		
Employment type of father	Private sector	98	3.0340	1.15469	2.571	.054
	Public sector	85	2.6882	1.23785		
	Entrepreneur	46	3.1486	1.10063		
	Unemployed	72	2.7222	1.15063		

Source: Authors' calculations

The results of some studies have shown that, in most cases, children of entrepreneurs continue the family tradition and business that their predecessors started (Alsos, Carter and Ljunggren 2011). Such trends were not observed in this study, nor were they found in a study conducted by Nguyen (2018). In the case of both the

father's and mother's occupation, the highest mean values for entrepreneurial intentions are expressed in students whose parents are employed in the public sector. Future research could examine the reasons for these results.

The one-factor analysis of variance (ANOVA) explored the influence of parental education on students' entre-

preneurial intentions, as shown in Table 9. The first one-factor analysis explored students' entrepreneurial intentions depending on their mother's education, where no differences were found $t(314) = -1.078$, $p = .282$. Stu-

dents' entrepreneurial intentions were also investigated depending on their father's education, where once again no differences were found $t(314) = -.230$, $p = .818$. Based on the obtained results, hypothesis H6 is rejected.

Table 9 ANOVA – parental educational level

Variable	Category	N	M	SD	t	Sig.
Education level of mother	Secondary school	205	2.8114	1.15361	-1.078 (df 314)	.282
	Faculty/College	111	2.9610	1.22102		
Education level of father	Secondary school	206	2.8528	1.14877	-.230 (df 314)	.818
	Faculty/College	110	2.8848	1.23588		

Source: Authors' calculations

Mutibarić, Prodanović, and Raspopović (2012) found that highly educated and 'well-standing' parents foster independence and self-confidence and, in a specific way, affect the mindset of their children while they're growing up. Previous research on the entrepreneurial aspirations of students in Vojvodina also shows that entrepreneurial aspirations are stronger in students whose parents are highly qualified or qualified workers (Markov and Mirkov 2006; Todorović, Tekić, Pečujlija 2012).

CONCLUSION

Entrepreneurship is one of the crucial factors in the development of every country. Young entrepreneurs are the drivers of change and economic growth in the future, and the development of entrepreneurial awareness among young people is increasing.

The results of this study indicate that students have a medium desire and intention to start and run their own business.

The study confirmed differences in the entrepreneurial intentions of female and male students, a trend that has previously been shown by a large number of studies conducted around the world and is also true for the Republic of Serbia. Lifelong learning programs and specific programs to support women, and, above all, entrepreneurship education are the basis for developing entrepreneurial intentions. Also, it is necessary to ensure that entrepreneurial intentions are not driven solely by existential concerns (as may be the case with both the female population and the rural population). Entrepreneurship serves to develop independence, creativity, and innovation, and should be equally represented in both genders.

The survey did not confirm differences in students' entrepreneurial intentions depending on their place of residence. Bobić (2017) reported that young women in rural areas in Serbia face many barriers to starting their own business, including: information on business opportunities, a network of business contacts, and the knowledge and skills to conduct busi-

ness, etc. However, the Serbian government and NGOs are working intensively on promoting entrepreneurship through various training programs, financial incentives, and other support mechanisms. In the future, a reduction of barriers to starting a business is expected.

The research also confirmed differences in students' entrepreneurial intentions depending on their years of study and their previous work experience, with respondents who had prior work experience showing a higher level of entrepreneurial intentions. These results indicate that entrepreneurial education during studies and better support from higher education institutions are noticeably important, as are internships and gaining work experience during studies. Being in a real business environment, as well as having the support of a mentor in the industry, helps young people understand business opportunities better.

Although no statistical differences were recorded, the impact of the family is extremely significant in the context of entrepreneurial activities. Entrepreneurial parents pass on to their children their experience, business contacts, and relationships, providing financial assistance and other benefits that children from families who do not own a business cannot have. The entrepreneurial environment in the family and good entrepreneurial examples in students' immediate surroundings generate a significant impetus for individuals to become entrepreneurs themselves.

Achieving business success in a particular industry is primarily based

on the willingness of entrepreneurs to face the challenges of modern business, with education playing a significant role. The acquired knowledge must be practically applicable; therefore, it is necessary to involve the economy in the design of curricula.

It is necessary to build and implement an educational system that will influence the creation and development of entrepreneurial spirit and entrepreneurial culture.

An entrepreneurial mindset combined with skills acquired through formal education would be a starting point in creating a successful entrepreneur. Entrepreneurship can offer alternative avenues for young people, improve their skills, influence their entrepreneurial intentions, and also have a positive effect on economic and social development more broadly.

To this end, improvements are needed in the following areas:

- developing entrepreneurial awareness among young people as a first step in the development of entrepreneurship;
- promoting an entrepreneurial society through various forms of education and training;
- promoting the development of innovative financial institutions and instruments;
- improving the education system as part of institutional support for entrepreneurship development.

The main task of the education system is to change the way of thinking not only among young people, but also among adults regarding entrepreneurship, focusing not only on formal but

also on other forms of knowledge acquisition.

The limitations of this study are reflected in the respondent sample being limited to higher vocational school students and students of tourism. The recommendation for future research is to examine the entrepreneurial intentions of students using a larger sample and include students from other higher vocational schools and universities. It is also important to examine other socio-demographic variables factors (e.g., average household income can be a significant factor in encouraging entrepreneurship). This may influence the development of entrepreneurial intentions, which would produce more comprehensive results.

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Sociodemografske karakteristike i preduzetničke namere studenata

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SAŽETAK

Rad ima za cilj analizu preduzetničkih namera studenata turizma, koji predstavljaju značajnu bazu budućih preduzetnika, odnosno pokretača inovacija i konkurentnosti turističkog sektora, kao važnog dela privrede Republike Srbije. Studija je ispitivala da li postoje razlike po pitanju preduzetničkih namera studenata u zavisnosti od socio-demografskih karakteristika: pola, mesta stanovanja, godine studija i prethodnog radnog iskustva, kao i obrazovanja roditelja i vrste njihovog zaposlenja. Istraživanje je sprovedeno u četiri visoke strukovne škole u Srbiji na uzorku od 330 studenata menadžmenta u turizmu i ugostiteljstvu pomoću Skale preduzetničkih namera. Rezultati su pokazali da studenti imaju umerenu nameru da započnu i vode sopstveni posao i ukazuju da među odabranim sociodemografskim

faktorima, pol, godine studija i prethodno radno iskustvo igraju važnu ulogu u podsticanju preduzetničkih namera. Razumevanje faktora koji utiču na preduzetništvo doprineće razvoju teorije u ovoj oblasti, ali i pružiti jasniju sliku o formiranju preduzetničkih namera kao polazne osnove za otpočinjanje sopstvenog biznisa.

KLJUČNE REČI

preduzetničke namere | sociodemografske karakteristike | studenti | visoko strukovno obrazovanje | Srbija

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The labour market position of immigrants in Serbia: current status and possibilities for research

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ABSTRACT

An unfavourable position in the labour market relative to that of the local population is one of the specific problems that affect the immigrant population. The aim of this paper is to highlight the position of immigrants in the labour market in Serbia. Special emphasis is placed on discussing the possibilities of the Labour Force Survey (LFS) for studying immigration and the position of immigrants within the labour market in countries with pronounced emigration and a low inflow of foreign labour, as is the case in Serbia. The findings are based on the implementation of a qualitative inquiry and additional processed data from the LFS from 2014 to 2018. Given that the majority of people who immigrated to Serbia were from the former Yugoslav republics, the country of birth criterion was used to separate the immigrant population. The research results show that the age-sex structure of working-age immigrants is not specific to economic migrants. Those born abroad do not have a higher unemployment rate than the domestic population, although they are

more affected by the problem of long-term unemployment. Based on the analysis of LFS data, a review of contemporary empirical research, and findings obtained from Serbian experts for the purposes of this paper, both the limitations and the confirmed potentials of the LFS for studying the position of immigrants in the Serbian labour market were discussed. Moreover, the need for methodological advancement in terms of the coverage of the immigrant population was emphasised.

KEY WORDS

immigration | unemployment | labour market | Labour Force Survey | Serbia

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INTRODUCTION

There are many challenges that confirm the need for a better understanding of the patterns and processes involved in migration, the labour market, and human capital in Serbia (Nikitović et al. 2013). The main ones are: long-term low fertility and the trend of low birth rates; a decrease in the total population; the accelerated and pronounced ageing of the population; complex and intensive two-way migration, with increasingly pronounced and complex emigration trends of a population that is on average younger and more educated than the population in Serbia (Penev and Predojević-Despić 2019). Recent projections indicate a high degree of certainty in the steady decline of the Serbian population (Nikitović 2016; Penev 2014, 2018) and the intensive ageing of the population, which will certainly have a negative impact on the structure of the labour market. In the coming period this will strengthen the importance of immigration for mitigating the negative trends in demographic and labour market processes. Economically developed Western European countries have long applied the concept of importing members of the workforce to ensure the smooth functioning of the labour market and economic development. However, Central and Eastern European countries are going through various characteristic stages of the migration cycle, in the process of transitioning from emigration to immigration countries (Drbohlav 2012; Grzymała-Kazłowska 2013). It

has been noted that recent migration trends in this region are connected to political and socio-economic changes, as well as to the progress made towards European integration (Grzymała-Kazłowska 2013; Fassmann, Gruber and Németh 2018).

At the international level, experts in the fields of science and public policy agree that in the future, development through a complex mechanism of social changes will condition the extent and diversification of migratory movements in a large number of countries, with implications for the regions of origin, transition, and destination (OECD/EU 2018; Eurostat 2018). They also agree that data on international migration is not reliable enough to predict future migration trends and patterns, nor to advance policies in a timely manner for the faster and more successful integration of immigrants (United Nations 2019; Fassmann, Gruber and Németh 2018; Predojević-Despić and Penev 2016; Grabowska-Lusinska 2013). It is therefore of utmost importance to ensure a greater number of reliable data sources and internationally comparable variables for monitoring changes in the extent of migration, migrant characteristics, and the levels of integration achieved by different immigrant groups (OECD/EU 2018; Eurostat 2018; Predojević-Despić and Penev 2016; Grabowska-Lusinska 2013).

The Labour Force Survey (LFS) is one of few surveys conducted regularly in a large number of countries using a consistent methodological approach. Its primary objective is not to monitor

the size and characteristics of the migrant population, but to study the position of diverse, and in particular vulnerable groups in the labour market (Pavlović, Bjelica and Domazet 2019). However, it could be an important source of data for the study of international migration trends (Grabowska-Lusinska 2013) and an invaluable source for monitoring the socio-demographic traits of the immigrant population and its position in the labour market (Fahey, McGinnity and Quinn 2019). Analysing the position of immigrants in the labour market in countries with a large number of immigrants, with the view of advancing policies on the integration of foreign labour into the labour market, is the most common way to use LFS data obtained through regular annual surveys, as well as additional ad-hoc migration modules (Calmfors, Sánchez Gassen 2019; Lipps et al. 2013). However, although little research has been done on the topic, it has shown that the LFS can be used for similar research in a country with a low inflow of foreign labour (Botrić 2009, 2015a, 2015b). Certain pilot studies have also addressed the issues of emigration and labour mobility (Hazans 2019, 2018). Moreover, there are attempts to get estimates of the number of emigrants, by introducing additional LFS modules in emigration countries (Blasko 2014). The combination of LFS data from emigration and immigration countries also provides data on the number and position of emigrants in the labour market in other countries (Grabowska-Lusinska and Okolski 2009; Grabowska-Lusinska

2013). The aforementioned research could shed light on the problem of the elusiveness of new forms of migration, especially in the EU (Grabowska-Lusinska 2013; Mouhoud and Oudinet 2010).

Only recently has the LFS been used as a source for migration research in Serbia (Nikitović et al. 2013; Marjanović 2015). Therefore, the authors rely on theoretical knowledge about the relationship between migration and the labour market, as well as on the current possibilities of using LFS data in countries that, like Serbia, do not have pronounced labour immigration (Hazans 2018; Eurostat 2018; Grabowska-Lusinska 2013). The aim of this paper is to point out the possibilities of the LFS for studying immigration and the position of immigrants within the labour market of countries with pronounced emigration and a low inflow of foreign labour, as is the case with Serbia.

LITERATURE REVIEW

In addition to the population census, the population register, and other administrative sources, the LFS is the only data source capable of providing a wide range of data on international migrants. Unlike the population census, which provides a large amount of data on migrants and migration stocks, the dynamics of LFS implementation allow for the continuous monitoring of migrant flows and characteristics of labour migrants, with a high degree of international data comparability (Eurostat 2018; Fahey, McGinnity and

Quinn 2019). In the LFS, variables can be arranged into any desired combination, which is more difficult to do with the population census, and in some cases even impossible (Eurostat 2018). Registries and administrative sources provide perhaps the most comprehensive picture and allow for regular monitoring of migration features. However, the practice has shown that in EU countries, i. e. under the conditions of free movement of workers, there is visible sub-registration of migration occurrences, especially those related to emigration, and quite often even basic data on migrants is missing or incomplete (Eurostat 2018, Gárdos and Gödri 2013). Moreover, errors can occur. For example, comparisons between the Work Registration Schemes (WRS) and LFS data in the UK show a significant difference in data between formal and informal sectors of immigrants from Poland (Grabowska-Lusinska 2008, 2013).

