

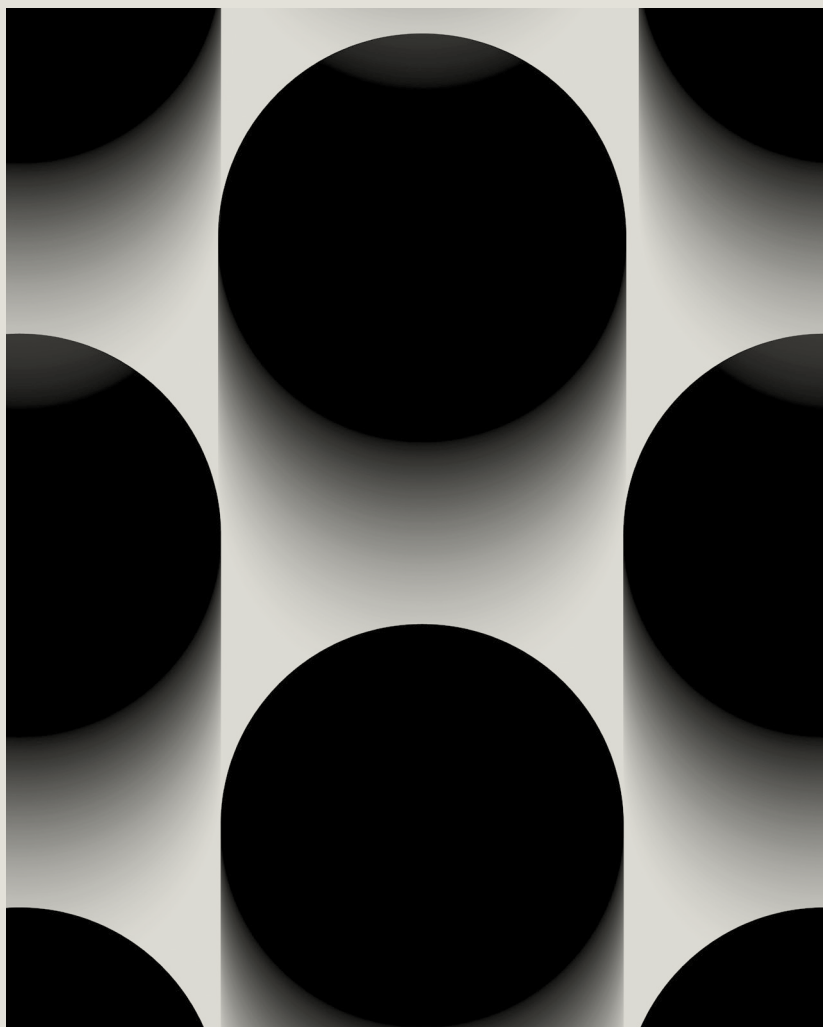
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Životni tok i demografija

Life course perspective
and population studies

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Centar za demografska istraživanja
Institut društvenih nauka
Društvo demografa Srbije

Demographic Research Centre
Institute of Social Sciences
Association of Demographers of Serbia

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Uvodna reč urednika tematskog broja

Guest editors' introduction

Koncept istraživanja „životnog toka“ možemo shvatiti dvostruko. U širem smislu, životni tok je predmet laičkog interesovanja, tj. postoji svojevrсна antropološka tendencija da se tok individualnog života razume, mapira, sekvencionira i normira, da se reflektivno poima i usmerava. U užem smislu, to je pokušaj da se razume temporalnost individualnog, bio-psiho-društvenog života iz ugla sociološke, psihološke, antropološke ili biološko-evolucionarne perspektive.

Domen praćenja životnog toka interesuje podjednako prirodne i društvene nauke, iako se koriste različita terminologija, paradigme i metode: životna istorija (*life history theory*) u evolucionoj biologiji, psihosocijalni celoživotni razvoj u psihologiji (*lifespan psychology*), a antropologija istražuje obrede prelaza između životnih faza i uloga. Mogu se pronaći neke paralele između veoma udaljenih disciplina. Na primer, u evolucionoj biologiji cilj je da se razume kako se koriste resursi tokom individualnog životnog ciklusa u domenima rasta, održavanja ili reprodukcije (Stulp i Sear 2019). U sociološkoj perspektivi životnog toka takođe govorimo o resursima, ali misleći na obrazovanje ili socijalni kapital, dok se evolucionarna „reprodukcija“ posmatra kroz istraživanje „tranzicije u roditeljstvo“.

U užem smislu, istraživanje životnog toka u društvenim naukama vezujemo za „paradigmu životnog toka“, koja se

utemeljila sedamdesetih godina 20. veka kao multidisciplinarna paradigma. Još 1964. godine iskristalisao se pojam „životni tok“ (*life course*), koji „obuhvata antropološko, sociološko i psihološko shvatanje starenja, posebno kako se pojedinac koji sazreva sa godinama kreće kroz očekivane sekvence društvenih uloga“ (Giele i Elder 1998: 16). Paradigma životnog toka nije samo nastavak tadašnjih istraživanja. Ona sveobuhvatno menja pogled na društvene fenomene, ističući „da se svaka tačka života mora posmatrati dinamično kao posledica prošlih iskustava i budućih očekivanja, kao integracija individualnih motiva i spoljnih ograničenja“ (Giele i Elder 1998: 19).

Istraživanja životnog toka oslanjaju se na longitudinalne nacрте i napredne statističke tehnike, na prospektivne i retrospektivne studije. Cilj je da se razluče tri grupe efekata: biološke promene (starosna dob), efekti socijalizacije i iskustva (događaji), i kulturna i institucionalna promena (istorijski efekti) (Giele i Elder 1998). U temporalnoj ravni odvija se „sinhronizacija individualnog vremena, porodičnog vremena, društvenog vremena i istorijskog vremena“ (Dewilde 2003: 117). Razlika u odnosu na kros-sekcionalna istraživanja opisana je vizuelnim poređenjem: umesto da pravi intermitentne „snimke“ stanja, pristup životnog toka pokušava da „filmski“ posmatra život (Giele i Elder 1998). U paradigmi se razvija

terminologija koja dinamički zahvata „tranzicije“ između faza života, „prekretnice“ i „ključne događaje“ koji oblikuju „životne trajektorije“ (Ignjatović 2009).

Iako osnivači ove paradigme ističu da su se oslanjali na prethodne pravce, treba istaći jasnu razliku u odnosu na njih. Paradigma životnog toka odstupa od modela životnog ciklusa koji ima zadate faze koje se sukcesivno prolaze, kao recimo, u celoživotnoj razvojnoj psihologiji. Takođe, paradigma životnog toka samo delimično sledi tradiciju ranijih pristupa koji su uzimali u obzir starosno doba ili faze u statusnoj promeni neke društvene grupe. Pokazaćemo na primeru istraživanja siromaštva koje su razlike između paradigme životnog toka i prethodnih pristupa.

Pre paradigme životnog toka govorilo se o *životnom ciklusu* sa fazama koje su sledile određeni redosled. Primer takvog pristupa je Rauntrijski model koji pokazuje amplitude od siromaštva u detinjstvu, višeg statusa mlade odrasle osobe, pa zatim do faze kad deca napuste dom i nastupa siromaštvo. Međutim, takav model je istorijski omeđen na radničku klasu početkom 20. veka, pa je sa posleratnom državom blagostanja u zapadnim demokratijama izgubio analitičku vrednost (Dewilde 2003). Isto tako, praćenje *životnog ciklusa porodice* nije bilo zadovoljavajuće rešenje za razumevanje promena u stratifikaciji, posebno za razumevanje fenomena siromaštva. U ovom modelu se posmatraju ključne porodične faze, npr. period sa malom decom, faza „napuštenog gnezda“ i sl. Takav model obično implicira neki model porodice, kao što je heteronormativna porodica sa dva člana koji su zaposleni. Sa promenom porodične strukture, broja članova, dužine vremena koje provode u nekoj fazi itd. pokazalo se da nije dovoljno posmatrati samo porodične faze, kao ni navedene definisane faze životnog

ciklusa. Uprkos nedostacima, pomenuti modeli još uvek se koriste, posebno u primenjenim istraživanjima i intervencijama u javnoj politici (na primer, kaže se da „deca imaju rizik od siromaštva“, čime se faza životnog ciklusa stavlja u fokus).

Paradigma životnog toka je pokušala da integriše korisne elemente pomenutih pristupa, dodajući nove dimenzije. Osnovni principi paradigme životnog toka definisani su kao svojevrsni metodološki „manifest“, pa ih ovde navodimo. Prvo, treba uzeti u obzir istorijsko vreme i mesto, koji povezuju makro i mikro nivoe opšteg i specifičnog, tj. individualni životi moraju biti dvostruko kontekstualizovani. Drugo, treba posmatrati „povezane živote“ (*linked lives*), što znači da se gledaju promene kod značajnih osoba sa kojima pojedinac gradi društvene odnose u najbližem okruženju. Treće, objašnjenje mora uzeti u obzir aktera, tj. agensnost (*human agency*) podrazumeva da su pojedinci usmereni ka ostvarenju ciljeva tokom života i da ne deluju samo reaktivno pod dejstvom struktura i faktora. Četvrto, temporalna orijentacija (*timing* ili tempiranje) podrazumeva „stratešku adaptaciju“ pojedinaca (ili porodica) prema spoljašnjim događajima, mogućnostima i preprekama (Elder i Giele 2009).

U navedenim principima vidimo neke nedostatke paradigme. Najpre, ona se velikim delom oslanja na strukturalno-funkcionalističke pozicije, pa Giele sledi Parsonsa u pomenutoj četvorodelnoj šemi, čak koristeći terminologiju iz Parsonsove AGIL sheme (Giele i Elder 1998). Ipak, osnivači su vremenom menjali metodološke smernice. Iako je kvantitativni pristup dominirao prethodnih decenija, sve više se ističe komplementarnost sa kvalitativnim metodama (Elder i Giele 2009). Tako se može reći da se klatno danas pomera ka istorijskim korenima, pa se sve više zagovara vraćanje „biografije“ u životni

tok, o čemu piše i jedna od autorki ovog tematskog broja (Smiljka Tomanović).