Pilot research based on LFS data in countries with a low influx of immigrants and pronounced emigration has shown that the potential of the LFS as a source of data on the scope and forms of international migration, as well as the characteristics of migrants, is significant (Eurostat 2018; Hazans 2018; Gárdos and Gödri 2013). It has been noted that the LFS “may provide viable means for creating innovative LFS-based databases and innovative analytical approaches” (Grabowska-Lusinska 2013:46). A unique migration database based on the Polish LFS was created. In addition to obtaining a better picture of the extent of emigra-

tion from Poland, significant data was also obtained on the characteristics of emigrants, their regional origin, destination choices, as well as differences between migrants who emigrated before and after EU accession (Grabowska-Lusinska 2013; Grabowska-Lusinska and Okólski 2009). For the determination of the rate and the analysis of complex waves of intense emigration from Latvia, LFS data was used to determine mobility rates, the characteristics of emigrants and returnees, brain-drain rates, and differences over the period from 2000 to 2014 (Hazans 2018, 2019). In this regard, visible differences in migration patterns were noted. It was also concluded that EU LFS-based data on emigrants (especially recent emigrants) from small or low-emigration countries is less reliable because of the small sub-sample size and the small share of immigrants in the EU from low-population countries. Under such circumstances, relying on migrant citizenship data can lead to significant sub-registration and incorrect conclusions (Hazans 2018). A pilot study conducted in Hungary and Serbia in 2014 introduced an innovative ad-hoc LFS module in both countries, in order to estimate emigration and to provide estimates on the distribution of the emigrant population, as well as to build and use a representative sample of emigrants in a subsequent emigrant survey. Although the study was the first of its kind, it provided valuable methodological insights and showed that systematic data can be collected in an indirect manner through the LFS (Blaskó 2014). LFS data from destination

countries was also used to assess the dynamics of settlement processes in both pre-accession and post-accession periods. The research was based on the UK LFS for immigrants from Poland. This particular use of the LFS was meant to help “discuss the potential ways in which an uncovered diversity of living arrangements of Polish newcomers might shape their settlement practices” (Osipovič 2007, as cited in Grabowska-Lusińska 2013: 55).

The analysis of differences between the characteristics of employed and unemployed people in the Croatian labour market based on the LFS indicates the possibility of monitoring the position of immigrants and the local population in the labour market over time, as well as comparing differences in their position in periods before or after major economic crises, and the implementation of the econometric methods (Botrić 2015a, 2016).

However, the LFS has significant drawbacks. Since it was not primarily intended for monitoring the immigrant population, significant delays may occur when noticing their presence in sampling frames. This is due mainly to the time required to register/deregister (Eurostat 2018). The LFS is based on the definition of the usual resident population, so it cannot provide data on the increasing prevalence of shorter-term labour mobility. In addition, although all countries where the LFS is conducted use the same concepts, definitions, and classifications, and cover the same set of characteristics, there are differences in the migrant groups covered (Eurostat 2018; Gár-

dos and Gödri 2013). There is also often a problem with the representativeness of data for small immigrant groups. That’s why it’s common for significantly different ethnic groups to be grouped into the same category, which leads to incorrect conclusions. Another disadvantage is that no data is being collected on the second generation of immigrants born in the country of immigration. In addition, lower response rates among migrant populations have been found internationally (Font and Méndez 2013), especially among migrants with shorter migration periods and non-EU migrants. One of the reasons for this is a lack of confidence in state institutions, while immigrants with less knowledge of the host country’s official language are generally not surveyed (Mierina 2019; Fahey, McGinnity and Quinn 2019; Eurostat 2018). For methodological reasons, migrants who are institutionally cared for are not registered. This includes asylum seekers residing in collective centres. One of the problems is that migrants who were in the international protection system for some time but are no longer in that system cannot be statistically identified (Fahey, McGinnity and Quinn 2019), although they belong to one of the most vulnerable social groups. The above limitations show that a detailed analysis of LFS results is only possible at the aggregated territorial level (Gárdos and Gödri 2013).

The sub-registration of immigrants has been somewhat overcome by the introduction of special LFS migration modules. So far, two modules focusing on the labour market situation of

migrants and their immediate descendants have been implemented in EU countries – in 2008 and 2014 – while the next one is planned for 2021. A large sample provided significant data on the reasons for migration and the position of the first and second generation of immigrants. However, the questions are retrospective, and their scope is limited (Mieriņa 2019; European Commission/OECD 2016). Thus, the existing ad-hoc migration modules cannot currently provide regular monitoring of the changes in the labour market brought on by rapid and diverse migration flows (Fahey, McGinnity, and Quinn 2019; Eurostat 2018).

To improve the quality of data, the coverage of migrant populations, and international comparisons of LFS results, several methodological aspects are important, such as sample size, sampling frames, frequency of data collection, and the differences in data collection by country (Gárdos and Gödri 2013; Grabowska-Lusinska 2013). The definition of household membership is not fully harmonised across countries (Blaskó 2014). The scope is significantly conditioned by the choice of the sampling frame. The sample based on the population register provides significantly better coverage than the sample based on the population census (Fahey, McGinnity and Quinn 2019; Eurostat 2018). Since 2014, the sampling frame in Serbia has been the 2011 Population Census (prior to that it was the 2002 Population Census). However, the *enumera-*

*tion areas*¹ are not updated, leading to an increase in non-coverage over time. Changing the basis of the LFS from the population census to the population register provides more opportunities for migration research. Collecting some of the answers from the register is thought to unburden the household questionnaire and make room for an additional module on migration without overburdening the respondents. Although national supplements on migration are rarely included in the LFS, it has been shown that there is potential for their exploitation (Blaskó 2014). Immigrant sub-registration can also be linked to the particular spatial distribution of immigrants, which is often not in correspondence with the sampling methodology (Gárdos and Gödri 2013). Therefore, experts propose to boost the immigrant subsample to ensure representativeness at the analysis stage, since booster samples are common practice in other European countries (Fahey, McGinnity, and Quinn 2019).

KEY ELEMENTS OF THE LABOUR MARKET INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANTS

The economic integration of immigrants, both voluntary and forced, is considered a key element of successful integration into the host society (Ager and Strang 2008; Connor 2010; Predojević-Despić and Lukić 2018). The most commonly studied indicators of the integration of immigrants in the

¹ An enumeration area is the smallest geographical unit usually allocated to a single enumerator during census enumeration.

labour market of the host country are unemployment rates, representation in certain occupations, income rates, self-employment, and number of hours worked. (Council of Europe 1997). “The economic integration of immigrants depends both on the structural constraints and opportunities in the society of the host country, as well as their socio-demographic characteristics” (Lukić 2016: 85).

International comparisons based on LFS or European Community Household Panel (ECHP) data have shown that in almost all immigration countries, immigrants have a lower employment rate than the local population (OECD/European Union 2015; OECD/EU 2018; Peracchi and Depalo 2006). This is especially true of forced migrants (Yu, Ouellet and Warming-ton 2007; Connor 2010). It is not only low-skilled immigrants who face lower employment rates, but also those who are highly skilled and educated, thus an improvement in education is not always accompanied by a corresponding improvement in economic integration (Eurostat 2018; Ek and Skedinger 2019;). Job security and the availability of a wider range of occupations are also linked to educational attainment, language proficiency, and work experience in the host country (Bonfanti and Xenogiani 2014). It has been shown that compared to the local population, immigrants perform a significantly greater share of so-called ‘simple’ occupations, and commonly have jobs that carry health risks (European Commission/OECD 2016; OECD/EU 2018). By the same token, they are less likely to have high-

profile occupations. This is particularly true of EU countries, and studies show that this ratio has worsened over time (Ek and Skedinger 2019; Eurostat 2018; Bonfanti and Xenogiani 2014). Age and gender are also important determinants of the economic integration of immigrants, and thus women and older workers are likely to face poorer outcomes in the labour market (OECD/European Union 2015; Peracchi and Depalo 2006). Moreover, the length of stay in the host country is considered an important indicator of integration, as it takes time to build social capital and informal contacts that make it easier to find a job and integrate into the labour market (Lukić 2016; Montgomery 1996; Peracchi and Depalo 2006). According to the findings based on the ECHP longitudinal household survey, the largest differences in the labour market between immigrants and the population of the host country are present in the first years of immigration, while most of the differences tend to disappear after 20 years (Peracchi and Depalo 2006).

Serbia has a long tradition of emigration, primarily for economic reasons (Predojević-Despić and Penev 2012; Predojević-Despić and Penev 2016). During the turbulent 1990s, people also emigrated for political-security reasons, and the significant intensification of migration in both directions was one of the main characteristics of demographic changes (Penev and Predojević-Despić 2019; Predojević-Despić and Penev 2014). At that time, a large number of refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina and

Croatia fled to Serbia. During that period, more than half a million people (mostly of Serbian nationality) settled in Serbia. The large influx of forced migrants also had visible demographic consequences, primarily the increase of the country's total population between 1991 and 2002, despite the negative population growth (Stevanović 2005; Lukić 2015; Penev and Predojević-Despić 2019). Their socio-cultural integration was facilitated by the fact that they share linguistic and ethnic origins with the host society. Recent empirical research shows that economic integration posed a major challenge for these migrants, since they arrived during a period of transitional economy and high unemployment rates among the local population (Lukić 2016; Predojević-Despić and Lukić 2018). In Serbia, a more intensive decrease in the unemployment rate of forced migrants from the former Yugoslav republics was observed only after 2008 (Komesarijat za izbeglice Republike Srbije 2008; Lukić 2016), more than 10 years after the arrival of the first refugees. This supports Stein's (1981) findings that it takes about 10 years from the moment of immigration for refugees to reach some stability in terms of their lost socio-economic status.

METHODOLOGY

For the purposes of the analysis, additionally processed data from the Labour Force Survey of the Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia (SORS) for 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, and 2018, as well as secondary statis-

tical data sources (2011 census data) were used. In order to analyse and interpret the data appropriately, during processing, a lack of occurrences or too small a number of occurrences for the analysis was marked.²

In 2014, the LFS was conducted quarterly, and since 2015 it has been carried out continuously. In the five-year data series for the period from 2014 to 2018, between 95,000 (2014) and 134,000 (2016) people were surveyed annually. Data on the labour activity of 82,700 to 116,400 people were collected annually, which was 1.4% to 1.9% of the total population aged 15 and over in Serbia (Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019). The LFS data, conducted by SORS, is comparable to the LFS data of other countries. The definition of the target population is: households and persons referring to the 'usual population' that reside in the territory of the Republic of Serbia excluding the region of Kosovo and Metohia (Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia 2019). The LFS is a potential source of data on migrants, but due to technical and methodological obstacles relating to the definition of migrants, i.e. the sample size, this dimension has not yet been used (Nikitović et al. 2013). The data obtained from the sample of migrant stock by nationality and country of origin is not published, but can be obtained through additional data processing upon request. Data processing involves logical control, and the non-

² In the additionally processed data, explanations are given in the table (*, few occurrences) or (-, no occurrences).

response rate is around 20% (Nikitović et al. 2013).

The findings of the project SEEMIG indicate the need for additional processing of LFS data based on the criteria of citizenship or country of birth in order to identify immigrants (Nikitović et al. 2013). Therefore, for the purposes of identifying the immigrant population, additional data was processed based on country of birth rather than citizenship for people who had lived in the sampled household for more than a year. This methodological procedure was chosen because of the immigration of a large number of people from the former Yugoslav republics, especially in the 1990s. According to the 2011 Census 770,528 people in Serbia were born abroad, of which 687,948 were from the former Yugoslav republics. This procedure is consistent with a related study by Botrić (2009, 2015a, 2015b) using Croatia as an example. The analysis in the paper focuses on people aged between 15 and 64.

The hypothesis is that people born outside of Serbia have a less favourable position in the labour market compared to the population born in the country. Demographic and socio-economic factors affecting immigrant unemployment people (those available based on the LFS questionnaire) were also examined. Included are the following: gender, age, education, occupation³, and country of birth, viewed

through the prism of unemployment and long-term unemployment. Economically inactive people were excluded from the analysis. The average for the period from 2014 to 2018 was analysed, but accompanied by any applicable changes. In addition, separate descriptive statistical analyses were conducted for people born in Serbia and for those born outside of Serbia.

People's age was defined on the basis of their year of birth, while occupations were categorised according to the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO). The educational attainment achieved was categorised into three groups (low education, medium education, and high education), according to the LFS classification. The low education group includes the following categories: without school, 1-3 grades of primary school, 4-7 grades of primary school, and primary school. In the medium education group, the categories are: 1-2 years of vocational secondary school, 3 years of vocational secondary school, 4 years of vocational secondary school, high school and specialisation after high school. The high education group includes the following categories: college, university, integrated studies, master's degree, and PhD.