Čak i osnivači paradigme životnog toka vide kao svoje preteče tradiciju istraživanja „čikaške škole“ sociologije u prvoj polovini 20. veka, iako među njima postoje značajne razlike. Primarna svrha klasičnog biografskog metoda nije bila životni tok, već razumevanje neke društvene promene, kao što je prilagođavanje određenih grupa u novoj sredini u studiji „Poljski seljak u Evropi i Americi“ (Dewilde 2003). Ova tradicija je značajno doprinela fleksibilizaciji pristupa životnog toka u savremenim istraživanjima, ističući refleksivne momente i dinamičku perspektivu aktera na životnom putu. Društveni akter dobija drugačiju „boju“ kvalitativnom metodologijom, na kojoj se biografski pristup uglavnom zasniva. Važna odlika biografski usmerenih istraživanja danas jeste to što se odbacuje mogućnost predikcije ili „objektivnog“ rekonstruisanja života. Takođe, kumulativnost koja se dobija primenom longitudinalnog praćenja životnih priča dobija drugačiji smisao nego u kvantitativnim studijama. Dozvoljeno je preispitivanje proživljenog i planiranog u svakoj tački posmatranja tokom životnog puta. Mogli bismo reći da ovakav pristup životnom toku (ili tačnije, životnom putu) ima odlike posebne paradigme.

Zašto je *perspektiva životnog toka* (u širem smislu, ne samo paradigma) značajna za demografiju? Najpre, istorijska demografija je bila jedan od izvora inspiracije za paradigmu životnog toka (Giele i Elder 1998). Razni izvori demografskih podataka (vitalna statistika, razni registri) često služe kao osnova za razrađivanje retrospektivnih istraživanja (Hogan i Spearin 2009). Uostalom, kako kaže Ulenberg, životni tok počinje i završava se demografskim događajima – rođenjem i smrću (Uhlenberg 2009).

Zatim, neke demografske promene možemo razumeti u potpunosti samo pomoću uvida koji dolaze iz istraživanja životnog toka. Tako je danas roditeljstvo, nekadašnji marker odraslog doba, promenjeno, odloženo pomoću reproduktivne tehnologije ili sasvim odbačeno kao validna opcija voljno bezdetnog životnog puta. Sveobuhvatni pristup podrazumeva da treba uzeti u obzir promene u životnom toku iz interdisciplinarnе perspektive, da bismo shvatili savremeno preispitivanje, odlaganje ili odbacivanje životnih šema.

Perspektiva životnog toka ukazuje na neke nedostatke demografskih istraživanja i da treba preispitati određene pojmove i pristupe. Starost (*age*) je jedan od važnih demografskih parametara, ali ona često dobija smisao metodološkog determinizma koji daje privid objašnjenja. U perspektivi životnog toka postavlja se pitanje granica kohorte i njenog istorijskog kontekstualizovanja. Generacije rođene početkom neke istorijski značajne decenije i krajem iste decenije mogu biti mnogo „udaljenije“ nego akteri u nekoj drugačijoj, manje trubulentnoj deceniji. Perspektiva životnog toka daje drugačiju „boju“ dimenziji starosnog doba, omogućava da se prevaziđe rigidnost kohorti i starosnog determinizma.

Perspektiva životnog toka olakšava da razumemo društveno konstruisanje starosnih normi, granica između generacija i starosnih grupa, dinamike promene ključnih događaja u ovim fazama. Na primer, nekada su porodične tranzicije u odraslom dobu (pre svega brak i rađanje) bile dosta ujednačene i vremenski omeđene. Iako fertilitet još uvek zavisi od prethodne životne istorije i bioloških ograničenja, individualne putanje sve više postaju fleksibilne zahvaljujući novim reproduktivnim tehnologijama. Drugi primer je obrazovna struktura stanovništva koja zavisi od obrazovnih

putanja pojedinaca, posebno od ključnih tačaka ulaska i izlaska u/iz obrazovnog procesa tokom života.

Terminologija životnog toka daje novu dimenziju demografskim fenomenima. Umesto „rađanja“ govorimo o „postajanju roditeljem“. „Rađanje“ je samo jedan indikator šireg društvenog i psihološkog fenomena koji ima razna značenja i modalitete kroz društvenu i ličnu istoriju. „Postati roditelj“ imalo je drugačiju vremensku, psihološku i društvenu dinamiku u kasnom socijalističkom periodu krajem osamdesetih godina 20. veka i u poznoj društvenoj tranziciji danas u Srbiji. Pri tome treba imati na umu da postajanje roditeljem nije „jednokratno i vremenski omeđeno događaj“, već deo dugotrajnog procesa koji ima svoje transformacije na identitetskom nivou. Ako se to ima u vidu, bolje ćemo razumeti „pad fertiliteta“ ili neke druge demografske procese.

Životni tok može da se posmatra kao struktura „pređenog puta“, i kao i svaka društvena struktura predstavlja okvir mogućnosti i ograničenja za individue. Prethodni životni događaji utiču na mogućnost ostvarenja sledećih, pa tako na primer rani brak i rano roditeljstvo mogu predstavljati ograničenje za nastavak školovanja i podrazumevaju rizičnije uključivanje na tržište rada. Time što određeni životni događaji stvaraju povoljne a drugi manje povoljne uslove za ostvarivanje određenih tranzicija, posebno se bave teorije kumulativnih prednosti i nedostataka (George i Ferraro 2016) i teorija kumulativnih nejednakosti (Ferraro, Shippee i Shafer 2009). Prva polazi od toga da oni koji su rođeni privilegovani tokom života ubrzano stižu prednosti zbog strukture životnih događaja koji stvaraju povoljne životne opcije, i obrnuto, oni koji su rođeni deprivilegovani suočavaju se sa izazovima zbog ograničavajućih

društvenih struktura i prethodnih životnih događaja. Druga teorija se fokusira posebno na nejednakosti, ističući da se određeni „zaostaci“ mogu sustići tokom života, ali da to zavisi od istorijskih, političkih, društvenih i ličnih karakteristika (Ferraro, Shippee i Shafer 2009).

Tematski broj „Životni tok i demografija“ ima cilj da pokaže relevantnost perspektive životnog toka za demografiju. Polazeći od shvatanja životnog toka u širem smislu, a ne isključivo kroz „paradigmu životnog toka“, želimo da pokažemo da postoje tačke koje povezuju Van Genepa i Eldera, čikaški biografski metod i kvantitativne metode, demografsko i bioetičko razumevanje životnog toka. Pokušaj interdisciplinarnе komunikacije predstavlja glavnu motivaciju urednika broja koji su sa saradnicima počeli pre dve decenije da istražuju neke aspekte životnog toka u Srbiji: Tomanović i Ignjatović 2006, 2010; Ignjatović 2009; Tomanović i dr. 2012; Tomanović 2012; Tomanović, Stanojević i Ljubičić 2016. U međuvremenu su nastavljena istraživanja i interesovanje za perspektivu životnog toka, o čemu će čitaoci moći da saznaju iz radova u ovom specijalnom broju.

Tematski broj je uključio radove iz različitih disciplina: sociologije, antropologije, psihologije, bioetike. Istraživanja se razlikuju po nacrtu (longitudinalna, kros-sekcionalna, etnografska), obimu (nacionalna i komparativna). Ako posmatramo temporalnu dimenziju, neki radovi se bave procesima dugog trajanja, prateći generacijske, istorijski omeđene promene vrednosti iz perspektive životnog toka (na primer, Z. Pavlović), dok su neki radovi usmereni na agensnost i refleksivnost individualnih biografija u odnosu na konjunkturane i disruptivne momente koji modeluju životni put u domenu obrazovanja, zaposlenja i porodičnih tranzicija (na primer, S. Tomanović).

Radovi u ovom broju istražuju specifične teme: prelaz iz obrazovanja u sferu rada, dekohabitaciju i tranziciju u odraslost, političku participaciju, vrednosti, socijalnu politiku i životno zadovoljstvo, dugovečnost kao aspekt životnog toka, preduzetničke intencije. Rad S. Tomanić bavi se obrazovno-radnom tranzicijom mladih iz radničke klase, dajući podjednako teorijski i empirijski doprinos na osnovu rezultata dvadesetogodišnjeg longitudinalnog kvalitativnog istraživanja. U radu o „produženoj“ i „proživljenoj“ mladosti, K. Mitrović povezuje svoje etnografsko istraživanje sa nasleđem antropoloških klasika (A. Van Genep, M. Mid), pružajući uvid u generacijske razlike u shvatanju mladosti i prelazu u odraslost. Rad V. Mitrovića posmatra životni tok iz biomedicinske perspektive, preispitujući bioetičke aspekte produženja života i dugovečnosti, u kontekstu promena društvenih uloga i funkcionisanja u fazi života pozne starosti. V. Mentus istražuje način na koji je odnos između godina starosti i subjektivnog blagostanja posredovan stepenom socijalnih transfera na nivou evropskih društava. K. Ognjenović analizira preduzetničke intencije mladih tokom studija na dva fakulteta u Srbiji, kao deo radnih i životnih putanja koje zavise od sklonosti mladih da preuzmu rizik. D. Stanojević i A. Gvozdanović analiziraju odnos političke participacije i životnih događaja mladih (završetak obrazovanja, zaposlenje, zasnivanje porodice) u evropskim zemljama u odnosu na stepen demokratičnosti zemlje.

Autori su u tematskom broju pokazali da je životni tok kompleksan i da se mora sagledati u celini, a ne segmentirano (antropolozi bi rekli „holistički“). Rezultati prikazanih istraživanja pokazuju da je potrebna komplementarnost pristupa i disciplina, na primer psihologije i sociologije (Settersten 2019), jer neki aspekti životne

dinamike zavise od psiholoških činilaca više nego od strukturnih ili identitetskih. Takođe, tranziciju u odraslost možemo dobro sagledati samo iz kombinovane antropološke i sociološke perspektive. Zbog toga neki klasični autori ostaju relevantni za razumevanje životnog toka danas. Tako je Van Genep aktuelan nakon sto godina sa svojom pojmovnom matricom, posebno konceptom liminalnosti u istraživanjima prelaza između životnih faza i statusa (Van Genep 2005).

Raznovrsnost radova u ovom broju pokazuje da će uvek biti značajnih razlika unutar disciplina i pristupa životnom toku. U tradiciji biografskog metoda naglašava se idiosinkratičnost individualnog životnog puta, životna priča koja se temelji na refleksivnosti i agensnosti, dok kvantitativni pristupi tragaju za obrascima na različitim nivoima agregacije, posmatrajući kumulativne efekte faktora koji usmeravaju životne trajektorije. Ipak, svi pristupi životnom toku teže da obuhvate dinamičnost, procesualnost, temporalnost, specifičnost, kontekstualnost i višeslojnost, imajući na umu da *životni tok* nije isto što i *tok života*, koji će uvek ostati neuhvatljiv i za najsavršenije metodološke instrumente i teorijske okvire.