The definition of employment according to the LFS is in line with the International Labour Organization (ILO) definition and evaluates both the formal and informal employment of people selected in the sample. The unemployed are: people who did not have paid work during the reference

³ On the recommendation of LFS experts, in the case of unemployed people, the occupation was taken into consideration for those who had work experience in the past eight years.

week, provided that they had actively sought employment in the past four weeks and were ready to start working within the next two weeks if someone offered them a job, as well as people who did not seek employment in the past four weeks because they had found a job that they need to start within three months at the latest. The definition of long-term unemployment is in line with the Eurostat definition, which covers people seeking active employment for a year or longer.

The opinions of a group of experts from various subspecialties employed by SORS were collected using qualitative inquiry, on the topic of the sample, scope, and possibilities of using the LFS to study the population of immigrants and their position in the labour market in Serbia. There were seven experts consulted. The experts are employed by SORS, belong to different professions (mathematics, economics, sociology, etc.), and are involved in numerous sets of LFS activities: development and testing, data collection, data processing, the production of statistical tables, etc. All of them were consulted through questionnaires in at least two rounds and interviews about LFS possibilities for this type of research, as well as on the possibilities of advancing the LFS to study international migration. The field work was done in November and December 2019.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The opinions of the group of experts confirmed the possibility of using the Labour Force Survey to study the

immigrant population in Serbia, with the proposed definition of immigrant (based on country of birth) being the only possible one in the given social context of Serbia. It has been confirmed that the data series is comparable for the period from 2014 onwards. In the experts' opinion, an annual scope of immigrants is sufficient for this type of study, given that the sample for the LFS is of sufficient size. It is believed that the results from the LFS questionnaire can be used for the main selected indicators of analysis (employment and unemployment), and that the presented data can show the trends of the given phenomena. However, it has been emphasised that the size of the grade level must be taken into account, since the sample for immigrants was relatively small in size, and breaking it into overly small domains reduces the number of occurrences, which could render the observed data unreliable. Therefore, the analysis excludes findings where the number of occurrences, during additional data processing, was marked as small or insufficient. According to experts, the non-response rate was between 15% and 20%, which is similar to the results in other European countries.

General characteristics

Data from the Labour Force Survey from 2014 to 2018 indicate that people over 15 years of age born abroad make up an average of 10.8% of the Serbian population over 15 years of age. These people were mostly born in the former Yugoslav republics, while fewer than 1% of people over 15 years of age

were born abroad. If one looks at the workforce (ages 15-64), people born abroad account for 9.4% of the workforce in Serbia (Table 1).

Table 1 Age and gender structure of working-age people born in Serbia and born abroad, 2014-2018 average

Age group	15-24		25-49		50-64		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
<i>Born in Serbia</i>								
Male	380,619	17.8	1,100,289	51.4	659,343	30.8	2,140,251	100
Female	358,888	17.1	1,055,537	50.2	688,939	32.8	2,103,364	100
Total	739,507	17.4	2,155,826	50.8	1,348,282	31.8	4,243,615	100
<i>Born abroad</i>								
Male	11,127	5.6	99,538	50.5	86,351	43.8	197,016	100
Female	11,046	4.5	120,543	48.9	115,138	46.7	246,727	100
Total	22,173	5.0	220,081	49.6	201,489	45.4	443,743	100

Source: Authors' calculations

The analysis of the LFS data from 2014 to 2018 reveals differences in the structure of the labour force by age and sex, between the populations born in the country and those born abroad. In terms of age, the working-age population of people born outside of Serbia is older, with a significantly smaller share of the youth (15-24 years old) and a greater share of people aged 50-64 compared to the population born in the country. Moreover, the share of women in the labour force born abroad is 55.6%, which is greater than that of the labour force born in the country (49.6%) (Table 1).

Women are generally more numerous when it comes to people who have moved to Serbia from abroad. According to the 2011 Census, international migration to Serbia is 'predominantly female' (53.7%), or 'overwhelmingly female' (55.3%) if women from the former Yugoslav republics are taken into account (Lukić 2020).

Differences in the age-sex structure of the working-age population born in the country and the working-age popu-

lation born abroad can be partly explained by the higher levels of immigration of women due to marriage, as indicated by administrative statistical sources (Government of the Republic of Serbia n.d.), but also by the specifics of the age-sex structure of the immigrant population, which largely consists of people who fled Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia due to the conflict in the 1990s. Namely, data from the 2011 Population Census indicates that the share of widows at a younger age is greater for forced migrants than for the rest of the Serbian population, due to war casualties among the working-age male population in the former Yugoslav republics during the 1990s (Lukić 2014). In addition, differences in the sex structure can be partly explained by the possible more pronounced migration of the male population born in Croatia. Many members of this population (47.4%) hold dual citizenship (Lukić 2015: 36) and can easily enter the labour market in European Union (EU) countries for short or long periods of time to perform in-demand

jobs, especially in construction, crafts, and related occupations that more commonly involve male workers.

Age is an important influencing factor in the integration of immigrants into the labour market. Since the majority of the population born outside of Serbia consists of forced migrants displaced from the former Yugoslav republics in 1990s, their structure is represented by older cohorts, with the largest share of people aged between 50 and 59 in 2011 (Lukić 2015). This fact reflects the differences in the working-age population born in the country and born abroad.

Data on the length of stay in the country of people born abroad (aged 15-64), viewed in the context of unemployment, shows that as many as 94% of these unemployed people

have lived in Serbia for more than 10 years, 6% for five to 10 years, while the number of occurrences of people residing in the country for up to five years is too small to be considered for analysis.

Employment and unemployment

The data for the period from 2014 to 2018 indicates that in both observed populations, about two-thirds of the working-age population are economically active (Figure 1). Unemployed people born abroad aged 15-64 account for an average of 41,991, i. e. 8.4% of the total unemployed population in Serbia. An average of 250,129 persons born abroad are employed, which is 9.7% of the total employed population in Serbia.

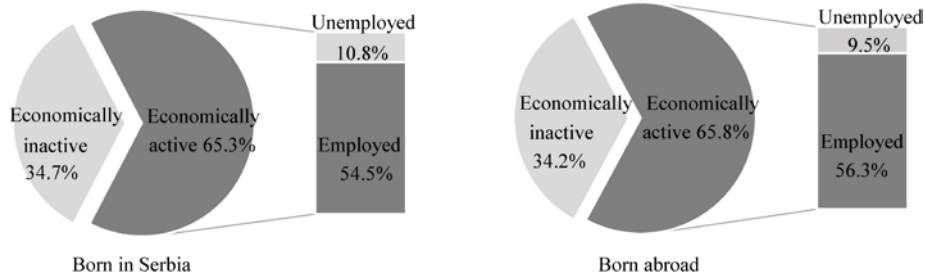


Figure 1 Population born in Serbia and born abroad by economic activity, 2014-2018 average (%)

Source: Authors' calculations

Between 2014 and 2018, the average unemployment rate⁴ of people born in Serbia was 10.8%, while it was 9.5% for people born abroad. In both observed populations, there was a visible trend of decreasing unemployment rates during the observed

period, which is, more pronounced for the population born in Serbia.

A report on the position of the labour markets of the countries that are in the process of accession to the EU, based on the LFS, indicates that for the majority, there is a trend of a continuous decrease in unemployment rates from 2014 and onwards (Eurostat 2019). However, these countries have

4 Share of unemployed people in the total population aged 15-64.

significantly higher unemployment rates than the average of the 28 EU member states. From 2014 to 2017 in Serbia, these values range from 19.4% to 13.6%. When it comes to the long-term unemployment rate, in Serbia in 2017 it was more than twice (8.2%) that of the average of EU-28 member states (3.4%) (Eurostat 2019).

In almost all member states of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and the EU, immigrants have a higher unemployment rate compared to the population born in the country. The unemployment rate of foreign-born people in EU countries was on average 5.8 percentage points higher than that of those born in the host country (2012-2013), i. e. 4.3% (2017) (OECD / European Union 2015; OECD/EU 2018). We can, therefore, conclude that people born outside of Serbia, with an unemployment rate lower by 1.3 percentage points compared to those born in the country, are nevertheless in a better position in the labour market compared to immigrants in other countries. Their integration into the labour market is certainly helped by sharing a language with the host country and the fact that the majority of them have obtained citizenship of the Republic of Serbia (Lukić 2015). Our findings on the somewhat lower unemployment rates of immigrants compared to the population born in the country oppose the findings of a similar study by Botrić (2015a, 2015b) based on data from the LFS in Croatia, where the majority of immigrants are also from the former Yugoslav republics. That both coun-

tries have halfway favourable policies in the area of labour market mobility, as one of the areas within the policy of immigrant integration, is shown by the 2014 Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) indicators⁵ (Huddleston 2016; Huddleston et al. 2015). These indicators of immigration policy are based on a qualitative expert evaluation of the existing laws and regulations in the country, both general and sectoral ones. In Serbia, from 2012 to 2014, positive changes were observed in the development of policies in the field of immigrant mobility in the labour market, according to the values of the MIPEX index (Lukić 2018).

The differences in average unemployment rates between the population born in Serbia and the foreign-born population are greater among women (10.1% vs. 8.5%) than among men (11.4% vs. 10.7%). This can be partly explained by the more unfavourable age structure of women born abroad, which could have made it more difficult to find a job and left them in a less favourable position within the labour market. The findings of a small number of qualitative studies on female forced migrants indicate that the lack of information and social networks are some of the problems that hinder their re-entry into the labour market (Grupa 484 2006). Slightly more than half of the unemployed population born in Serbia are men (53.6%), while the share of men and women born abroad is equal (50.0%). When it comes to employed people,

⁵ On a scale from 0 to 100, the registered values are 50 for Serbia and 54 for Croatia.

43.3% of the population born in Serbia are women, while the share of those born abroad is greater, accounting for 49.4%.

In terms of the relative share, the number of unemployed people born abroad with no work experience (18.5%) is visibly smaller compared to the unemployed people born in the country (28.9%). In addition, among the number of unemployed people born abroad, there is a greater share of those who had work experience more than eight years ago (17.8%) compared to the unemployed people born in the country (11.9%). In both populations, women are prevalent among those without work experience and those who had it eight years ago, thus, as stated earlier, we can conclude that the position of women in the labour market in Serbia is generally worse than that of men.

Compared to the population born in the country, there are fewer people from abroad who have no work experience, as there are fewer younger people in the working-age population, and thus within both the employed and the unemployed. In this regard, our findings are consistent with the findings of Botrić (2015b) that these immigrants do not constitute the younger population, which is characteristic for economic migrants, but are more similar to the population in the host country. Nikitović and Lukić (2010) point to the short-term positive demographic effects of arrivals of refugees from the former Yugoslav republics to Serbia. A greater share of unemployed people born abroad who had work experience eight years ago, compared to the local-

ly born unemployed, indicates a long absence from the labour market of a part of this population, problems in adjusting to new socio-economic conditions, and high participation of these people in the structure of employees in the grey zone.

Secondary education is predominant in both employed and unemployed immigrants⁶. The educational attainment of the immigrant population aged 15-64 is slightly more favourable than that of the population in the country, and consists mainly of a smaller share of people with lower education and a greater share of people with higher education. In terms of sex and employment (Figure 2), the differences are greatest in the male employed population. It can be concluded that this is also influenced by the age structure, with longer periods of employment for those born abroad due to the lack of conditions for retirement.

Differences are also observed by age, especially in the 50-64 age group (Figure 3). These characteristics are partly due to differences in the age structure of the populations born in the host country and those born abroad.

Among the unemployed, whether born in Serbia or abroad, there is a greater share of women with higher education (26.6% for those born in Serbia and 27.1% for those born abroad) than men (15.8% and 17.9%). However, the share of men with high-

⁶ Data on education disseminated by age and sex groups is not adequate for analysis in the case of the 15-24 age group, due to the small number of occurrences when looking at the population of people born abroad.

er education born abroad among the unemployed is slightly greater than in those born in the country. Furthermore, the greater share of unemployed people born abroad with higher educa-

tion aged 50-64 years (18.4%) than those born in the country (14.5%), indicates increased difficulties regarding employability among older immigrants with higher education.



Figure 2 Employed and unemployed, born in Serbia and born abroad, by education and sex, 2014-2018 average (%)

Source: Authors' calculations



Figure 3 Employed and unemployed, born in Serbia and born abroad, by education and age groups (25-49 and 50-64), 2014-2018 average (%)

Source: Authors' calculations

Although the differences in the structure of the employed and unemployed by education are to some extent the result of differences in the age structure, the findings suggest a more unfavourable position in the labour market of the older population born abroad compared to people of the same age born in Serbia, and also compared to the younger population born abroad. Highly educated older immigrants are in a particularly unfavourable position. It can be assumed that they were unemployed after

forced migration to Serbia. In addition to unfavourable labour market conditions for the older population in particular, the reasons may be related to the relatively long time it takes to resolve their legal status, as well as their lack of social networks among the domestic population.

Another indicator of the more unfavourable condition in the labour market faced by persons born outside of Serbia can be seen in the contingency analysis of employees aged 15-64 according to their working status and

occupation. Regarding employment status, within the population born abroad compared to the population born in Serbia, somewhat greater shares of employed workers are visible (76.8% to 72.3%), as are self-employed workers with employees (4.6% to 3.5%). In the same group, a somewhat smaller share of self-employed workers without employees (14.0% to 17.7%) and assisting household members (4.6% to 6.5%) are noticed.

Furthermore, even though there is a greater share of the employed, a greater share of self-employed workers with employees indicates that it is more difficult to employ the population born outside of Serbia. The smaller share of assisting household members is the result of the smaller share

of the agricultural population born abroad.

The occupational structure of employed workers indicates that there is a significantly smaller share of foreign-born workers in agriculture and related fields, and a slightly greater share in simple occupations, trade services, experts, and artists. Viewed by age, the differences are more pronounced. This is especially true for the 50-64 age group, in which these differences are more noticeable than in the 25-49 age group (Figure 4). These differences also provide evidence of the better integration of the second generation of immigrants, i.e. those who came to Serbia as children but whose parents immediately after arriving in Serbia mostly did not own agricultural farms.

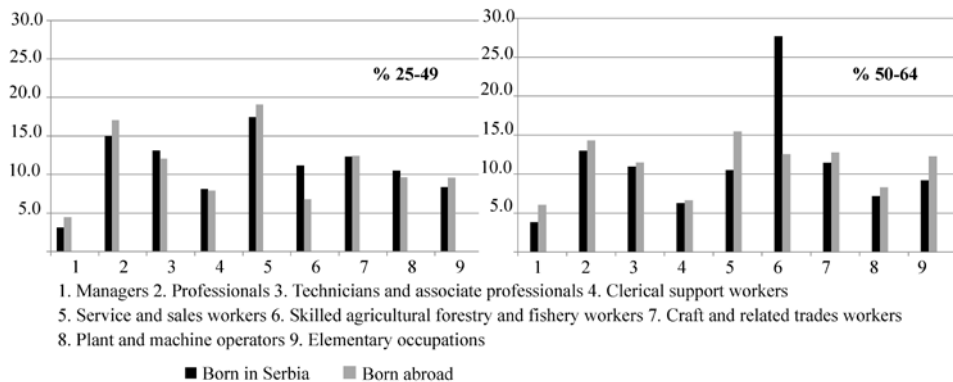


Figure 4 Employees aged 25-49 and 50-64, born in Serbia and born abroad, by occupation, 2014-2018 average (%)

Source: Authors' calculations

Viewed by sex, immigrant women are most commonly engaged in trade and services (21.3%), as experts and artists (18.1%), and in simple occupations (13.4%); while men are engaged in crafts and related work (19.1%), as machine operators (13.9%), and in

service occupations (13.9%). The analysis of the data indicates a smaller share of women born in Serbia employed in simple occupations (8.5%) compared to immigrant women (13.4%).

The differences between the unemployed people born in the country and the unemployed people born abroad by occupation (for those who had work experience in the past eight years) are very small. The small number of occurrences, however, makes it impossible to analyse data for unemployed farmers, experts and artists, managers, and foreign-born military personnel, as well as for military personnel born in the country.

Long-term unemployment

According to Botrić (2009), the high and constant share of long-term unemployment in total unemployment is

seen as an indicator of structural problems in the labour market. The average share of long-term unemployment in the total unemployment from 2014 to 2018 amounts to 63.7% for people born in Serbia and 65.1% for people born abroad. These figures range from 42.2% to 44.9% when it comes to more than three years of unemployment. Among the population born abroad, the sex structure of the long-term unemployed is balanced (the share of women is 50.4%), while among people born in the country, there is a slightly greater share of long-term unemployed men (the share of women is 46.5%) (Table 2).

Table 2 Educational structure of people born in Serbia and people born abroad who have been unemployed for a year or longer (15-64 years), 2014-2018 average

Highest educational attainment	Low education		Medium education		High education		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
<i>Born in Serbia</i>								
Male	26,300	16.9	104,960	67.5	24,180	15.6	155,440	100
Female	19,920	14.8	81,640	60.5	33,440	24.8	135,000	100
Total	46,220	15.9	186,600	64.2	57,620	19.8	290,440	100
<i>Born abroad</i>								
Male	1,900	14.0	9,080	67.0	2,580	19.0	13,560	100
Female	2,000	14.5	8,340	60.5	3,440	25.0	13,780	100
Total	3,900	14.3	17,420	63.7	6,020	22.0	27,340	100

Note: There are no people without education or the occurrence is small (not published).

Source: Authors' calculations

As with the short-term unemployed, long-term unemployed immigrants in Serbia are predominantly people with secondary school education. The analysis of data on the education of the long-term unemployed population concludes that foreign-born people have attained a higher degree of education than those born in Serbia. Namely, there is a slightly greater relative share of long-term unemployed immigrants who are highly

educated, and a smaller share of the same group with lower education, compared to the population born in Serbia. These differences are largely the result of differences in the educational structure between the male population born abroad and the male population born in the country.

The differences in the educational structure between the population of long-term unemployed people born in Serbia and long-term unemployed

people born abroad by age (if we look at the 25-49 and 50-64 age groups) are the largest when it comes to the population over 50. These differences are evident in secondary and higher education, indicating a greater share of highly educated older workers born abroad who are long-term unemployed.

When it comes to the unemployment of more than three years, the

findings on the greater share of long-term unemployed immigrants compared to the population born in the country are consistent with the findings of Botrić (2015b) in Croatia. In terms of sex, both populations are dominated by men, except for those born abroad seeking employment for more than three years (Table 3).

Table 3 Unemployed persons, born in Serbia and born abroad, by length of job search, 2014-2018 average (%)

	Born in Serbia			Born abroad		
	< 1 year	1 to 2 years	3+ years	< 1 year	1 to 2 years	3+ years
Male	53.7	52.7	53.9	50.9	51.9	48.2
Female	46.3	47.3	46.1	49.0	48.0	51.7
Total	36.4	21.4	42.2	34.5	20.7	44.9

Source: Authors' calculations

The analysis of the data indicates that the sex structure of the long-term unemployed in Serbia is in line with the sex structure of the workforce of the two observed populations. However, in terms of the time needed to get employed, foreign-born women are in a more unfavourable position in the labour market compared to men, as they account for more than half of the unemployed population born abroad who have been seeking jobs for more than three years, which is not the case with the Serbian-born population.

It has been noted that foreign-born unemployed people are less likely to be registered with the National Employment Service (NES). Data on the number of unemployed people born abroad, registered with the NES, and receiving benefits cannot be taken into account for analysis, given the small sample size (Figure 5).

However, it is noted that in Serbia, few unemployed people born abroad are registered with the NES. This is not an isolated case; it is also observed on the basis of the LFS at the EU level (OECD/EU 2018) and in the case of Croatia (Botrić 2015b), as well as the population of Polish people in the United Kingdom (Grabowska-Lusinska and Okólski 2009). It has been noted that immigrants generally seek less help from relevant institutions and receive fewer unemployment benefits compared to people born in the country. This points to the need for qualitative research on this topic, which would further shed light on these findings in terms of whether these people are aware of their rights, or may not approach the relevant institutions for other reasons, such as working in the informal or 'grey' economy.

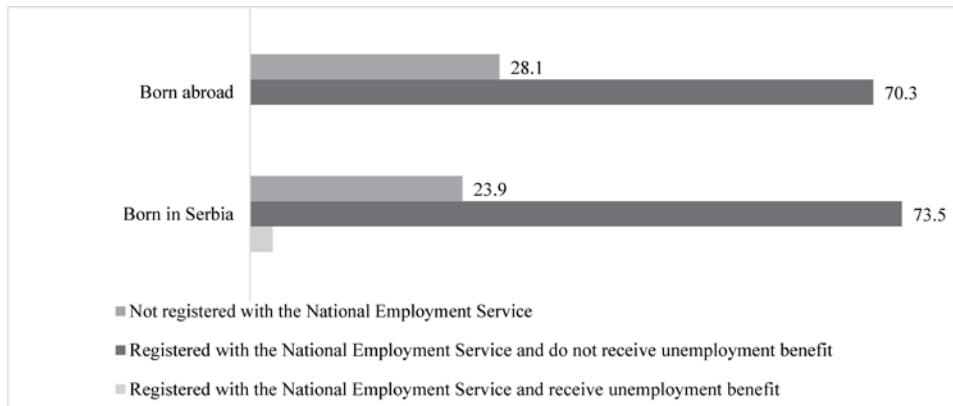


Figure 5 Unemployed people born in Serbia and born abroad according to their registration with the National Employment Service, 2014-2018 average (%)

Source: Authors' calculations

CONCLUSION

Our findings confirm that the length of stay of immigrants in their host country has a positive impact on their socio-economic adjustment (Montgomery 1996; Peracchi and Depalo 2006) and that immigrants of ethnic origin from neighbouring countries can have generally good labour market outcomes (OECD 2007). Furthermore, given their age structure, immigrants do not have a significant impact on mitigating the effects of population ageing in Serbia in the labour market. Findings indicate that the population born abroad does not have a higher unemployment rate compared to the population born in Serbia. This can be attributed to the specificity of their origin (the former Yugoslav republics) the fact that they share a language with the host society, and that the majority of them have obtained citizenship of the Republic of Serbia. However, in line with the set hypothesis, it can be concluded that the posi-

tion of immigrants in relation to the domestic population is more unfavourable in terms of the structure of employment and unemployment. This is particularly evident through the slower decline in unemployment rates, the poorer structure of the unemployed in terms of their long absence from the labour market, and the structure of occupations. Certain categories of immigrants stand out as particularly vulnerable.

In line with the defined goal, the findings indicate that the LFS provides significant opportunities for studying immigration and the position of immigrants in the labour market in Serbia. Consequently, to the authors' knowledge, this report is the first attempt to use LFS data in Serbia for these purposes, so it is concluded that the potential of the LFS has so far been unexploited. Furthermore, the analysis of LFS data, as well as the impossibility of analysing the results for immigrant groups with a smaller number of cases, indicates that in Ser-

bia there is a significant need for methodological advancement of the LFS.

For example, crossing data on age and long-term unemployment would certainly be useful, although it could not be realised due to the limitations of the small number of occurrences, and thus, the unreliability of the data. There is also a need for an LFS based on the population register, which would allow for significantly better coverage of immigrant populations.

Given the numerous challenges posed by contemporary international migration, in terms of scope, diversity, and causes of migration, as well as integration opportunities, there is a great need to find an innovative approach that will allow for the improvement and better utilisation of the existing databases, and the creation of new ones. In this respect, the LFS plays an important role.

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Položaj imigranata na tržištu rada u Srbiji: trenutni status i mogućnosti za istraživanje

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SAŽETAK

Polazeći od teorijskih znanja u oblasti migracija i tržišta rada i postojećih analiza podataka o migrantima na bazi Ankete o radnoj snazi (ARS) Republičkog zavoda za statistiku (RZS), u radu se istražuju najvažnije karakteristike imigranata na tržištu rada u Srbiji. Cilj je da se ukaže na mogućnosti ARS-a za proučavanje imigracije i položaja imigranata na tržištu rada u zemljama sa izraženom emigracijom i niskim prilivom strane radne snage, na primeru Srbije. Korišćeni su dodatno obrađeni podaci ARS-a za 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017. i 2018. i sekundarni statistički izvori podataka, pri čemu je prilikom obrade obeleženo ukoliko pojava nema ili je njihov broj suviše mali za analizu. Kriterijum za izdvajanje imigranata, uz uslov da žive duže od godinu dana u uzorkovanom domaćinstvu, bio je država rođenja, a ne državljanstvo, jer su imigranti u Srbiji uglavnom doseljeni iz bivših jugoslovenskih republika, naročito počev od 1990-ih.

Sprovedenjem kvalitativnog istraživanja putem popunjavanja upitnika u najmanje dva kruga, ali i intervju, prikupljena su mišljenja grupe eksperata različitih profesija i užih specijalnosti, zaposlenih u RZS, na temu uzorka, obuhvata i mogućnosti korišćenja ARS-a za proučavanje položaja imigrantske populacije na tržištu rada u Srbiji. Eksperti su konsultovani i o mogućnostima unapređenja ARS za proučavanje međunarodne migracije. Ovo istraživanje je, prema saznanjima autora, prvi pokušaj analize položaja imigranata na tržištu rada u Srbiji zasnovan na ARS, kao i diskusije o mogućnostima ARS-a za istraživanje emigracije/imigracije.

S obzirom na starosnu strukturu, imigranti ne utiču značajnije na ublažavanje posledica starenja stanovništva Srbije po tržište rada. Nalazi ukazuju da rođeni u inostranstvu nemaju veću stopu nezaposlenosti u poređenju sa stanovništvom rođenim u zemlji, što se može pripisati specifičnosti porekla i dužini boravka u Srbiji najvećeg dela ove populacije. Ipak, uočava se njihov nepovoljan položaj na tržištu rada, na šta ukazuje sporije smanjivanje stope nezaposlenosti, te lošija struktura zaposlenih, kao i nezaposlenih u pogledu dugog odsustva sa tržišta rada. Određene kategorije imigranata, kao što su stariji muškarci, izdvajaju se kao posebno ranjive.