Suzana Ignjatović¹ 

Dragan Stanojević² 

¹ Centre for Sociological and Anthropological Research, Institute of Social Sciences, Belgrade, Serbia

² Department of Sociology, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade, Belgrade, Serbia

Correspondence:

Suzana Ignjatović, Institute of Social Sciences, Kraljice Natalije 45, Belgrade, Serbia

Email:

signjatovic@idn.org.rs

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Članci

Articles



Bringing social biography to life course studies: Agency and reflexivity in education-to-work transitions in young adults' biographies

Smiljka Tomanović¹ 

ABSTRACT

The paper is based on my longitudinal qualitative study, which takes a “social biography approach” to exploring and interpreting biographical sequences in a person’s life course from early childhood to young adulthood. Against the background of a recent debate that argues for bringing “life” back to life course research through the implementation of qualitative data, the paper explores how life course studies could gain from taking a social biography approach to youth transitions. I focus on analysing education-to-work transitions within the biographies of a young woman and a young man from working-class families. The analysis shows that their education-to-work transitions were not based on linear trajectories, but their decision-making agency was path-dependent on their previous agency in different biographical contexts, and also linked to the lives of significant others. I argue that there is a heuristic benefit to including reflexivity within a study of the life course through the actors’ interpretation of the impact of country-specific “opportunity structures” on their education and employment. Analysis of the two biographies has also revealed that the emotions and satisfaction displayed in the actors’ reflections also had an impact on their agency in relation to education and work. After discussing the compatibility of the social biography approach with life course studies, I conclude that life course studies benefit from including a biographisation to the contextualisation of transition process.

KEYWORDS

social biography, education-to-work transition, agency, reflexivity, life course, Serbia

*¹Faculty of Philosophy,
University of Belgrade,
Belgrade, Serbia*

Correspondence:

Smiljka Tomanović,
Faculty of Philosophy,
University of Belgrade,
Čika Ljubina 18–20,
Belgrade, Serbia

Email:

smiljka.tomanovic@gmail.
com

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 LINKING THE SOCIAL BIOGRAPHY APPROACH, AGENCY, AND REFLEXIVITY TO LIFE COURSE

The concept of life course was introduced by Elder's seminal study "Children of the Great Depression" (Elder 1974), while as an interdisciplinary approach it became particularly prominent in social studies from the late 1980s. Since then, "a set of interrelated presuppositions, concepts, and methods that are used to study these age-graded, socially embedded roles" (Mortimer and Shanahan 2003: 11) has been established as a paradigm based on five core principles: 1. Each life phase affects the entire life course: life-span development; 2. Individuals actively construct their biography: human agency; 3. Life course is embedded in historical events: time and place; 4. Social circumstances and events influence transitions: timing of decisions; 5. Social relationships and networks contribute to the shaping of biographies: linked lives (Elder, Johnson and Crosnoe 2003: 11; Heinz 2009a: 4). Although they are all inevitably entangled, the second principle is particularly relevant for my argument in this paper, while the third, fourth, and fifth are also applicable, as will be evident from the analysis.

As one of the central concepts of the life course paradigm, transitions are explored and understood within the above-listed principles as contextualised processes (Vogt 2018) or "time-dependent passages of individuals between life spheres", rather than in terms of "psychosocial or developmental assumptions or normative expectations regarding the correct timing and sequencing of becoming adult" (Heinz 2009a: 4). Apart from being sometimes wrongly

used as a descriptive concept related to youth, the transition to adulthood has been the most studied of various life course transitions (see e.g. Kovacheva and Hristozova 2022). I agree with the standpoint that the transition from education to employment is central to the transition to adulthood (Heinz 2009a; Roberts 2018). Since "It influences how and when other life stage transitions are made, and as with all other youth life stage transitions, the outcomes are likely to have lifelong consequences" (Roberts 2018: 72), it is also "pivotal" in societies such as Serbia, which normatively emphasise family transitions as central (Tomanović and Ignjatović 2006, 2010). Recent comparative research on differences in education-to-work transitions in Europe focused on the macro-institutional frameworks related to pace and modes of employment ("employability") (e.g. Eurofound 2014). They have detected several common trends within most developed European and OECD countries (see Raffe 2014: 183) and numerous sources of country-specific differences (Raffe 2014: 184). Some researchers also attempted to establish typologies of multiple youth transitions (e.g. Walther 2006) or models of family transitions (e.g. Iacovou 2002), mostly relying on the Esping-Andersen typology of welfare regimes, while others distinguish between "occupational" (regulated) and "unregulated" education-to-work transitions and a mixture of the two (Roberts 2018). Regional comparative studies point out that the education-to-work transition among young people from Southeast European and particularly Western Balkan countries is highly "unregulated": there is still a high rate of unemployment, as well as so-called "flexible" but actually precarious employment, which is pushing them

towards emigration and the normalisation of non-merit factors in finding employment (such as nepotism, clientelism, and corruption) (Lavrič, Tomanović and Jusić 2019). As is the case in some South European countries, in Western Balkan countries these trends have caused prolonged material dependence on parental families within a post-socialist version of a “sub-protective” (or “familistic”) youth transition regime (Walther, Strauber and Pohl 2009) and postponed family transitions (Lavrič, Tomanović and Jusić 2019).

This paper is based on my longitudinal qualitative study, in which I employ the “social biography approach” – reconstructing biographical periods in a person’s life course from early childhood to young adulthood. In addition to this method, I use social biography as a conceptual framework for the study in order to explore the complex interrelations between structure, agency, and identity within time perspectives (Tomanović 2012, 2019, 2021).¹ This approach assumes that social biographies are being formed through a process whereby the individual shapes his/her biography in relation to the social context: its structural features (enabling and/or restricting), the resources available, agency, and personal identity (Tomanović 2012, 2019, 2021). The social biography approach also incorporates dynamic and processual aspects of the life course paradigm by demonstrating ways in which social and historical features (“time and place”), and structural and institutional factors (“social circumstances”) reflect on the individual’s life, shaping and directing the person’s agency in different situations and life phases.

¹ The method of research and analysis will be explained in more detail in the next section of the paper.

The life course paradigm is considered to be very flexible in including a combination of methods, and furthermore the possibility to fill the gaps left by each group of methods on its own (Heinz 2003: 73–92). Against the background of a recent line of debate that argues for bringing “life” back to life course study through the implementation of qualitative data (e.g. Nico 2016), I explore in the paper how life course research could benefit from the biographical approach to youth transitions. My argument is partly in line with life course studies based on interviews that point out the significance of relating the concept of agency to “biographical action orientations” (e.g. Evans and Heinz 1994) or “biographical choices” that demonstrate various action strategies by which “young people from different social origins actively pursue individual goals when choosing to follow or to change transition pathways” (Heinz 2009b: 391). Another study has informed my research and analysis by implementing the “biography backwards” method of reconstructing biographical sequences (Henderson et al. 2006). Through exploring and interpreting youth transitions in the UK with the qualitative longitudinal approach, the study has demonstrated that young people change their agency in different life situations and contexts. Some biographical contexts, particularly so-called “extended moments” – such as the transition from one educational level to the next after dropping out of school, or when confronting educated unemployment – challenge young people to “in a sense ‘discover’ or ‘perform’ their agency” (Jeffrey 2012: 246). Exploring and interpreting agency within a biography reveals that it takes different forms and has different meanings at different stages of an individual’s biography

(Tomanović 2019, 2021). It is my intention to explore agency related to education and work during those “extended moments” within the biographies of two young adults – a young woman and a young man from working-class families from my longitudinal qualitative study (Tomanović 2021).

I study agency as a capacity to act intentionally, which is the result of a process that takes into account both contextual structures and the person’s aspirations, and which is based on reflection, compromise, negotiation, and resourcefulness. Consequently, I interpret agency as socially bounded – “a socially situated process, shaped by the experiences of the past, the chances present in the current moment and the perceptions of possible futures” as defined by Karen Evans (2002: 262). I argue that socially bounded agency is also embedded in changing biographical contexts in the life course (Tomanović 2019, 2021).

Agency is not only influenced by external, but also by internal structures as “internalized frames of reference” (Evans 2007: 93). Together with embedded dispositions, reflexivity mediates between structure and agency (Caetano 2021: 230). In making decisions on whether, when, and how to act, individuals reflect on their (structured) circumstances and resources, their aspirations, plans, relationships, and modes of action. In contrast with some viewpoints, that argue that reflexivity is a kind of cultural capital of more privileged (Giddens 1991) and educated (Heinz 2009b) people, I support the view that reflexivity is essential for the agency of all young people, but there is a significant difference in “what they are reflexive about” (Farrugia 2013: 690). Reflexivity is associated with their “material circumstances, their cultural capital and, crucially, the local structural

conditions they face” (Farrugia 2013: 691), and it is also contextually shaped (Caetano 2015; Nico and Caetano 2017). On the other hand, whether or not reflexivity would produce actions based on choices is “still heavily reliant on the socioeconomic or class position of young people” (Threadgold and Nilan 2009: 54) and their gender (Adkins 2003). When reflexivity is realised through actions as a product of a “post-reflexive choice” (Adams 2006: 522), it elicits feelings of satisfaction and self-confidence (Threadgold 2011). When not realised into aspired actions, however, reflexivity produces feelings of frustration and “painful awareness” of the individual’s lack of choices (Adams 2006: 525).² Reflexivity is inherent to “biographisation” – “the process by which young people reflectively relate their agency to contextual features (structural opportunities and constraints, normative expectations and demands, etc.) to their needs, wishes, and interests” (Walther, Stauber and Pohl 2009: 105). I argue that there is a heuristic benefit of including biographisation within the study of a life course. By including reflexivity connected to making decisions within the different life stages that create biographical contexts, we can enhance our understanding of how emotions associated with certain events and relationships give them relevance, and therefore impact and direct people’s lives (Nico 2016: 2109).

Although the impact of young people’s agency is recognised and acknowledged as important in the education-to-work transition, the research connecting it to reflexivity (see e.g. Devadason 2007) and to life course and biography (see e.g. Nico 2021) is still rather scarce.

² For more discussion on different aspects of agency in the social biography approach, see Tomanović (2019).

It is my intention to contribute to filling that knowledge gap by exploring agency and reflexivity related to education and work through analysis of the selected young adults' biographies and within the innovative framework of the social biography approach.

1.2 THE SERBIAN CONTEXT AND "OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURES" FOR EDUCATION-TO-WORK TRANSITIONS

Both life course and social biography approaches place (young people's) agency within structural, cultural, and institutional frameworks of particular social context. I will outline, in short, the features of those frameworks that are relevant for education-to-work transitions in Serbia. A number of studies discussed the impact of the 2008 global economic crises and consequent austerity measures on young people's lives and transitions (see e.g. Schoon and Bynner 2019), and more recently the impact of the global crisis caused by the current COVID-19 pandemic (see e.g. special issues of journal *Young* 2021a, 2021b). My argument in describing and interpreting the context of society in Serbia is that we are experiencing a "chronic social crisis" (Vigh 2008). The violent breakdown of former Yugoslavia and its socialist regime was followed by two phases of transition denoted as "blocked" (during the '90s) and "unblocked" post-socialist transformation. Recent macroeconomic growth based on the neoliberal model of market reforms, accompanied by the corrupt state and weak institutions, has resulted in a constant and significant increase in social inequalities and the highest income inequalities in Europe (Arandarenko, Krstić and Žarković Rakić 2017). Since the major social systems –

market economy, the rule of law, and the welfare system – have not been institutionally consolidated and regulated during these three decades, I argue that it is justified to characterise the social context in Serbia as a "chronic social crisis" (Tomanović 2021).³

Open access to higher education is a legacy of the socialist period, but the closure of social structures and also social reproduction within the social strata have been taking place since the 1970s. Recent studies point to a high level of reproduction of educational inequality, explored through indicators such as the odds ratio for educational mobility, inequality in the accumulation of cultural capital, inequality in access to state support measures, and inequality in educational aspirations and plans (Tomanović and Stanojević 2015; Lavrič, Tomanović and Jusić 2019). The quality of education is comparatively low, since almost one-third of pupils tested by PISA are found to be functionally illiterate, while the share is significantly higher among families from the lowest quintile of socioeconomic status (Arandarenko, Krstić and Žarković Rakić 2017: 6). The transition from education to work in Serbia is prolonged and uncertain, marked by a decreasing but still high unemployment rate, significant long-term unemployment, and a rising share of precarious work among young people (Stanojević 2016). At the same time, the institutional framework for supporting education-to-work and family transitions is weak – there are scarce and poorly targeted public policy measures for facilitating the transition to adulthood.

³ It is noteworthy that the analyses in the paper encompass data, accounts, and findings from the early 1990s until 2014, therefore not including the latest global crisis caused by the COVID-19 pandemic.

Within this context, young people in Serbia perceive and to certain extent accept and normalise nepotism and political clientelism as actual mechanisms that provide employment (Tomanović and Stanojević 2015; Lavrič, Tomanović and Jusić 2019).

The risks of an unregulated and insecure labour market create an extensive financial and housing dependence among young people on their parental families (Tomanović et al. 2012; Tomanović and Stanojević 2015; Lavrič, Tomanović and Jusić 2019). This is supported by a highly accepted familistic orientation that their children's education is foremost the parents' prerogative. Parents therefore do not support combining work and schooling, for which there are no institutional opportunities during secondary and university education. Together with precarious employment, this lack of material autonomy and security produces the feeling of existential uncertainty, which is one of the basic structural constraints that prevents family formation (Tomanović, Stanojević and Ljubičić 2016), and also one of the major push factors for emigration among the young (Lavrič, Tomanović and Jusić 2019). Since the structural risks and constraints related to a highly unregulated labour market and weak and unreliable institutions have been on-going for more than two decades, we can argue that they create a context of chronic social crisis (Tomanović 2019). Within such a social context, young people develop flexible and temporally fragmented strategies (Tomanović et al. 2012), as uncertainty is incorporated into various domains of their biographies, notably their aspirations and plans (Tomanović 2019, 2021). In accordance with conclusions from a comparative study on educa-

tion-to-work transitions (Raffe 2014) that the social context in each country is unique and that it is highly relevant to treat each as a separate case, I intend to study opportunity structures in the context of Serbian society. The concept that was introduced by Roberts refers to a set of determinants of education-to-work transitions that are "formed primarily by the inter-relationships between family backgrounds, education, labour market processes and employers' recruitment practices" that "create distinct career routes which govern young people's progress" (Roberts 2009: 355). After introducing the method of study, I will explore, through biographies of the two young adults, how opportunities and constraints influenced their agency related to education and employment within different life stages, and how they interpret the structures in their reflections.

2 METHOD: EXPLORING AND INTERPRETING THE SOCIAL BIOGRAPHIES OF YOUNG PEOPLE

The paper is based on data and findings from the longitudinal qualitative research that I carried out from 1993 until 2014. The study started as cross-sectional research based on structured and semi-structured interviews in two contrasting urban social settings: a working-class suburban area and an area in central Belgrade.⁴ The study was not designed as longitudinal from the beginning, but the changing social context of Serbian society provoked the development of a longitudinal study that was flexible and contingent

⁴ For a detailed description of the selection of the respondents and the longitudinal qualitative research process, see Tomanović (2019).

(Tomanović 2003).⁵ The longitudinal qualitative study was carried out in four waves, every seven years from 1993, when the children were four to seven years old, until 2014, when the respondents were young adults aged 24 to 28 years old. The empirical evidence was obtained through semi-structured interviews with the parents (in pairs when possible) and the children/young people, carried out separately (24 interviews in the first, 42 in the second, 40 in the third wave), and through observation during the first three waves and with 18 young adults in the final wave. The interviews were recorded with the respondents' consent and subsequently transcribed verbatim.

The interviews in every research wave were organised around repetitive topics, such as education, material situation, work, housing, emotional relations, leisure time, social contacts and networks, and family relations. The analytical and interpretative aim was to reconstruct the biographical sequences of seven-year periods in the child's/young person's life. In the last two interviews, I applied the so-called lifelines account (Thomson and Holland 2002) by asking the young people/adults to imagine themselves in four areas: housing, education, work, and personal relationships at the ages of 25, 30 and 35. The retrospective and prospective accounts were analysed by the method of constant comparison (Boeije 2002; Charmaz 2006), when I employed a twofold comparison approach. I used a synchronic (cross-sectional comparison of the topic among the different respondents to detect and explore emerging patterns. Diachronic

⁵ For a detailed and elaborated discussion of the applied longitudinal qualitative method, its advantages and its limitations, see Tomanović (2020).

comparison involved analysing the topic within a particular biography in time perspective as a means of interpreting its changing meaning and significance in different life stages that comprise complex biographical sequences.

In order to explore and interpret the significance and meaning of education and work in the respondents' biographies, I have employed in this paper the same method as described above to analyse the interviews with the two young people. The intention of the paper is to provide the actors' perspective on those two important domains of their life course. The research goals include exploring their perceptions and satisfaction with their schooling and work and obtaining their reflections on making decisions related to education and employment in different life stages. Through analysis and interpretation, I intend to respond to the theoretical aim of evaluating benefits by including the social biography approach in life course studies.

3 ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

3.1 SLAVICA – REFOCUSING WHILE “THE FUTURE IS ON HOLD”

Slavica was seven years old when I first interviewed her in 1993, and 28 at the time of the last interview in 2014.⁶ She comes from a family of workers in a suburban neighbourhood of Belgrade. Both her parents graduated from vocational schools and were employed in the industrial sector, but they both lost their jobs

⁶ Her biography has also been presented and analyzed in Tomanović (2019, 2021). Therefore, some of the quotes from her interviews presented here are used in the previous studies, and they are taken verbatim from the data sets from the interviews in relevant years noted in the brackets.

during the post-socialist transformation. This meant they had to engage in precarious work: her mother as a sales assistant and her father by doing various odd jobs in the informal sector, such as repairing cars and working as a painter/decorator. Slavica is the youngest of three children in the family; she has a significantly older brother and sister who had both graduated from vocational schools, started working, moved out, and formed their own families at the time of the last interview. In Slavica's family, traditional features, such as honesty and obedience, were always particularly valued, while her parents also supported the attitude that independence could be achieved through taking on one's own responsibilities and those of the family.

Slavica had several reflections on her education at different stages of life, and those related to the "extended moments" of her biography: periods connected to educational phases (Jeffrey 2012). The second interview took place when she was finishing elementary school at the age of 14, thus she reflected briefly on how she perceived different subjects at school, but also on her plans for further education. At that point, she had expressed her wishes and plans to go to vocational school for beauticians and to open a beauty salon with her elder sister, who was a hairdresser. In her retrospection on that period during the third interview, Slavica reflected on her decision-making process concerning secondary school. After spending a long time preparing for the final exams that are considered entrance exams for most secondary schools, vocational and comprehensive alike, she had suddenly decided to pursue her interest in drawing, and instead took the exam to enrol in art school for design. In that way she expressed agency

that conflicted with the wishes of her parents, who would have preferred that she go to a school for administrative jobs. Her account reveals that she was aware that her chances of passing the special entrance exam for a highly competitive design art school after just 10 days of preparation were very slim, but she took the chance nonetheless. Since she did not get into the desired school, she then decided to enrol in the one she considered the most similar: a vocational school for graphic design. Although her parents disapproved because the school did not have a good reputation at that time and they were worried about her being surrounded by bad students, Slavica expressed high satisfaction with her choice of school: *I don't regret finishing that school, it was awesome – my company and teachers and everything.* (2007)

She was particularly satisfied with her work experience (organised by the school) at a printing firm that she extended as paid work during summer vacations:

At that time, I was going to folklore dance, then that work practice at school and outside school, and I managed to see all the people and socialise, and my grades were never better. I was so organised. And I made an impression [at the printing firm], so they called me to work there in the summer. That was awesome for me. I earned an allowance so I could buy myself a pair of jeans. (2007)

Slavica's positive experience and satisfaction in secondary school informed her decision to take on university studies that would combine graphic design and engineering, and she had to move to another town to pursue those studies. She did not qualify for the desired university course, but enrolled in another:

ecological engineering. During the third interview when she was 21, Slavica expressed satisfaction with the studies, even though they were not her first choice. Her “post-reflective choice” (Adams 2006) and agency to pursue her educational aspirations gave her feelings of confidence and satisfaction at that period of her biography. She was dedicated to finishing her master’s degree and was anticipating good prospects for employment afterwards: *Considering that we want to enter the European Union, the EU requires that each firm has an engineer employed in environmental protection. I think that there is a chance [of getting a job]. She expressed that her aspirations for the future would be to complete her education, to get a job in her profession, to start a family, and to get a promotion by the age of 35: I think that I have more ambitions that might not be visible, but in five years’ time [from the age of 30 to 35], if you put effort into it, you are bound to advance.* (2007)

Slavica exercised an independent agency, sometimes confronting her parents’ wishes concerning school, but she also acknowledged that her parents provided great support for her endeavours. With no institutional support mechanisms, she would not have been able to pursue university education without her parents’ provision and financial help. Her educational aspirations and plans were maintained by her parents, who in their interviews valued university education and expressed a wish that at least their youngest child should pursue it with their support. They restructured their resources so that they could finance her studies in another town, under great strain and with the help of the two elder children, which is evident in the following account from the interview with Slavica’s mother, who also described

changing “opportunity structures” in comparison to the socialist period:

She is on the state budget, allegedly free education. But you see how much a textbook costs and how much this and that is. It all really costs a lot. We are going to support her wishes, but the government should do something. But in a country like this, it is absurd to expect anything, but everyone copes as they can. I can say, luckily, we have given her something, our children help a bit, so we will cope somehow, but it is hard. It is hard to support a student today; the good times are over. Those times will never return... (2007)