Na osnovu analize podataka ARS, pregleda postojećih empirijskih istraživanja, kao i nalaza dobijenih od stručnjaka iz Srbije za potrebe ovog rada, diskutovana su ograničenja i potvrđeni potencijali ARS za proučavanje položaja imigranata na tržištu rada u Srbiji. Takođe, istaknuta je potreba za metodološkim unapređenjem Ankete, naročito u smislu boljeg obuhvata imigrantske populacije. S obzirom na brojne izazove koje donose savremene međunarodne migracije, bilo u smislu obima, raznolikosti i uzroka migracija, kao i mogućnosti integracije, postoji ogromna potreba za pronalaženjem inovativnog pristupa koji će omogućiti unapređenje i bolju iskorišćenost postojećih i stvaranje novih baza podataka. U tom smislu, Anketa o radnoj snazi ima važnu ulogu.

KLJUČNE REČI

imigracija | nezaposlenost | tržište rada | Anketa o radnoj snazi | Srbija

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OSVRTI I KOMENTARI

REVIEWS & REFLECTIONS

Istraživački profil Bečkog instituta za demografiju tokom poslednjih pet godina

Research profile of the Vienna Institute of Demography over the past five years

Bečki institut za demografiju (*Vienna Institute of Demography* – VID) osnovan je 1975. godine kao istraživački institut Austrijske akademije nauka. Prvi direktor Loter Bos (*Lothar Bosse*) i njegov naslednik Rihard Gizer (*Richard Gisser*) zaslužni su za naučni i organizacioni razvoj instituta, koji je danas prepoznat kao jedan od vodećih u svetu koji se bave demografskim pitanjima.

Nakon 2000-ih i dolaska Volfganga Luca (*Wolfgang Lutz*) na mesto direktora, menja se organizaciona struktura i institut dobija status organizacije od nacionalnog značaja Austrije. Istovremeno dolazi do zapošljavanja naučnika šireg opsega interesovanja i istraživanja, a u skladu sa proklamovanjem engleskog kao radnog jezika, institut postaje otvoren za korisnike i istraživače iz čitave Evrope i sveta.

Ukupan broj istraživača i spoljnih saradnika Bečkog instituta za demografiju tokom poslednjih godina je u konstantnom porastu i danas je dostigao 40 zaposlenih. Organizaciona struktura postavljena je kroz sedam istraživačkih grupa, od kojih svaka ima svog vođu istraživanja i užu naučnu oblast kojom se bavi – fertilitet i porodica; demografija Austrije; populaciona dinamika i prognoziranje; ekonomska demografija; zdravlje i dugovečnost; laboratorija za podatke o ljudskom kapitalu; migracije, obrazovanje i životna sredina. Nazivi istraživačkih grupa jasno ukazuju na bogatu diversifikaciju demografskih istraživanja instituta, kao i na njegovu unutrašnju kompleksnost. Tokom prethodnih pet godina, najangažovanije grupe su bile laboratorija za podatke o ljudskom kapitalu i grupa za fertilitet i porodicu. Vođa istraživanja u laboratoriji za podatke o ljudskom ka-

pitalu je En Gužon (*Anne Goujon*). To je najmlađa istraživačka grupa nastala tokom opsežnih prikupljanja podataka za projekte kojima se institut bavio. Danas, ova grupa se prevashodno bavi razvojem ažurnih, ujednačenih podataka iz polja demografije za što širi opseg zemalja sveta. Najviše pažnje posvećuje se izradi procena obrazovnih dostignuća stanovnika različitih zemalja počev od 1900. godine. Cilj grupe za fertilitet i porodicu jeste izučavanje preferencija plodnosti i modernih partnerskih odnosa. Rad ove grupe usmeren je na dokazivanje jakog uticaja obrazovnih nejednakosti u demografskom ponašanju porodica, a vođa istraživanja je Tomaš Sobotka (*Tomáš Sobotka*).

Analiza istraživačkog profila Bečkog instituta za demografiju, na prvom mestu uključuje praćenje aktivnih projekata, baza podataka, organizacija konferencija, predavanja i radionica, kao i istraživačkih tema kojima su se u okviru svojih radova bavili zaposleni u institutu.

U skladu sa tim, potrebno je istaći da ovaj institut tokom poslednjih pet godina učestvuje u realizaciji ukupno 20 projekata. Više od polovine projekata radi u saradnji sa drugim, prevashodno evropskim institutima, dok šest projekata realizuje samostalno. Većinu finansira evropska kancelarija za istraživanje, dok za tri projekta vezana za istraživanje demografskih fenomena stanovništva Austrije/Beča finansiranje vrše državni ili gradski fondovi. Veoma je teško izdvojiti naučne teme kojima se dominantno bave aktuelni projekti. Najviše se obrađuju pitanja niskog nivoa fertiliteta u svetlu prome-

na u obrascima bračnosti, načina života i nivoa obrazovanja, zatim predviđanja budućnosti javnih transfera i ulaganja u javne usluge iz ugla populacionog starenja, dok se čak četiri projekta, na direktan ili posredan način, bave promenama porodičnih odnosa i formi, partnerstava i njihovim demografskim implikacijama.

Projekti koji se po svom obimu i rezultatima izdvajaju su EDU20C, AWA (*AgeWellAccounts*) i AGENTA (*Ageing Europe: An application of National Transfer Accounts for explaining and projecting trends in public finances*). Prvi projekat vrši rekonstrukciju promene u obrazovnom sastavu stanovništva po starosti i polu tokom 20. veka. Projekat je primarno realizovan na primeru 11 država, ali su urađeni rezultati za preko 180 zemalja. Njegovo sprovođenje finansira Austrijska akademija nauka. AWA projekat je fokusiran na merenje i analizu dobrobiti u svakoj fazi života. Dimenzioniranje dobrobiti se vrši kroz tri celine – ekonomsko blagostanje, korišćenje vremena i subjektivni osećaj blagostanja i zdravstvenog stanja. Reč je o velikom projektu koji se realizuje u saradnji sa Univerzitetom *La Sapienza* iz Rima i Pariskom školom ekonomije. Ovaj projekat zajedno finansiraju austrijsko Ministarstvo obrazovanja, nauke i istraživanja, francuska Nacionalna istraživačka agencija i italijansko Ministarstvo obrazovanja, univerziteta i istraživanja. AGENTA projekat ima za cilj da objasni prošlost i predvidi budućnost javnih transfera i usluga u svetlu demografskih promena u Evropskoj uniji, prvenstveno iz ugla razvoja novih tipova nacionalnih računa i procesa prenosa kapitala kroz

životni ciklus. Projekat finansira Evropska komisija.

Pored većeg broja projekata koje sprovodi, Bečki institut za demografiju veliki deo svojih naučnih resursa usmerava na kreiranje i razvoj baza podataka. Ove baze kreiraju se kako u okviru projekata, tako i nezavisno od njih. Bitno je istaći da je, slično kao i vezi sa projektima, većina baza podataka napravljena u saradnji sa više različitih instituta u Evropi i svetu. Primarna demografska celina kojoj je posvećena većina baza jeste fertilitet, a pored toga teme koje poslednjih godina dobijaju sve veću pažnju jesu obrazovanje, odnosno starenje stanovništva i populacija starih. Pojedine baze prate podatke i na mesečnom nivou, dok je tokom poslednjih pet godina najviše napora, ipak, usmereno na proširenje njihovog teritorijalnog obuhvata na sve države sveta. Najvažnije baze podataka, na čijem se daljem razvoju konstantno radi, su baze podataka o ljudskom kapitalu (*Human capital data*) i plodnosti (*Human fertility database* i *Human fertility collection*).

Baza podataka o ljudskom kapitalu prikuplja podatke o budućem kretanju i osnovnim karakteristikama stanovništva 201 države do 2100. godine. Tokom poslednjih pet godina, intenzivno se radilo na poboljšanju obima, pokrivenosti i kvalitetu podataka o budućim trendovima u obrazovanju i starenju stanovništva. Takođe, dosta je urađeno na uključivanju nekoliko pretpostavki o uticaju migracija na projekcije kretanja stanovništva. Druge dve baze nastale su u okviru zajedničkog projekta Bečkog instituta za demografiju i Max Planck instituta za demografska

istraživanja. Osnovna ideja projekta jeste izrada kvalitetne baze podataka o kohortnom fertilitetu za veliki broj zemalja. Dostupni su podaci o stopi ukupnog fertiliteta, prosečnoj starosti majke prilikom prvorodenja, završnom kohortnom fertilitetu i udelu žena bez dece. Ovakvi podaci omogućavaju praćenje promena u dužem nizu godina i poređenje među različitim državama, kako bi se kreirale bolje populacione politike.

Tokom ovog vremena, Bečki institut organizovao je čak sedam međunarodnih naučnih konferencija. Većina konferencija bavila se temama starenja, fertiliteta i uticaja ljudskih resursa (prevashodno kroz razvoj obrazovanja) u najvažnijim demografskim fenomenima danas. Pored navedenih tema kojima je posvećena najveća pažnja, neke konferencije su bile usmerene ka mobilnosti, migracijama i uticaju konfesionalnosti na razvoj modernih oblika porodice i nivoa fertiliteta. Ukupan broj učesnika ovih konferencija bio je preko stotinu. Takođe, tokom proučavanog perioda, ovaj institut organizovao je više radionica koje su dominantno bile vezane za perspektivu održivosti zdravstvenog i ekonomskog sistema usled sve većeg pritiska izazvanog starenjem stanovništva. Kao svojevrstu specifičnost treba navesti i organizaciju dve radionice u čast istaknutih članova instituta – Dimitra Filipova (*Dimitar Philipov*) i Volkanga Luca (*Wolfgang Lutz*), posvećenih naučnim temama kojima se oni prevashodno bave.

Pored toga, institut je organizovao i preko 70 predavanja, koja su održali istraživači sa četiri kontinenta iz preko 50 različitih instituta. Naučno polje

predavanja, u skladu sa njihovim brojem, bilo je veoma široko, ali se može sistematizovati u nekoliko celina koje se profilišu. U okviru proučavanja tranzicije i budućih nivoa fertiliteta i kreiranja politika prema njemu, širok je opseg predavanja koja su na osnovu polnih razlika u obrazovanju i ekonomskoj aktivnosti ili, sa druge strane, u okviru bihevioralnih teorija, nastojale objasniti analizirane teme vezane za fertilitet. Druga bitna tema koja figurira u većem broju organizovanih predavanja jeste proučavanje starenja stanovništva, kroz istraživanje razlika u dužini života i zdravih godina, blagostanja u starosti ili pritiska na javne finansije. Takođe, na ovom institutu je tokom prethodnih godina organizovano dosta predavanja vezanih za kreiranje i upotrebu alternativnih baza podataka, naročito za države u razvoju. Jasno se može primetiti da je najveći deo predavanja vezanih za države u razvoju bio usmeren na predstavljanje rezultata novih baza podataka za te zemlje, odnosno značaja tih baza na primerima izraženih dispariteta u mortalitetu, fertilitetu i obrazovanju prema nekim socio-ekonomskim karakteristikama stanovništva.

Bečki institut za demografiju izdaje nekoliko redovnih (na godišnjem nivou) i povremenih publikacija. Najvažniji od njih – „Bečki godišnjak o istraživanju stanovništva“ (*Vienna yearbook of population research*), predstavlja skup štampanih radova sa konferencija koje je institut organizovao u prethodnoj godini, pa se teme koje se u njemu nalaze ne razlikuju od onih koje smo analizirali u okviru konferencija. Sa druge strane, „VID radni doku-

menti“ (*VID working papers*) predstavljaju časopis sa velikim disparitetom u broju radova na godišnjem nivou. Posmatrajući vremenski okvir od poslednjih pet godina, teme razvoja obrazovanja u funkciji ekonomskog razvitka „trećih zemalja“, odlaganja fertiliteta i razlika u fertilitetnim normama prema karakteristikama stanovništva, pojavljuju se kao primarne makro teme. Takođe, u ovom časopisu značajan prostor posvećen je domaćim (austrijskim) autorima i temama o stanovništvu Austrije, te je, u kontekstu intenzivnih migracionih talasa, dosta radova poslednjih godina usmereno na analize odluka o migriranju, društvenih i fertilitetnih normi migranata i njihov uticaj na demografski razvoj ukupne populacije. Kao važnu publikaciju koju institut izdaje na nemačkom jeziku navodimo „Demografska istraživanja iz prve ruke“ (*Demografische Forschung aus Erster Hand*). U okviru odabranih demografskih tema na osnovu kojih se pišu kraći tekstovi, tokom poslednjih pet godina najviše je onih vezanih za starenje, mobilnost, fertilitet i promene do kojih dolazi u bračnosti.