At the time of the last interview, Slavica, then aged 28, had graduated and got a master’s degree in ecological engineering. After finishing a four-year course, she returned to Belgrade to her parental home so she would not be a financial burden to her parents. She described the period of finishing the final year of undergraduate studies and then doing her master’s studies as prolonged, since she had to work and study at the same time. She was, nevertheless, determined to finish her studies, taking exam after exam, and eventually got her master’s degree at the age of 27. She expressed disappointment with the quality of knowledge she got from her university studies, since she did not feel confident that she was qualified enough for her profession:

Our education in general is too extensive. They don’t teach and train you specifically for a particular job. Instead you can do this and that, but actually the question is whether you can really do it or you can’t. (2014)

On the other hand, when re-evaluating her efforts in education, which did

not lead her to the career she originally aspired to, she expressed satisfaction: *I am satisfied that I have finished. None of my friends from high school went anywhere further, they all stayed at the same level. [...] I am satisfied from that side, I have accomplished something for myself.* (2014)

While still finishing her studies, Slavica first took a precarious job as a waitress. During the last interview period, she was working full-time as a sales assistant in a cake shop, a job she had attained through a relative two years earlier. Her only satisfaction from the job was that it was regular, with regulated insurance and a steady income. On the other hand, she was aware that it was below her qualifications and that it did not provide any kind of opportunity for advancement or promotion: *There is no progress – you are a salesperson and that is it. I am not satisfied with that, I can't develop in that working position.* She had considered the job to be temporary and transitional at the beginning: *And it was like – never mind, it's just until something in my profession shows up. But nothing in my profession has shown up to this day.* (2014)

Slavica articulated elaborated reflections on her prospects for employment in the last interview. Although she anticipated that the EU standards would make her profession required in every company, her experience was that there was a "little demand" for her profile since job announcements appear online just "once in two or three months". She felt that she was without any social capital because her potential professional contacts were left in the city where she studied, while she is "left alone" with "no one from the branch here in Belgrade". She reflected on what she could do to improve her chances to find a job in her

profession, such as joining the association of engineers and taking professional seminars and English language lessons: *It means I am developing, I am expressing an interest.* (2014)

Slavica was also contemplating working as a volunteer (as an unpaid intern) in her profession if it would provide her with knowledge, skills, and work experience. She was at the same time comparing the indefinite prospects of potential employment with the benefits of having a regular job and a steady income at that moment:

I was ready to volunteer. But on the other hand, I have my wage, I have a long-distance relationship, so I have to organise to go to him, that he comes here, for us to go to cinema, theatre, wherever... If I didn't work and only volunteered, I would lose most of it. Somehow, I am not ready for that. If I knew what I was fighting for, then I could spend 10 months volunteering so I would learn, I don't need compensation, and we will see later what to do. But there is no space for something like that. (2014)

The last account indicates that Slavica was refocusing her agency to the relational domain, where she felt more competent and satisfied. On one hand, that was a more gendered identity position (Tomanović 2021), which was attuned with life course expectations and norms about the proper time for young women to form a family. The main source of her dissatisfaction was her partner's unemployment and her underemployment, which she perceived as a constraint on their emotional relationship: *Primarily with my job [not satisfied], since it is hindering me emotionally. We cannot live together; our relationship cannot develop.* (2014) She reflected on how to reconcile

her professional aspirations with her wish to start living with her partner. If her partner, who in her opinion had professional prospects, were to get a job, she would give up pursuing her professional goals, move to his town, and take any job available:

I thought of finding a more normal job, or that he finds something – so we could combine what we have. But I gave up on the idea of changing jobs because it is hard to find one in the first place. We now hope that he will find something, so we will see what we will do. (2014)

Besides these pragmatic plans regarding employment, Slavica at the same time displayed that she would not give up on her professional aspirations, but instead put her 'future on hold': *Well, in seven years' time, I think I will have to have done something myself with regard to my profession, a better job, specialisation in any sense. (2014)* In addition to articulated dissatisfaction with her work and career path, Slavica also displayed her identity insecurity within the process of adjusting her aspirations and plans: *I don't know who I am. I'm lost in time and space. (2014)*

3.2 MIRKO – RELYING ON HIS OWN RESOURCEFULNESS

Mirko was also seven years old for the first interview in 1993, and 28 for the last interview in 2014.⁷ He is the eldest child in a working-class family and he has two younger sisters. Mirko's parents were

⁷ His biography has been also presented and analysed in Tomanović (2021). Therefore, some of the quotes from his interviews presented here are used in the previous study, and they are taken verbatim from the data sets from the interviews in relevant years noted in the brackets.

working double shifts combining formal employment and informal work during entire study period: his father as an industrial worker and a security guard for night shifts, and his mother as a cleaner at a kindergarten during the week and cleaning houses over the weekend as an extra job, until she retired. Family unity and solidarity were particularly valued, as were traditional gender and family roles. Unlike in Slavica's case, education, particularly university education, did not have particular significance in Mirko's family. Education was perceived to have an instrumental goal, and the parents had hoped that Mirko would attend an "easy school" that would provide him with material standards and security.

Since preschool, Mirko's central preoccupation was playing basketball and his aspirations towards a profession in sports marked his decision-making process during different stages of his biography. Despite his father's aspirations that he would go to some "easy school" (presumably vocational), Mirko enrolled at a sports gymnasium so he would be with his friends who participated in various sports: *The company of my friends suited me, they were all sportsmen, so I ended up there. (2007)*

His regular school was interrupted by a family crisis as the family separated temporarily when the father left them when Mirko was 16. Mirko was never willing to talk about that situation, but his mother confirmed that it was a difficult period for all family members. The family crisis marked a turning point in Mirko's biography when he exhibited agency by leaving regular schooling, shifting to part-time education, and finding employment. Since he was not willing to talk about the family crisis, he did not elaborate on the decisions he made or his reflexivity and feelings attached to them.

Mirko got his first job at his uncle's firm – doing physical work at first, then furniture installation and driving: Great, I have a great crew in the firm. My uncle is the owner, so he is full of understanding for my obligations outside work. And the boss is a good friend of mine. So, we know each other and we function well. (2007)

Mirko's agency from the age of 16 is connected to balancing employment with basketball training in order to pursue his anticipated career in sports. Analysis of the accounts from different stages of his biography reveals that, in his reflections, he considered playing basketball to be his profession, while paid work was just a necessity for securing material existence. Therefore, his evaluation of employment was considering the flexibility of the job to provide time and possibility for intensive training. He took into consideration the understanding his first employer had shown for those needs when he was deciding whether to change job later on. He stayed until his employer had found a replacement for him, although he had another job offer:

I had their understanding, so I gave them my understanding to stay longer, although I felt dissatisfaction, not so much with the firm itself, but with the job description that wasn't fulfilling me in a good way, but in a negative one. So, with that kind of compromise, I stayed as long as I did. (2014)

The other employer could not wait for him, so Mirko remained jobless:

For a year, year and a half I was just doing sports, since that is what I have been doing whole my life, besides work [...] I took that break to rest properly, to think a bit and to return to physical activities until I decided to

start working with my brother-in-law [his sister's husband]. He is in fruit wholesale, so I am now with them. And it feels nice. It is a lot of work again, but it is well paid. (2014)

Mirko got both his jobs through his personal contacts, so he was not using institutional channels for employment, nor was he considering political clientelism, although he was aware of the public discourse: *Everybody says that if you want some kind of employment, it all goes through the party membership card.* On the other hand, he stated that he would not want to be "labelled" as a member of any party.

Education did not have any particular significance for Mirko's work, which did not require any formal education, but rather skills such as driving and installing furniture. He was determined to finish high school, which he had left for work, by taking exams part-time. He accomplished this and graduated at the age of 21, as it meant a lot to his parents, particularly to his mother. At that time, Mirko had no particular educational aspirations, but he was focused on pursuing his sports career and working: *To be honest, I don't know. Maybe I start some studies, but just maybe. The fact is that I had hard time finishing school, not because I'm stupid, but because I couldn't make it work with my other obligations. (2007)*

Nevertheless, he started university studies in economics a couple of years later, with the motivation to provide himself with an easier and more secure job and a more comfortable existence: *The faculty degree would certainly bring a lot, easier job, probably some office job, separated from physical work, probably better wage, fixed working hours, opportunities for improvement*

and advancement in knowledge and in positions. (2014) In evaluating the quality of university studies, he stated that he was not expecting anything, since he was not able to meet the requirements for full-time students:

In principle, passing exams was the only important thing for me. I wasn't expecting anything else, nor imagining what I could get from them, because I couldn't meet the things I could get from them. I wouldn't dare to ask for anything since I couldn't give back. (2014)

Multiple obligations made him prolong his studies: *I stopped and I am still there, but not because of other plans, but because of family duties, about family, my sisters, my personal obligations, so I stagnated a bit and focused on my sports training and my job.* (2014) At the same time, he elaborated on his prospects in education by reflecting on his aspirations versus his constraints:

I don't give up. Well, whether it will be in two-three or in five-six years... Although I wish to create a goal for myself, which is present somewhere in my subconscious, it is not realistic at this moment that I expect anything from it. Because of everything that is happening around me, around my family, so to say living existence – mine and my family's, my sisters... So, I don't know why, but I have accepted that I would be damaged a bit, in the sense that I haven't finished my studies yet, and I should have, at the price that I could end up without a degree, so that my family would have so much better life. (2014)

This account clearly displays and reveals how Mirko has shifted his agency from pursuing personal goals in his sports career and education towards providing

for his family. Although playing basketball was his lifelong aspiration, he was aware from his late adolescence that he was lacking resources, material and social, but particularly time to dedicate to developing a professional career in sports. At the age of 21, he reflected: *If I want to do basketball, then I will have to stop working and really to commit to that.* (2007) Although he did not stop working and did not enter the professional league at the age of 28, Mirko was still expressing similar reflections and hopes that he could start his career by playing for a small club abroad, which he was hoping would happen with the help of acquaintances: *I could go abroad, there will be a trial, so if I present myself well...* (2014)

Mirko's prospective accounts relating to his imagined future display similar vagueness and openness when assessing the pros and cons of emigrating. His perception is that his qualities – diligence, creativity and resourcefulness – would be better appreciated abroad, although he perceives himself as a “patriot” attached to Serbia, Belgrade, and his social milieu. Emigrating would mean prioritising personal interests over providing for family:

I have been thinking that if I could, so to say, afford more for myself, I could dedicate three or four years to going abroad, because of education, language, and job. I think I could dedicate let's say three or four years of my life, if that is a luxury, then to afford myself with the luxury. (2014)

It seems, nevertheless, that his main aspirations are directed towards material standards and security:

There are always goals, but they are staying aside, in the background, until you attain some capital by which you could realise them. Generally, ideas and

some kind of vision exist [...] As I said, I would like to earn that capital here. But, if the stars align, I might be abroad [in seven years from the interview], or maybe I'll be here the whole of my life. (2014)

Mirko's agency was based on self-reliance and informal networks throughout his biography. It is congruent with his self-perception as a resourceful person who can cope in different life situations and who is a good and loyal person whom friends can rely upon: *I would do everything for friends, literally anything. Because friends are there when others are not, when others can't and when others won't. (2007)* He singled out relationships with family members and friends as the major source of his satisfaction: *I am satisfied, I can't say very satisfied, but I am satisfied. I have a healthy family that is always by my side, father, mother, sisters, friends. (2014)* It seems, therefore, that he has substituted his personal interests and goals, particularly those related to his sports career, with the gendered position, role and identity of family provider.

4 DISCUSSION

In the following section, I will discuss how the main principles of the life course paradigm are compatible with the social biography approach, since they both go beyond simply sequencing events by emphasising processes within trajectories and interlinked events and relationships in the same way. I will also point at benefits of including the reflexivity of social biographies in exploring and interpreting education-to-work transitions within life courses.

While the two studied young adults come from similar family backgrounds, their biographies are substantially dif-

ferent: Slavica is more education-oriented, while Mirko is more work-oriented. Regarding the second principle of the life course paradigm – that individuals actively construct their biography – analysis shows that their education-to-work trajectories and agency are path-dependent and embedded in biographical contexts. As the longitudinal insights from her interviews disclose, Slavica's educational trajectory was dependent on the line of her decisions across various life stages and biographical contexts. Her reflections display that her decision-making was based on compromising between aspirations and opportunities – her personal ability to enrol in her desired school or university course. She has displayed a different form of agency in decision-making across different life stages – in transitional educational phases, and later in confronting educated unemployment. This involved pursuing educational aspirations, adapting to changes by implementing a strategy of “cooling out”, then abandoning the career path in her plans, but not in her aspirations, and refocusing on her personal life (Tomanović 2019). For Mirko, education and work were intertwined from the age of 16 when he left regular school. His transitional trajectory is not a linear path from education to work, but work part parallel to schooling during secondary school and later with tertiary education. At the same time, education and employment are not connected in his biography on a reflexive level, as they are in Slavica's reflections. Although perceived instrumental – Mirko's high school education did not provide him with skills for his jobs, but it was expected to be more attuned to his anticipated career in professional sport. Similarly, his aspirations for obtaining university education are

not career-oriented, but to acquire a better social position and a more secure material existence.

Analysis of two biographical accounts has revealed particular “opportunity structures” in education-to-work transitions that are connected to the principles that socially contextualise people’s life courses: through being embedded in historical time and place, as well as social circumstances and events that influence transitions. Slavica and Mirko relate their agency to these opportunity structures by not taking into account scarce institutional support for education and employment, while developing and using atomised strategies of relying on non-institutional resources: material and social capital from their families and their own capacities (knowledge, skills, resourcefulness, contacts, etc.). Their agency and reflections disclose that they have “normalised uncertainty” (Roberts 2009) of their social context, which I have described as a “chronic social crisis”.

Analysis of the social biographies of the two young people also points to the relevance of the life course principle of “linked lives” (Nico 2021) by revealing how their education and work-related agency, decisions, and actions are connected to other people’s lives across different life stages. Slavica’s decisions concerning her education were supported by her parents, whose resources were crucial for her to pursue her educational goals. At a later stage of life, while facing unemployment and underemployment after finishing her education, her reflections and agency towards future work prospects are linked to her emotional relationship. The shifting of her agency towards the relational domain is also influenced by social circumstances that comply with

gendered norms regarding the appropriate time for family transitions. Mirko’s decision regarding secondary school was informed by his individual aspiration of having a professional sporting career. Nevertheless, from the moment of his family crisis, family ties and obligations towards family members took priority over his personal needs and interests. As a consequence, his biography became work-oriented, but not education- and career-oriented, as he was shifting his agency towards the relational domain of securing material comfort and standards for his family and taking on the role of family provider.

Including reflexivity into this form of analysis shows how the actors relate their agency to the structures around them, and how they interpret their opportunities and accomplishments in a given biographical context. Reflexivity is closely connected with emotions and feelings of self-perception and life satisfaction. Slavica has experienced constraints on her advancement and the realisation of her anticipated professional career since finishing her desired education. Her narrative reveals reflexivity with a lack of choices, which resembles what Devadason refers as *setback stories* related to the biographies of the young adults who have continued with their “employment in undesired, unskilled work [...] for extended periods and, thus, have been less able to climb career ladders or pursue personal goals. In these stories, young adults tend to refer to a lack of encouragement, confidence or the ‘right networks’ to fulfil their aspirations. This type of causality is often associated with specific events such as episodes of unemployment, not getting a job one has applied for, or not gaining entry to a desired occupation.” (Devadason 2007: 212).

Unrealised agency in the professional domain led Slavica to feelings of dissatisfaction with her work and career path and frustration, which is reflected in her self-perception. While Mirko was switching from his sports career with no promotion to a job orientation, he expressed no reflexivity on giving up his career and the reasons for not succeeding. He found satisfaction in his work as a base for his new role of family provider and in his self-perception as resourceful man who can solve problems. Those feelings informed his aspirations and plans for future employment.

5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Qualitative analysis of education-to-work transitions within the biographies of the two young adults contributes to life course studies by including the missing actors' perspective on transitions through exploring their agency and reflections. Including a social biography perspective proves that transitions are contextualised life course processes (Vogt 2018). Moments of making decisions and choices are embedded in different biographical contexts, which are complex and related not only to structural opportunities and constraints,

but also linked to other people's lives. Transitional processes are also biographised; the actors reflectively relate their decisions and choices regarding education and employment to their self-perception, identities, aspirations, and expectations concerning their other transitions, notably family transitions.

The same methodological advantage of the longitudinal qualitative method – that it provides actors' interpretations of processes, providing insight and hindsight within a time perspective – is also its main limitation. The approach is anchored in the actor's repetitive reconstructions and evaluations of past life events, present uncertainties, and dilemmas about the future. We cannot, therefore, make predictions or identify the key factors that will determine the career paths of these young adults. The study does not make generalisations about education-to-work transitions in the general population. It does not reveal linear patterns and predictions of individual biographies either. However, these limitations point to the central role of reflexivity in interpreting agency across a person's life course, since each moment of life path reconstruction is also a construction of one's own social biography.

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Povezivanje socijalne biografije i životnog toka: Dejstvenost i refleksivnost u obrazovno-radnoj tranziciji u biografijama mladih

SAŽETAK

Rad je zasnovan na mom longitudinalnom kvalitativnom istraživanju u kome se primenjuje pristup socijalne biografije u proučavanju i tumačenju biografskih perioda u životnom toku osobe od ranog detinjstva do kasne mladosti. U okviru najnovije debate o „vraćanju života“ u pristup životnog toka kroz primenu kvalitativnih nalaza, rad se bavi načinima na koji istraživanja tranzicija u mladosti iz perspektive socijalne biografije mogu doprineti studijama životnog toka. U uvodnom teorijskom delu predstavljaju se ključni koncepti koji su relevantni za povezivanje dva pristupa: tranzicija u odraslost i obrazovno-radna tranzicija u okviru nje, dejstvenost i refleksivnost. Dejstvenost je u relevantnoj literaturi prepoznata kao značajan aspekt u obrazovno-radnoj tranziciji, dok su istraživanja koja se bave promišljanjem izbora, odluka i dejstvenosti u tranzicijama iz biografske perspektiva retka. Jedan od doprinosa ovog rada predstavlja pokušaj prevazilaženja te saznanje praznine. Potom se u uvodnom delu predstavlja specifičan kontekst tzv. „struktura mogućnosti“ za obrazovno-radnu tranziciju u društvu Srbije, koji se određuje kao „hronična društvena kriza“. U sledećem delu predstavljen je metod longitudinalnog kvalitativnog istraživanja koje je sprovedeno od 1993. do 2014. godine, sa dvadesetoro dece/mladih osoba i njihovim porodicama. Opisani su načini inicijalnog izbora ispitanika, prikupljanja podataka – intervju fokusiran na rekonstrukciju sedmogodišnjih biografskih perioda sa temama koje se ponavljaju u svakom istraživačkom talasu, kao i analize podataka i interpretacije nalaza.

Deo rada posvećen analizi fokusira se na obrazovno-radne tranzicije u okviru biografija mlade žene i mladog muškarca koji su poreklom iz radničkih porodica. Analiza je pokazala da njihove obrazovno-radne tranzicije ne prate linearne putanje, već da su donošenje odluka i izbori u ovom domenu povezani sa prethodnom dejstvenošću i sa životima drugih značajnih osoba u različitim kontekstima njihovih biografija i fazama životnog toka.

U završnim delovima se diskutuje kompatibilnost pristupa socijalne biografije i principa studija životnog toka: naglasak na dejstvenosti, na kontekstualizaciji u istorijskom vremenu i prostoru, i na povezanost životnog toka sa životima značajnih drugih, što se sve pokazalo u prethodnoj analizi. Moje gledište je da uključivanje refleksivnosti u proučavanje životnog toka može doneti saznanji pomak kroz akterovu interpretaciju uticaja specifičnih „struktura mogućnosti“ na njihovo obrazovanje i zaposlenje. Analiza dve biografije je takođe pokazala da su osećanja i (ne)zadovoljstvo koji su iskazani u promišljanjima istraživanih mladih odraslih imali uticaj na njihovu dejstvenost povezanu sa obrazovanjem i radom.

Uključivanje perspektive socijalne biografije pokazuje da su tranzicije procesi koji su kontekstualizovani u životnom toku. Donošenje odluka i pravljenje izbora su uklopljeni u složene biografske kontekste, koji nisu samo povezani sa strukturalnim mogućnostima i ograničenjima, već i sa životima drugih osoba. Proces i tranzicije su takođe biografizovani – akteri promišljanjem povezuju svoje odluke i izbore koji se tiču obrazovanja i zaposlenja sa doživljajem sebe, identitetom, aspiracijama i očekivanjima u vezi sa drugim tranzicijama, posebno porodičnom.

KLJUČNE REČI

socijalna biografija, obrazovno-radna tranzicija, dejstvenost, refleksivnost, životni tok, Srbija



Lifecycle, generational, and period effects on emancipative values in Serbia

Zoran Pavlović¹ 

ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper is to analyse the lifecycle, generational, and period effects on emancipative value preferences in Serbia. The data used in the analysis was collected in the World Values Survey (WVS), conducted in Serbia in 1996 (N = 1,280), 2006 (N = 1,220), and 2017 (N = 1,046), respectively. As a proxy measure of the respondents' lifecycle stage, the recoded age variable (young/middle-aged/elderly) was used. Based on the age period during which a person spent their formative years (15–24 years of age), a sixfold typology of political generation membership was constructed. The year in which the survey was conducted was used as a measure of period effects. The results indicate that emancipative values were more likely to be embraced by younger respondents ($r = .22^{**}$) and in survey waves after 2000 ($r = .17^{**}$), and less by the members of the socialist generation ($p < .01$) than by those generations who spent their formative years after 2000, omnibus $F(5, 3440) = 58.19^{**}$. The results reveal a complex relationship between lifecycle, generational, and period effects on emancipative values and call into question the exclusive importance that is usually attributed to generational differences in theory. The conclusion outlines possible implications for the theory of human empowerment and practical implications for the possibility of value change in Serbian society.