Bečki institut za demografiju pruža bazu naslova radova koje su tokom poslednjih godina objavljivali njegovi saradnici čime možemo, verovatno najbolje, sagledati koje su to aktuelne teme i pravci istraživanja kojima se ovaj institut danas bavi. Bitan nedostatak, pri tome, predstavlja odsustvo podataka za poslednjih par godina, što naročito utiče na rezultate jer je jasan trend usmeravanja sve veće naučne pažnje ka temama o kojima su do pre nekoliko godina pisali samo retki autori. Bez obzira na to, jasno se izdvajaju

teme fertiliteta i obrazovanja sa 86 odnosno 78 naslova. Broj radova vezanih za migracije, starenje i populaciju starih, kao i ekonomske teme u demografiji, iznosi 35-40. Ovim se potvrđuju prethodni rezultati vezani za projekte, konferencije i baze podataka, da je istraživački profil instituta tokom poslednjih godina dominantno usmeren na proučavanje fertiliteta, obrazovanja i starenja, pri čemu su poslednje dve teme sve aktuelnije.

Sveobuhvatnom analizom dolazimo do zaključka da je istraživački profil Bečkog instituta za demografiju veoma disperzan, ali da se mogu izdvojiti tri stuba naučnih tema na kojima počiva većina istraživanja. To su, u prvom redu, fertilitet, obrazovanje i starenje stanovništva. Kroz implementaciju novih sofisticiranih metoda i sveobuhvatnijih baza podataka, nastoji se pokazati što bliža uzročno-posledična veza između nivoa fertiliteta i pojedinih socioekonomskih karakteristika stanovništva, novih oblika partnerstava i izbora životnih ciljeva, kao osnova razvoja adekvatnih politika prema

fertilitetu. Starenje stanovništva se pojavljuje kao tema koja se intenzivnije proučava poslednjih godina, i kao zaseban fenomen, ali i kao neposredna posledica nedovoljnog rađanja sa kojom je direktno povezana. Starenje se istražuje kao proces koji će nepogrešivo predstavljati demografsku budućnost razvijenog dela sveta, pa je veliki deo radova u okviru ove teme posvećen analizi prolongiranja smrtnosti, produžavanja zdravih godina života i opstanaka penzionog i zdravstvenog sistema. Uz starenje stanovništva, sve više naučnog prostora dobija i istraživanje demografskih procesa u interakciji sa obrazovanjem stanovništva. Slično kao i sa prethodne dve makro teme, proučavanjima na ovom polju se pristupa iz zaista širokog okvira, od uticaja obrazovanja na fertilitet i mortalitet, preko potrebe razvoja ljudskih resursa u demografskoj stvarnosti sve starijeg stanovništva, do značaja skorašnjeg „kvantitativnog naučnog buma“ u zemljama u razvoju odnosno naglog brojanog rasta visokoobrazovanih u toj grupi zemalja.

Damjan Bakić

Istraživački profil Francuskog instituta za demografske studije (INED)

Research profile of the French Institute for Demographic Studies (INED)

Francuski institut za demografske studije (Institut national d'études démographiques - INED) osnovan je uredbom vlade 1945. godine kao istraživački centar koji će sprovesti ankete i istraživanja o stanovništvu i proučavati „materijalna i moralna sredstva koja mogu doprineti kvantitativnom rastu stanovništva i njegovom kvalitativnom razvoju, kao i obezbediti širenje demografskog znanja“. Ekonomista i statističar Alfred Savi (*Alfred Sauvy*) postavljen je za prvog direktora instituta težeći da INED-u da multidisciplinarni karakter kroz stvaranje različitih naučnih profila i širenje istraživačkog spektra instituta. Savi je osnovao i naučni časopis *Population*, a 1968. INED je objavio prvi broj svog novog mesečnog časopisa – *Population et Sociétés*. Nakon Savija, institutom je upravljalo još šest direktora među kojima je i istaknuti istraživač Žan Buržo-Piša (*Jean Bourgeois-Pichat*), a od 2016. godine na čelu INED-a se nalazi Magda Tomazini (*Magda Tomasini*).

Prvi INED-ovi demografi razvili su originalne metode demografske analize, pa je tako Luj Anri (*Louis Henry*) osnovao istorijsku demografiju, a Žan

Štecl (*Jean Stoetzel*) pokrenuo nekoliko anketnih istraživanja o radu žena, idealnom broju dece, imigraciji stanovništva i drugim temama. Porast broja istraživača u INED-u uslovio je diversifikaciju polja istraživanja instituta, a nova misija bila je razvoj i širenje demografskog znanja radi opšteg ekonomskog i društvenog napretka i pružanja obuke novim istraživačima.

Mnogi eminentni istraživači su doprineli razvoju ovog instituta. Pomenućemo samo neke od pozantijih. Žan Buržo-Piša (*Jean Bourgeois-Pichat*) je istraživao pojmove stabilne i kvazi stabilne populacije i modelirao mreže odnosa između demografskih varijabli, Pol Vansan (*Paul Vincent*) je izumeo koncept potencijalnog populacionog porasta stanovništva, a Suli Lederman (*Sully Ledermann*) je usavršio modele tablica smrtnosti.

Danas, ukupan broj istraživača i spoljnih saradnika u INED-u iznosi oko 113 zaposlenih. Pored njih, u radu INED-a učestvuje i oko 43 doktoranta, 14 studenata post-doktorskih studija, a čitav rad nadgleda oko 100 inženjera istraživanja. Organizaciona struktura instituta ogleda se u mnoštvu istraživa-

čkih timova od kojih svaki ima svog vođu istraživanja. Svaka naučna jedinica se bavi nekom od aktuelnih demografskih tema ili određenom užom naučnom oblašću, pa se tako izdvajaju sledeće grupe: *Fertilitet; Porodica i Parovi; Rodnost, seksualnost i nejednakosti; Smrtnost, zdravlje i epidemiologija; Mobilnost, stanovanje i socijalne mreže; Međunarodne migracije i manjine; Ekonomska demografija; Istorija i stanovništvo; Identiteti i teritorije i Demografija stanovništva Juga*. Kao posebne istraživačke grupe izdvajaju se *Istorija životnih događaja i multilevel analiza; Međunarodne perspektive i Starost i starenje*. Pored toga, ističu se i dve mešovite istraživačke grupe – *Seksualno i reproduktivno zdravlje i prava i Francuska longitudinalna studija o deci*, u kojima pored istraživača INED-a učestvuju i saradnici iz drugih francuskih istraživačkih institucija i univerziteta. Ovakva raznovrsna podela demografskih i nedemografskih istraživačkih profila ukazuje na to da je istraživanje u INED-u organizovano oko multidisciplinarnih i tematski fokusiranih timova.

Naučna aktivnost INED-a ogleda se u sprovođenju višegodišnjih istraživačkih projekata, a u toku je 30 glavnih projekata od kojih je većina međunarodnog karaktera. Odlikuju se multidisciplinarnošću i raznovrsnošću istraživačkih tema i metodoloških pristupa. Pored 30 glavnih, sprovodi se još 10 projekata. Polja koja su proučavana u proteklim godinama direktno odgovaraju mnogim savremenim društvenim pitanjima: briga o starima, promene u porodici, diskriminacija i putanje imi-

granata i njihovih potomaka, nejednakosti na poslu, nasilje i rodni odnosi itd. Gotovo sve jedinice koje sprovode zajednička istraživanja imaju po jedan aktuelan projekat. U prethodnih pet godina može se izdvojiti 8 širokih polja istraživanja ovih projekata, a kao najznačajnije tematske celine se izdvajaju: *Nejednakosti među polovima; Stadijumi životnog ciklusa i starenje; Očekivano trajanje života, mortalitet i zdravlje; Parovi, porodice i seksualnost; Rađanje, fertilitet i kontracepcija; Svetske migracije, diskriminacija i integracija; Stanovanje, životna sredina i teritorija i Stanovništvo sveta*. Usled svog multidisciplinarnog pristupa, mnogi od projekata nemaju jasnu granicu između polja istraživanja.

Sa druge strane, istraživačke jedinice se posebno bave veoma specifičnim tematskim celinama. Grupa *Fertilitet, porodice i parovi* sprovodi tri projekta koja se bave decom, porodicama i roditeljstvom. Grupa *Rodnost, seksualnost i nejednakosti* sprovodi ankete o nasilju i rodnim odnosima, bavi se rodним ulogama, seksualnošću i dr. Grupa *Smrtnost, zdravlje i epidemiologija* fokusirana je na istraživanje diferencijalne smrtnosti i razlika u zdravlju, na istraživanje dugovečnosti i starenja, kao i na analizu uzroka smrti. Grupa *Mobilnost, stanovanje i socijalne mreže* bavi se projektima koji proučavaju ranjive populacije sa posebnim osvrtom na marginalne grupe i mlade, prostor i socijalnu stratifikaciju, kao i društvene efekte u diferencijalnim socio-prostornim kontekstima. Grupa *Međunarodne migracije i manjine*

ujedno sprovodi i najveći broj projekata, što svedoči o aktuelnosti ovih tema. Projekti istražuju uticaj migracija na sve međugeneracijske odnose unutar porodice, na pravce kretanja i pokret migranata, a izdvaja se projekat pod nazivom *MigMov*. Projekti istražuju i migracione politike, proces integracije stanovništva i borbu protiv diskriminacije. Poseban značaj ima projekat koji istražuje dinamiku etno-rasne raznolikosti i njen uticaj na društvene promene u multikulturalnim društvima – *DIVETHNO*. Grupa *Ekonomska demografija* istražuje životni tok i socioekonomske nejednakosti i sagledava odrednice i ekonomske posledice nejednakosti iz longitudinalne perspektive. Grupa *Istorija i populacija* sprovodi projekte koji se tiču heterogenosti demografskog ponašanja stanovništva u predindustrijskoj eri i u savremenim društvima. Grupa *Identiteti i teritorije* bavi se istraživanjem prisilnog raseljavanja stanovništva, identitetskim pitanjima i dr. *Demografija stanovništva Juga* (*DEMOSUD*) istražuje porodičnu dinamiku u zemljama Afrike sa posebnim fokusom na promene u stratifikaciji porodice i promene u mortalitetu i zdravlju u podsaharskoj Africi. Mešovita istraživačka grupa – *Francuska longitudinalna studija o deci*, u kojoj učestvuju i saradnici iz drugih francuskih istraživačkih institucija i univerziteta, sprovodi projekat *ELFE* koji prati 18.300 dece rođene u evropskom delu Francuske 2011. godine od rođenja do njihove 20. godine života. Cilj je steći bolje razumevanje o tome kako okruženje, porodica i generalni uslovi života utiču na razvoj dece, njihovo zdravlje,

socijalizaciju i školovanje. Druga mešovita istraživačka jedinica – *Seksualno i reproduktivno zdravlje i prava* – sprovodi projekat o seksualnom i reproduktivnom zdravlju u različitim životnim fazama od adolescencije do starosti.

Jedna od najznačajnijih aktivnosti instituta jeste obuka novih istraživača kroz praktičan istraživački rad. Institut svake godine prihvata doktorante iz Francuske i inostranstva, dok studenti rade pod nadzorom mentora i pridružuju se nekom od istraživačkih timova. Pored toga, *INED* sprovodi i veliki broj edukativnih seminara od kojih posebno mesto zauzimaju oni koji se bave vizuelizacijom podataka ili korišćenjem programa *R*, zatim seminari o integraciji migranata i seminari o ulozi rase danas i o rasnoj netrpeljivosti. Od sedam sprovedenih radionica u poslednjih pet godina, po značaju i posećenosti, istakle su se radionice o očinstvu i materinstvu, radionice o korišćenju *EU – SILC* podataka za demografsku analizu, kao i radionice o analizi uzroka smrti. Jedna od značajnih tema konferencija bilo je pitanje rase, dok su na drugom mestu veliko interesovanje izazivale i konferencije o potpomognutim reproduktivnim tehnologijama i kako one utiču na stopu ukupnog fertiliteta.

Francuski institut za demografske studije u svom radu učestvuje u stvaranju i doprinosi kvalitetu statističke građe baza podataka mnogih svetskih istraživačkih instituta. Od 2018, *INED* održava kontekstualnu bazu podataka o generacijama i rodu (*Generations & Gender Contextual Database*). Istraživači *INED*-a učestvuju i u kreiranju

baze podataka o tablicama smrtnosti (*Human Life-Table Database*), baze podataka o mortalitetu (*Human Mortality Database*) i baze podataka o zakonima i porodicama (*LawsAndFamilies Database*). Saradnici INED-a su autori dve baze: Uzroci smrti u Francuskoj 1925-1999, uključujući tablice smrtnosti, kao i tabele neto migracija 1806-1906.

INED je sprovodio i mnoga anketna istraživanja. Ističu se *Francuska longitudinalna studija o deci* koja se sprovodi od 2011, FECOND studija, Nacionalna anketa o seksualnom i reproduktivnom zdravlju (2009-2011), Studija o porodici i međugeneracijskim odnosima (ERFI – treći talas) – francuska verzija GGS anketnog istraživanja (2011), Istraživanje o kontracepciji (2000-2004), Nacionalno istraživanje o nasilju nad ženama (2000), Istraživanje o mladim beskućnicima (1998), Putanje i poreklo (2008) i mnoge druge.