KEYWORDS

emancipative values, generational effects, lifecycle effects, period effects, WVS, Serbia

¹ University of Belgrade,
Faculty of Philosophy,
Department of Psychology,
Belgrade, Serbia

Correspondence:

Zoran Pavlović,
University of Belgrade,
Faculty of Philosophy,
Department of Psychology,
Čika Ljubina 18–20,
Belgrade, Serbia

Email:

zoran.pavlovic@f.bg.ac.rs

1 INTRODUCTION

The concept of age plays a very important role in the social psychology of values. Understood as abstract ideals that serve as guiding principles in people's lives (Rokeach 1973; Schwartz 1992; Maio 2017), values are considered to be shaped by a number of individual, social, and cultural forces and, above all, they develop and take time to structure and become a part of people's personalities. As such, analysing age differences in value preferences is an inherent part of any systematic value research, and conceptualising the role of age is an inevitable aspect of their theorising.

Empirical evidence on age differences in value priorities is abundant. The seminal research on values by Milton Rokeach (1973) showed that age differences were evident in 30 out of 36 values in his value model. Different values showed different patterns of relationship with age – some gained importance with age, while others lost it – but the relevance of age was unquestionable. One of the most influential value theories these days, proposed by Schwartz (1992, 2017), argues that there are 10 basic human values. A study conducted in 20 states showed that almost all of them were significantly related to age: security, tradition, benevolence, and universalism values were more important for older respondents, while younger people placed more importance on stimulation, hedonism, and achievement (Schwartz 2017; Pavlović 2021). Numerous other studies with different theoretical value models and value operationalisation show pronounced age differences in, for example, intrinsic and prosocial (Van Lange et al. 1997; Maio 2017; Vilar et al. 2020), postmaterialist (Inglehart 1990), self-expression

(Inglehart and Welzel 2005), and emancipative values (Welzel 2013).

The threefold interpretation of age-related differences in values is well-established in the literature (Hofstede 1980; Inglehart 1990; Welzel 2013; Pavlović 2021).

Value priorities can be determined via lifecycle. People in different positions in lifecycle trajectories differ in terms of biological, emotional, psychological, and social development, as well as in terms of their related needs, skills, knowledge, expectations, and roles, and consequently when it comes to their guiding principles in life, i.e. values (Erickson 1959; Hofstede 1980; O'Rand and Krecker 1990). Thus, individual psychological changes, life positions, and roles shape value priorities. This reasoning fits quite well with the overarching view that people adapt their values to life circumstances (Rokeach 1973; Schwartz 1992), which change during the course of life.

However, people of different chronological age differ not just in terms of stages in their lifecycle. They are born and mature during different socio-political circumstances and belong to different (political) generations, all of which could have influenced their development and their value priorities. The focus here is not on the common position in individual lifecycles, but on a specific social and historical process (Mannheim 1952), which could have shaped value priorities. Generational effects imply that values are acquired during formative, usually pre-adult experiences and remain relatively stable in adulthood (Hofstede 1980; Jennings and Niemi 1981). In terms of value research, this line of reasoning is most strongly elaborated in the work of Ronald Inglehart and his associates (Inglehart 1990; Inglehart and Welzel 2005; Welzel 2013).

A very important implication of these assumptions is that individual value change during the lifecycle is unlikely, and that values on the societal level change only in the long run and by generational replacement.

Finally, period or zeitgeist effects imply that some major crises (such as economic depression or the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic) could hugely disrupt society's functioning and individual lives, so that a temporary shift in value priorities in all age groups (albeit with different intensity) may be possible (Beck and Jennings 1979; Hofstede 1980; Inglehart 1990). Taking into account the possible effects of profound societal changes on value priorities is of utmost importance in analysing lifecycle and generational differences and changes in value priorities. The explanation of period effects can account for shifts in values in a relatively short time span, which cannot be accounted by lifecycle and/or generational explanations (Pavlović 2018, 2021).

Disentangling the lifecycle, generational, and period effects on values is rarely possible due to the cross-sectional survey methodology typically used to survey values. Luckily, the growing evidence acquired in large comparative projects, such as the World Values Survey (WVS), offers at least some preliminary insights. Leading scholars of the WVS project, using massive empirical evidence collected from numerous countries around the world from the 1980s onwards, argued for several value concepts and theoretical models. The human empowerment framework has been developed more recently (Welzel 2006, 2013; Welzel and Inglehart 2009) and is described as the "evolutionary theory of emancipation" (Welzel 2013: 24). Its main focus is the utility of universal freedoms – when they are recognised as useful and when

they aren't – and the evolutionary origins of this utility. People's capabilities to exercise freedoms are, according to the proposed model, resource-based and dependent on the availability of intellectual, connective, and material resources (Welzel 2013). When resources are scarce, people have more pressing concerns on their mind, while universal freedoms have little utility and, consequently, are of little value. As ordinary people gain control over action resources (tools, skills, and opportunities), i.e. become existentially empowered, their capabilities to exercise freedoms and comprehend their utility grow as well.

This has prominent psychological consequences and leads to a sort of psychological empowerment – people place greater emphasis on valuation of independent choice and equal opportunities, which give rise to emancipative values (Welzel 2006, 2013). These consist of two broad orientations – a liberating and egalitarian one – and cover emphasis on autonomy, freedom of choice, equality, and a voice for the people. As such, holding emancipative values has broad individual and societal consequences. Emancipative values, on the individual level, nurture greater trust and humanism and encourage social movement, support for democracy, environmental activism etc. (Welzel 2006, 2013; Welzel and Inglehart 2009; Welzel and Moreno Alvarez 2014). On a societal level, social pressures to institutionalise freedoms (if there were no such pre-existing guarantees) or to make them more effective (if guarantees were already in place) become prominent (Welzel 2013). This leads to institutional empowerment – the introduction or strengthening of personal autonomy and political participation rights and guarantees to exercise universal freedoms in a society where

emancipative values are on the rise (Welzel and Inglehart 2009; Welzel 2013).

The rising trend in emancipative values is registered throughout the world: people everywhere nowadays value them more and more (Welzel 2013). Although societal and individual sources of emancipative values are numerous, one of the most important mechanisms in their growth is, in theory, generational replacement. Younger cohorts embrace emancipative values more than older cohorts (Welzel 2013). Similar to the so-called socialisation hypothesis (Inglehart 1990; Inglehart and Welzel 2005), individuals' value preferences are supposedly determined by existential conditions during the formative period of one's development, when value priorities are finally set and after which they become relatively unchangeable. Younger cohorts in recent decades spent their formative years in more and more abundance, which makes them more susceptible to accepting emancipative values (Welzel 2013). Cohort replacement eventually brings a prominent emancipative shift at a societal level.

The main aspect of the post-materialist (Pavlović 2006, 2009a), self-expression (Pavlović 2008, 2009b), and emancipative values in Serbia (Pavlović 2018) has already been studied. One of the theoretically most important findings is the presence of between-cohort differences in the absence of their prerequisites that theoretical models posit, as well as the need for alternative explanations of both the age differences in values and their main sources. At least some of the registered value patterns in Serbia and other Eastern European countries after the fall of communism can be well explained under the life-learning model or individual rationality framework (Pavlović 2014,

2015), which puts much more emphasis on the relevance of recent experiences, including both individual lifecycle and societal changes (Muller and Seligson 1994; Jackman and Miller 1996; Mishler and Rose 2002). Furthermore, studying changes in emancipative values in a society that has undergone revolutionary changes is quite fertile ground for additional debate on the adequacy of the dominant paradigms and significant period effects (Nikolayenko 2008; Pavlović 2018). Finally, emancipative values could still be, as originally proposed, based on resources, but these could be gained during the individual's lifecycle, e.g. by getting employed or obtaining a university degree, and not necessarily through generational or early life experiences.

All said, the main aim of this study is to analyse the lifecycle, generational, and period effects on emancipative values in Serbia. Serbian data available from the WVS project so far includes five waves of surveys, conducted between 1996 and 2017. Individual surveys enable the analysis of cohort differences in values and the relevance of a number of life events that represent a marker of significant life transitions, such as getting married, having children, getting employed, or retiring. In a theory based on generational reasoning, all these are irrelevant, but could signal the significance of lifecycle effects on values. In addition, the relatively long period covered by the data enables not just the analysis of age differences in values at one time point – capturing the inseparable cohort and generational effects – but also a comparison of people at the same lifecycle stage across different points in time. Consequently, it is possible to obtain insights into the relevance of lifecycle and generational interpretations. Comparing the overall

population changes in emancipative values over 20 years enables us to take into account changes in values that could be treated as period effects.

2 METHOD

2.1 DATA

Version V3.0 of the WVS time-series dataset for 1981 to 2022 was used in the analysis (Inglehart et al. 2022). This dataset combines the WVS surveys completed in waves 1 (1981–1983), 2 (1990–1992), 3 (1995–1998), 4 (2000–2004), 5 (2005–2008), 6 (2010–2014), and 7 (2017–2022). The WVS dataset includes a large number of national surveys, covering seven waves of WVS from 1981 to 2022, with data from 106 countries and almost 440,000 respondents. For the present purposes, data collected during the third, fifth, and seventh waves of the WVS – conducted in Serbia in 1996, 2006, and 2017 respectively – was used. Data was collected by face-to-face interviews.

2.2 VARIABLES AND MEASURES

Emancipative values. In the human empowerment model (Welzel 2013), emancipative values are defined as an orientation covering an emphasis on autonomy, choice, equality, and voice and operationalised by average values of four sub-indices; a more detailed description of the sub-indices of emancipative values and how they are operationalised is available elsewhere (Welzel 2013; Pavlović 2018). The index of emancipative values already a forms part of the WVS dataset (Inglehart et al. 2022) and is, as such, used in the present analysis. It ranges from 0 to 1, with higher values implying more prominent emancipative values.

Lifecycle. This is a convention to distinguish three life stages or phases based on chronological age: youth, middle age, and elderly. The age spans that these phases cover are arbitrary and vary across different studies. Here we relied on the age groupings already available in the WVS dataset, which was quite meaningful. Respondents aged 18–29 were treated as young, 30–49 as middle aged, and those aged 50 years or above as elderly.