Izdavačka delatnost INED-a ima dugu tradiciju. *Population* objavljuje originalne studije iz oblasti demografije i srodnih disciplina – sociologije, ekonomije, antropologije, istorije, geografije, epidemiologije i javnog zdravlja i metodologije društvenih nauka. U ovom časopisu je u poslednjih 5 godina najviše radova objavljeno o tranziciji fertiliteta, koja se istakla kao jedna od najznačajnijih tematskih celina, potom o AIDS-u, mortalitetu, obrazovanju stanovništva i o etničkom poreklu i migracijama sa posebnim akcentom na

selektivnost migracija. *Population et Sociétés* je naučni časopis koji svakog meseca analizira različita pitanja koja se tiču stanovništva Francuske ili drugih delova sveta. Kao i u *Population*, i u ovom časopisu se najveći broj autora bavio temom fertiliteta, na drugom mestu su abortusi i kohabitacije, potom slede teme nezaposlenosti i migracija, istraživanja o padu broja stanovnika i dr. U poslednjih pet godina, gotovo polovinu radova koje su objavili istraživači INED-a čine radovi na teme fertiliteta i mortaliteta stanovništva, potom se ističu teme koje obrađuju bračne i vanbračne zajednice. Autori, takođe, sve učestalije pišu o imigraciji stanovništva u Francusku, o azilu i izbeglicama.

Francuski institut za demografske studije (INED) je jedan od najstarijih i najvećih demografskih instituta u Evropi i svetu. Njegov istraživački profil se odlikuje multidisciplinarnim karakterom proučavajući demografske pojave i procese, ali i uzroke i posledice mnogih društvenih procesa i njihov uticaj na populacionu dinamiku, društveni život, ekonomiju, epidemiologiju, etnologiju i dr. INED je član nekoliko istraživačkih mreža i učestvuje u mnogim nacionalnim i međunarodnim projektima. Sveukupna misija instituta je da prouči sve aspekte razvoja populacije, da obučni nove istraživače i da informiše vladu i širu javnost o aktuelnim demografskim temama.

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Članak treba da bude strukturiran na sledeći način: naslov, sažetak, ključne reči, glavni tekst (uvod, metodi, rezultati, diskusija i zaključak), izrazi zahvalnosti, spisak referenci, i spisak tabela i ilustracija (ako postoje). Kod radova na srpskom, na kraju dokumenta treba uključiti **opširniji rezime na engleskom**.

Naslov opisuje članak i/ili glavne odnose između varijabli; treba da bude jasan sam po sebi i ne preterano dugačak (do 10 reči). Ako je moguće, treba izbegavati upotrebu skraćenica u naslovu.

Sažetak daje kratak i jasan rezime članka (**od 150 do 250 reči**; 10pt), odražavajući osnovnu strukturu rada (predmet i cilj, metodi, rezultati i zaključak), uz upotrebu termina koji se često koriste za indeksiranje i pretragu u referentnim periodičnim publikacijama i bazama podataka. U sažetku ne treba navoditi reference. Sažetak treba da bude napisan na istom jeziku na kojem je napisan tekst članka.

Ključne reči (pojmovi, geografske lokacije, rezultati; 10pt) navode se u posebnom redu ispod sažetka i moraju biti relevantne za temu i sadržaj rada. Dobar izbor ključnih reči preduslov je za ispravno indeksiranje rada u referentnim periodičnim publikacijama i bazama podataka. Navesti **pet ključnih reči** odnosno deskriptora na jeziku rada.

Tekst članka bi trebalo da ima sledeću strukturu odeljaka: *uvod, metodi, rezultati, diskusija i zaključak* (ne nužno pod ovim nazivima). U zavisnosti od sadržaja i kategorije članka, moguće je izostaviti neke od odeljaka. Na primer, kod preglednog članka, moguće je izostaviti odeljke o metodima i rezultatima, dok naučna kritika ili polemika može uključiti samo odeljke o motivima rada, konkretnim istraživačkim problemima i diskusiju.

- **Uvod** opisuje istraživački problem, sumira relevantna prethodna istraživanja u logičkom i kritičkom maniru, vodi čitaoca ka glavnom istraživačkom pitanju članka; jasno formuliše predmet i cilj istraživanja, kao i postojeće nalaze i teorije koje prikazano istraživanje testira ili pokušava da nadogradi.
- Odeljak o **metodu (metodima)** treba da pokaže kojim postupcima se postiže cilj naveden u članku; jasno opisuje empirijski plan istraživanja, uzorački postupak, korišćene podatke, mere, instrumente i postupke (novi metodi bi trebalo da budu opisani detaljnije); može početi hipotezom; može biti podeljen u odgovarajuće pod-odeljke.
- **Rezultati**: Obrada podataka i statistička analiza treba da budu jasno izložene (naročito u slučaju novih ili retko korišćenih postupaka); odeljak, takođe, može biti podeljen u prikladne pod-odeljke. Rezultate treba prikazati u logičkom nizu; pored numeričkog prikaza statističke analize, autori treba da uključe i narativno objašnjenje nalaza, dok interpretaciju treba ostaviti za diskusiju.
- **Diskusija** sadrži interpretaciju dobijenih rezultata, koja treba da bude u kontekstu modela, teorija i nalaza prikazanih u uvodu; ovaj odeljak, opciono, može biti podeljen u pod-odeljke sa konciznim podnaslovima. Treba jasno specifikovati koja su od ranijih istraživanja podržana, osporena ili unapređena nalazima prikazanim u radu, a zatim, ako je moguće, ponuditi nove modele ili okvire za ostvarene nalaze; dati samo logičke tvrdnje na osnovu prikazanih nalaza. Treba izbegavati pretrpavanje ovog odeljka preteranim citiranjem i dugačkim reinterpretacijama literature, već se fokusirati na svoje nalaze. Treba izbegavati zaključke za koje nije obezbeđeno dovoljno istraživačkih podataka. Izuzetno, odeljci o rezultatima i diskusiji mogu se kombinovati u jednom zajedničkom pod nazivom *Rezultati i diskusija*.
- **Zaključak** mora biti u zasebnom odeljku, koji bi trebalo da iskaže kako je prikazano istraživanje unapredilo postojeće naučno znanje; trebalo bi da pruži opšti, kratak i prikladan rezime, najviše do dve strane, predstavljenih nalaza. Zaključak ne sme da bude puko ponavljanje delova sažetka. Diskusija zajedno sa zaključkom može obuhvatiti i do 30% članka, ali u svakom slučaju ova dva odeljka zajedno ne bi trebalo da budu kraća od uvoda.

Reference se navode na jeziku na kom su objavljene (font 9pt). Spisak referenci treba da sadrži samo radove koji su citirani u tekstu; poredati ih po abecednom redu, bez numeracije, da uključuju imena svih autora bez obzira na njihov broj. Poželjno je da većina referenci bude novijeg datuma, demonstirajući aktuelnost prikazanog istraživanja. U slučaju navođenja više radova istog autora, najpre se navodi najranije objavljeno delo. Ograničiti broj citiranih referenci tako što ćete se pozivati samo na najrelevantnije radove. Čirilичne reference obavezno transkribovati na latinicu. *Referencama koje imaju web izdanje obavezno navesti njihov DOI ili URL. Stanovništvo koristi APA stil (7. izd.) za uređivanje spiska referenci.*

• **Primeri za navođenje različitih vrsta radova:**

➤ **Monografije, knjige:**

Alho, J. M., & Spencer, B. D. (2005). *Statistical Demography and Forecasting*. New York: Springer. <https://doi.org/10.1007/0-387-28392-7>

➤ **Monografije, knjige sa više izdanja:**

Breznik, D. (1988). *Demografija: analiza, metodi i modeli* (3. izd.). Beograd: Naučna knjiga.

➤ **Delovi monografija ili zbornika radova:**

Rašević, M. (2015). Fertilitet ženskog stanovništva. U V. Nikitović (ur.), *Populacija Srbije početkom 21. veka* (str. 74–95). Beograd: Republički zavod za statistiku.

➤ **Delovi monografija ili zbornika radova pronađeni na internetu:**

Nikitović, V. (2018). The End of Demographic Transition in Kosovo: Does the Meaning of the Population Factor Change? In D. Proroković (Ed.), *Kosovo: Sui Generis or Precedent in International Relations* (pp. 299-320). Preuzeto sa https://www.diplomacy.bg.ac.rs/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/2018_Kosovo_Dusan_Prorokovic.pdf

➤ **Članci iz časopisa:**

Lutz, W., Sanderson, W., & Scherbov, S. (2001). The end of world population growth. *Nature*, 412(6846), 543–545. <https://doi.org/10.1038/35087589>

➤ **Radovi sa konferencija ili poster prezentacije:**

Rašević, M. (2006). *Abortion problem in Serbia*. Paper presented to EPC 2006 “Population Challenges in Ageing Societies”, Liverpool, UK, June 21-24. Preuzeto sa <http://epc2006.princeton.edu/papers/60355>

➤ **Istraživački izveštaji, radni dokumenti:**

Dudel, C., & Schmied, J. (2019). Pension adequacy standards: an empirical estimation strategy and results for the United States and Germany. Rostock: Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research (MPIDR Working Paper WP-2019-003). Preuzeto sa <https://www.demogr.mpg.de/papers/working/wp-2019-003.pdf>

➤ **Doktorske disertacije pronađene u bazama:**

English, L. S. (2014). *The influences of community college library characteristics on institutional graduation rates: A national study* (doktorska disertacija). Preuzeto sa American Doctoral Dissertations (37CDD15DF659E63F).

➤ **Sadržaj internet stranica:**

Republički zavod za statistiku (2018). *Vitalni događaji – podaci od 2011. godine*. Baza podataka. Preuzeto sa <http://data.stat.gov.rs/Home/Result/18030102?languageCode=sr-Latn>

➤ **Novinski članci iz štampanih izdanja:**

Frost, L. (2006, Septembar 14). First passengers ride monster jet. *The Salt Lake Tribune*, str. A2.

➤ **Novinski članci pronađeni na internetu:**

Cohen, P. N. (2013, Novembar 23). How can we jump-start the struggle for gender equality? *New York Times*, SR9. Preuzeto sa https://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/11/23/how-can-we-jump-start-the-struggle-for-gender-equality/?_r=0.

• **Citiranje referenci u okviru teksta** podrazumeva navođenje prezimena autora i godine objavljivanja reference:

○ Direktan citat: Lee (1998);

○ Indirektan citat: (Rašević 2009; Stanić i Matković 2017).

○ Doslovno citiranje: „Sporost postsocijalističke transformacije srpskog društva učinila je ekonomsku depresiju i visoku stopu nezaposlenosti dugotrajnim fenomenima“ (Petrović 2011: 64).

○ U slučaju četiri ili više autora: (Alkema i dr. 2011); (Petrović i dr. 2017).

○ U slučaju citiranja dva ili više radova istog autora: (McDonald 2002, 2006).

○ U slučaju više od jedne reference istog autora u istoj godini: (Rafferty i dr. 2012a, 2012b).

Tabele ne treba da prelaze dimenzije jedne stranice i ne treba da budu preopterećene pomoćnim linijama; slova i brojevi unutar tabela treba da budu veličine 9pt. Tabele treba da imaju jasne, samoobjašnjavajuće naslove. Treba da budu obeležene arapskim brojevima po redosledu kojim se pojavljuju u tekstu. Uredništvo treba da ima potpunu kontrolu nad

tabelama, odnosno da može klikom unutar tabele da uređuje fontove reči napisanih u tabelama kako bi se zadovoljio stil časopisa i ispravile pravopisne greške. ***Sve tabele moraju biti uključene u sam tekst rukopisa.***

Grafikoni, kartogrami, slike, crteži i druge ilustracije treba da budu ***dostavljeni i kao posebne datoteke*** dobrog kvaliteta (format jpg ili tiff, min 300dpi). Autori bi trebalo da dostave svoje grafikone/kartograme/ilustracije u boji za elektronsku verziju članka. Ipak, treba imati u vidu da je štampano izdanje časopisa crno-belo. Sve ilustracije treba da budu ***označene kao 'Grafikon' i numerisane arapskim*** brojevima po redosledu kojim se pojavljuju u tekstu (npr. Grafikon.1.jpg).

Podatke i/ili proračune korišćene za kreiranje grafikona i tabela, takođe, treba dostaviti kao posebne datoteke (bez obzira što nisu sastavni deo rukopisa). Npr. ukoliko su grafikoni napravljeni u MS Excel-u, pobrinuti se da dozvoljavaju pristup izvornim podacima na osnovu kojih su kreirani.

Naslovi tabela stoje iznad, a **grafičkih priloga** ispod njih (veličina slova je 10pt) i centrirani su. Legende tabela i grafičkih priloga se nalaze ispod njih, i treba da sadrže izvore podataka, a eventualne napomene u novom redu ispod izvora (veličina slova 8pt, levo ravnanje). Upućivanje na tabele i grafičke priloge u samom tekstu mora biti u skladu sa numeracijom (npr. u tabeli 1), a ne sa pozicijom priloga u tekstu (npr. u gore navedenoj tabeli). Konačna pozicija tabela i grafičkih priloga u tekstu može biti drugačija od izvorne zbog postizanja što boljeg preloma članka. Uredništvo neće objaviti sve priloge ako proceni da ih ima previše, kao ni one lošeg kvaliteta. **Ukoliko je članak na srpskom, obavezno treba da sadrži i engleske verzije svih tabela i grafičkih priloga, i to na kraju rukopisa – nakon engleskog rezimea.**

Molimo vas nemojte:

- dostavljati grafičke priloge optimizovane za korišćenje na ekranu (npr. gif, bmp, pict, wpg); oni obično imaju nisku rezoluciju i mali raspon boja;
- dostavljati grafičke priloge koji imaju rezolucije niže od 300dpi;
- dostavljati ilustracije nesrazmerno velikih dimenzija spram formata rukopisa.

Opširniji rezime na engleskom (neophodan samo za radove koji nisu na engleskom) treba da bude napisan u skladu sa strukturom rada (**2.000-3.000 znakova bez razmaka**) i da se nalazi nakon spiska referenci odnosno eventualnog spiska tabela i/ili grafičkih priloga. U posebnom redu ispod rezimea, navesti ključne reči na engleskom jeziku tako da predstavljaju odgovarajući prevod ključnih reči navedenih na početku rukopisa, odnosno ispod sažetka.

PRIKAZI knjiga, časopisa i drugih radova iz oblasti nauke o stanovništvu na početku treba da sadrže potpune bibliografske podatke prikazanog dela (ime i prezime autora dela, naslov, naziv izdavača, sedište izdavača, godinu izdanja, ukupan broj strana).

OSVRTI, takođe, na početku treba da sadrže sve relevantne informacije o naučnom skupu, konferenciji, publikaciji ili akciji na koju se odnose.

Imena autora osvrta odnosno prikaza navode se na kraju rada. Format i tip slova u prikazima i osvrtima treba da bude identičan onom u člancima.

Redakcija časopisa

SUBMISSION GUIDELINES

Submission Preparation Checklist

Manuscripts should be exclusively submitted at the following web address:

<http://idn.org.rs/ojs3/stanovnistvo/index.php/STNV/about/submissions>

As part of the submission process, **authors are required to check off their submission's compliance** with all of the following items, and submissions may be returned to authors that do not adhere to these guidelines.

- ✓ The submission has not been previously published, nor is it before another journal for consideration (or an explanation has been provided in Comments to the Editor).
 - ✓ The submission file containing the manuscript is in Microsoft Word docx or doc format.
 - ✓ The text is single-spaced; uses a 11-point font; employs italics, rather than underlining; and all illustrations, figures, and tables are placed within the text at the appropriate points, rather than at the end.
 - ✓ Where available, DOIs / URLs for the references have been provided.
 - ✓ The text adheres to the stylistic and bibliographic requirements outlined in the *Author Guidelines*.
 - ✓ Figures, cartograms, images, and illustrations are also uploaded as separate submission files of high resolution (jpg or tiff, min 300dpi).
 - ✓ Information about the authors (and acknowledgments) is listed exclusively in a separate submission Word file.
 - ✓ By submitting a manuscript, to the editorial board of *Stanovništvo*, the authors are obliged to respect the *Authors' responsibilities* listed in the *Editorial Policy*.
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- By submitting a manuscript authors warrant that their contribution to the Journal is their original work, that it has not been published before, that it is not under consideration for publication elsewhere, and that its publication has been approved by all co-authors, if any, and tacitly or explicitly by the responsible authorities at the institution where the work was carried out.
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- Authors wishing to include figures or text passages that have already been published elsewhere are required to obtain permission from the copyright holder(s) and to include evidence that such permission has been granted when submitting their papers. Any material received without such evidence will be assumed to originate from the authors.
- Authors must make sure that all only contributors who have significantly contributed to the submission are listed as authors and, conversely, that all contributors who have significantly contributed to the submission are listed as authors.
- Manuscripts are being pre-evaluated at the Editorial Office to check whether they meet the basic publishing requirements and quality standards. They are also screened for plagiarism.
- Authors will be notified by email upon receiving their submission. Only those contributions which conform to the following instructions can be accepted for peer-review.

Otherwise, the manuscripts shall be returned to the authors with observations, comments and annotations.

- **Two Word files have to be uploaded** during the submission procedure:

1) A file (e.g. Main-text.docx) that contains *the manuscript with no information about authors and supporting agencies* should be uploaded as the '**Article text**' type by choosing this option from the drop-down menu of the article components in the 'Upload submission file' section.

2) A file (e.g. Authors.docx) that contains *information about all authors* of the article (including their full names and affiliations - academic titles, research/scientific positions, e-mails, and optionally ORCID numbers) *and acknowledgments* (if exist) should be uploaded as the '**Affiliation**' type by choosing this option from the drop-down menu of the article components in the 'Upload submission file' section. *Information about all authors* and possibly acknowledgments must be *also entered through the web form* when submitting the manuscript. *One author* will need to be identified as the *corresponding author*. Please note that no change to the authors' affiliations can be made after your paper is accepted.

MANUSCRIPT PREPARATION

- Authors must follow the instructions for authors strictly, failing which the manuscripts would be rejected without review.
- The manuscript should be written in Microsoft Word (2013 and above) in .doc or .docx format. The text formatting should be as simple as possible.
- At the website, you can download the Word template either in [dotx](#) or [dot](#) to easily prepare your manuscript. It contains predefined styles and author guidelines as well.
- In case you did not download the template, you can format the text manually using the following guidelines:
 - The page layout should be the following: height 24cm, width 17cm; margins: top 2.54cm; bottom 2cm; left and right 2.2cm.
 - The manuscript should be written in Times New Roman, 11pt, single spaced, justified. Using of italic, superscript, and subscript is encouraged as well as facilities of equation editors embedded in text processors.
 - The two levels of subheadings are allowed: Title 1 – 12pt, upper case, left alignment; Title 2 – 11pt, bold, left alignment.
 - Footnotes are numbered consecutively in Arabic numerals (9pt). References quoted in the text should not be included in the footnotes, but in the reference list.
- **The manuscript can be up to 8,000 words** long not including a list of references. In specific cases, the Editorial Board could accept longer papers. In determining the length of the text, tables and illustrations (figures, cartograms, etc.) are counted as 400 words (whole page) or 200 words (half page).
- The writing style and language competencies could be briefly commented upon in the process of peer review; the journal proofreader corrects minor glitches. However, manuscripts full of spelling and grammatical errors cannot be accepted for publication. *Authors should use a gender-neutral language.*

The manuscript should be divided into the following ordered sections: **cover page, title, abstract, keywords, the text of the manuscript** (introduction, methodology, results, discussion, and conclusion), **list of references, list of tables and illustrations** (if any). Figures should be submitted as separate files as well.

Title describes manuscript and/or the main relations among variables; it should be clear, not too long but explanatory (no more than 10 words). Abbreviations should be avoided in the title if possible.

Abstract should be *between 150 and 250 words* long (10pt), concisely reflecting the structure of the manuscript (background, objective and aims, methods, results, conclusions and comments), so that its original text can be used in referential periodicals and databases. Do not include citations in the Abstract. Abstract should be provided in the same language as the manuscript.

Keywords (concepts, locations, results) are listed in a separate line (10pt) at the end of the abstract. Keywords should be relevant to the topic and content of the paper. An accurate list of keywords will ensure correct indexing of the paper in referential periodicals and databases. There should be *five keywords* provided in the same language as the manuscript.

The text of the manuscript should have the following sections: *introduction, methods, results, discussion, and conclusions* (not necessarily under these names). Depending on the type of the manuscript, it is possible to omit some of the sections. For example, in a review article, it is possible to omit sections on methods and results, while scientific criticism or polemics may include only sections on the motives of work, specific research problems and discussion.

- **The introduction** should provide, in logic and critical manner, a clear, concise and informative overview of selected recent literature relevant to the topic of the manuscript, a description of the problem addressed in the manuscript and the aim of the work.
- **Methods** section should demonstrate the procedures used to achieve the objectives stated in the manuscript; clearly describes the empirical research plan, the sampling procedure, data series, instruments, and procedures (the novel methods and procedures should be described in more detail); can start with hypothesis; can be divided into appropriate subsections.
- **Results** section should present clearly and concisely the researchers' findings; can be divided into subsections, each with a concise subheading, as appropriate. Data processing and statistical analysis should be clearly explained (especially in case of new or rarely used procedures). Results should be presented in a logical sequence; in addition to the numerical expression of statistical analysis, the authors should include a narrative explanation of the findings, while the interpretation should be left for the discussion.
- **Discussion** section should provide an interpretation of the results, which should be in the context of models, theories, and findings presented in the introduction. This section can optionally be divided into appropriate subsections, each with a concise subheading. It should clearly specify which of the earlier studies were supported, opposed or promoted by the findings presented in the manuscript, and then, if possible, offer new models or frameworks for the findings; only logical arguments should be provided. Authors are urged to avoid overloading this section with excessive citations and lengthy reinterpretations of related literature and are urged to focus on their findings. Authors should avoid conclusions for which they have not provided sufficient research data. Exceptionally, the Results and Discussion of the manuscript can be combined in a single section labeled *Results and Discussion*.
- **Conclusion** should provide a general, brief and appropriate summary of the presented findings not longer than two pages. This section must not merely repeat parts of the abstract. The Discussion along with the Conclusion may cover up to 30% of the article, but in any case, the two sections together should not be shorter than the Introduction.

References shall be cited in the language in which they were published (9pt font). The list of References shall only include papers that are cited in the text. Place them in alphabetical order, and do not number them. Include all names of authors. Most of the references should be published recently, thus demonstrating current scientific importance of the presented research. In case of citing more than one reference of the same author, the most recent work is listed first. If an article is submitted to a journal and publicly available as a pre-print, the

pre-print may be cited. Authors should limit the number of cited references by referring to the most relevant papers. *Cyrillic references must be transliterated into Latin. Where available, indicate at the end of a reference its DOI or URL of the publication. Stanovništvo follows the APA style (7th ed.) for the list of references.*

• **Examples of different types of references:**

- **Monographs, Books:**
Alho, J. M., & Spencer, B. D. (2005). *Statistical Demography and Forecasting*. New York: Springer. <https://doi.org/10.1007/0-387-28392-7>
 - **Monographs, Books with More Editions:**
Todaro, M. P., & Smith, C. S. (2012). *Economic Development* (11th ed.). Boston: Mass Addison-Wesley.
 - **Chapters in Edited Books/Monographs or Collection of Papers in Print:**
De Abreu, B. S. (2001). The role of media literacy education within social networking and the library. In D. E. Agosto & J. Abbas (Eds.), *Teens, libraries, and social networking* (pp. 39-48). Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO.
 - **Chapters in Edited Books/Monographs or Collection of Papers found Online:**
Nikitović, V. (2018). The End of Demographic Transition in Kosovo: Does the Meaning of the Population Factor Change? In D. Proroković (Ed.), *Kosovo: Sui Generis or Precedent in International Relations* (pp. 299-320). Retrieved from https://www.diplomacy.bg.ac.rs/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/2018_Kosovo_Dusan_Prorokovic.pdf
 - **Journal Articles:**
Lutz, W., Sanderson, W., & Scherbov, S. (2001). The end of world population growth. *Nature*, 412(6846), 543-545. <https://doi.org/10.1038/35087589>
 - **Conference paper or poster presentation:**
Rašević, M. (2006). *Abortion problem in Serbia*. Paper presented at EPC 2006 "Population Challenge sin Ageing Societies", Liverpool, UK, June 21-24. Retrieved from <http://epc2006.princeton.edu/papers/60355>
 - **Research Reports, Working Papers:**
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Frost, L. (2006, September 14). First passengers ride monster jet. *The Salt Lake Tribune*, p. A2.
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Cohen, P. N. (2013, November 23). How can we jump-start the struggle for gender equality? *New York Times*, SR9. Retrieved from https://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/11/23/how-can-we-jump-start-the-struggle-for-gender-equality/?_r=0
- **Reference citations within the text** should include the author's surname and the year of a publication as follows:
- A direct citation of a reference: Lee (1998);
 - An indirect citation of a reference: (Rašević 2009; Stanić and Matković 2017).
 - References following direct quotations: "The conclusion is that improvements in education, rather than fertility declines, are the main driver of subsequent economic growth" (Lutz 2014: 530).

- In case of four or more authors: (Alkema et al. 2011).
- When two or more papers by the same author are cited together: (McDonald 2002, 2006).
- With more than one reference to an author in the same year: (Raftery et al. 2012a, 2012b).

Tables should not exceed one page and should not be overloaded with auxiliary lines; 9pt font should be used for letters and numbers presented in tables. Tables should have a clear, self-explanatory title. Tables should be numbered consecutively in Arabic numerals in the order in which they are referred to in the text. Editorial staff need to have full control over the tables, that is, to be able to click inside the tables to edit the font of the words written inside the tables to match the journal style and correct the spelling. **All tables should be incorporated in the text of the manuscript.**

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