Political generation. In operationalising the construct of political generations, we depart from the existing research (Nikolayenko 2008). Taking into account the general psychological assumptions regarding late adolescence as a formative period of value development (Rokeach 1973; Schwartz 2017; Pavlović 2021), as well as individual educational and life trajectories (the time when secondary and tertiary educational cycles in Serbia start and, typically, end), this study treats middle and late adolescence (15–24 years of age) as a formative period of value stabilisation. We also take into account the specific socio-political development of Serbia during most of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century by (arbitrarily) demarcating crucial historical periods in light of the main political ‘events’: WWII (up to 1945), socialism and the rule of Josip Broz Tito (1946–1979), the post-socialist era (1980–1989), the 1990s (1990–1999), democracy (2000–2012), and post-democracy (2013–2022). By combining the formative period and historical time during which it was experienced, each respondent was assigned to a specific generation based upon their position in the historical period for at least five years of the formative 10-year span (Nikolayenko 2008). For example, an individual born

Table 1. Classification of respondents by political generations

Political generation	Matured (15–24 years old)	Year born
WWII generation	< 1945	< 1925
Socialist generation	1946–1979	1926–1959
Post-socialist generation	1980–1989	1960–1969
1990s generation	1990–1999	1970–1979
Democracy generation	2000–2012	1980–1992
Post-democracy generation	2013–2022	1993–2002

1982 turned 15 in 1997, but lived only two years during the 1990s and the rest in the following decade; hence, s/he was assigned to the democracy generation. The classification overview is given in Table 1.

By applying this typology, we deviate from the typical reasoning of the relevance of political generations in two ways. First, the defining criterion for cohort membership is not the year (i.e. time span) in which one was born but the year one achieved political maturity. In this way, we aim to give much more weight to late adolescence than early adolescence in terms of the development of values. Second, we take into account local circumstances that make more sense for defining and labelling political generations (Nikolayenko 2008), rather than simply applying the well-known generation classification (e.g. generation X, millennials). These historical periods are marked by stark differences in socio-political-economic circumstances, so it could be expected that these coloured people's formative experiences and moulded their value preferences in different ways. Finally, by defining generation over longer time spans, we introduce more age/cohort variability within members of the same generations, preventing possible multicollinearity problems during later analyses.

Periods. Year of survey/wave of WVS, as a time variable, was also included in the analysis. This was coded so that higher values indicate a more recent point in time (1 – 1996, 2 – 2006, 3 – 2017). Dummy year variables were used in regression analysis.

Socio-demographics. Several socio-demographic variables were used in the analysis as well: education (primary/secondary/higher), income level (an 11-point scale based on household monthly incomes), employment status (employed/unemployed/retired/other), marital/relationship status (married or living together/divorced or separated/single/widowed) and parental status (no children/has children). These are relevant as well-known correlates (e.g. income level) of emancipative values (Welzel 2013) or markers of lifecycle stages (e.g. getting married), which could be of importance but are understudied.

2.3 SAMPLE

The three waves of WVS surveys in Serbia used in the analysis were all conducted on nationally representative samples of voting age-citizens. The samples for the third, fifth, and seventh waves included 1,280, 1,220, and 1,046 respondents respectively. The unweighted sample structures by wave of survey, gender,

Table 2. Sample structure by gender, age, education, and wave of survey (unweighted data)

		Year of survey			
		1996 (n = 1,280)	2006 (n = 1,220)	2017 (n = 1,046)	Total (N = 3,546)
Gender	Male	49.2%	50.7%	47.8%	49.3%
	Female	50.8%	49.3%	52.2%	50.7%
Age	15–29 years	20.8%	25.5%	22.1%	22.8%
	30–49 years	38.5%	41.4%	36%	38.8%
	50 and more years	40.7%	33.1%	41.8%	38.4%
Education	Lower	34.7%	21.8%	9.5%	22.9%
	Middle	44.3%	49.2%	48.9%	47.3%
	Upper	21.0%	29%	41.7%	29.8%

Source: Inglehart et al. 2022.

Table 3. Inter-correlations between the main variables in the analysis

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	M	SD
1. Emancipative values											.45	.00
2. Lifecycle	-.22**										2.16	.01
3. Education level	.34**	-.30**									2.07	.01
4. Scale of incomes	.09**	-.18**	.34**								4.90	.04
5. WVS wave	.17**	-.01	.26**	-.09**							4.87	.03
6. Married	-.07**	.30**	-.09**	.01	-.09**						.62	.01
7. Parent	-.06**	.35**	-.17**	-.05**	-.08**	.38**					.71	.01
8. Employed	.12**	-.16**	.22**	.22**	-.02	.17**	.01				.51	.01
9. Socialist generation	-.20**	.68**	-.29**	-.12**	-.24**	.21**	.23**	-.17**			.43	.01
10. 1990s generation	.09**	-.36**	.10**	.07**	.02	-.11**	-.00	.11**	-.42**		.18	.01
11. Democracy generation	.14**	-.45**	.25**	.04*	.31**	-.21**	-.35**	.03	-.36**	-.19**	.14	.01

Source: Inglehart et al. 2022.

** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$; Variables 6 to 11 are dummy variables contrasting the groups labelled in the table and all other respondents on that measure (e.g. those married versus those of any other relationship status).

age, and education level are presented in Table 2. The data was weighted during analysis to correct for population parameters by the weight variable (S007), which had already been included in the WVS dataset.

3 RESULTS

The results of the analysis are presented in several subsections. The inter-correlations between the main variables in the study are presented first. A detailed analysis of the lifecycle and generational differences in emancipative values

follows. After that, the results of the multiple regression analysis predicting emancipative values from several relevant predictors are presented. The materials needed for the reproduction of the analysis presented here can be accessed at Pavlović (2022).

3.1 CORRELATION ANALYSIS

Table 3 presents the correlation coefficients of the main variables in the study. We are primarily interested in the correlates of emancipative values, and it can be seen that they show some expected

patterns of a relationship with measures of lifecycle and exemplar generational memberships. Emancipative values are, overall, more prominent among younger than older respondents. This is similar for the respondents who belong to the 1990s and democracy generations (who are, by definition, younger respondents), while those who matured during socialism, as compared to other respondents, voice emancipation to a lesser degree. Finally, the emphasis on emancipative values is more prominent among respondents in the more recent waves of the WVS survey.

Besides these, the relationship between the acceptance of emancipative values and other demographic and lifecycle variables is illustrative. Emancipative values correlate positively with educational and income levels as well as

employment status (i.e. being employed vs. unemployed), and negatively correlated with relationship and parenting status, i.e. being married and having kids. These pieces of evidence suggest not just that significant life events play an important role in emancipative value preferences, but that these variables, since inter-correlated, should be carefully taken into account in further analyses.

3.2 LIFECYCLE AND GENERATIONAL DIFFERENCES IN EMANCIPATIVE VALUES

Having descriptively inspected the correlates of emancipative values, we then analysed the lifecycle, generational, and period effects on emancipative values in more detail. Figure 1 shows mean emancipative values by lifecycle, i.e. three age

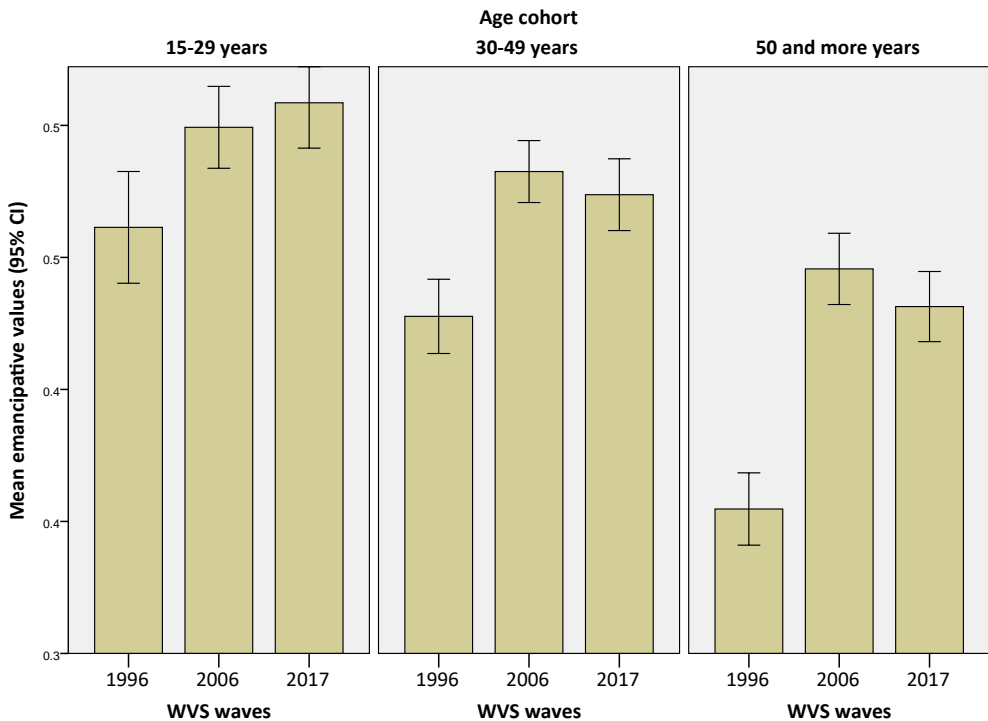


Figure 1. Mean emancipative values by lifecycle and waves of survey
 Source: Inglehart et al. 2022.

groups within three waves of survey. Several important pieces of information are easily visible.

Firstly, there is a significant emancipative shift within each lifecycle group between the waves of survey. Young respondents in 1996 were less supportive of emancipation than those in the young group in 2006 ($p < .05$)¹ and/or 2017 ($p < .01$), omnibus $F(2, 786) = 7.20$, $p < .01$. The same goes for between-wave changes within the middle-aged group, omnibus $F(2, 1349) = 20.48$, $p < .01$, and the elderly group, omnibus $F(2, 1302) = 52.83$, $p < .01$, although the main value shift is visible between the first two waves of survey ($p < .01$); post-hoc tests (Scheffe) show significant pair comparisons between the first two waves of survey in each age cohort (at least $p < .01$), and none of the comparisons between the second and the third waves of survey were significant.

Secondly, and only indirectly visible in Figure 1, the differences in emancipative values between-lifecycle groups within a specific wave of survey are significant in 1996, omnibus $F(2, 1263) = 45.64$, $p < .01$, 2006, omnibus $F(2, 1172) = 14.81$, $p < .01$, and 2017, omnibus $F(2, 1002) = 25.66$, $p < .01$. As already shown in Table 2, older respondents attach less importance to emancipative values in each wave of the survey and all post-hoc pair comparisons are significant in each wave.

Finally, those who were young in 1996 were, hypothetically, predominantly in the group of middle aged respondents in 2006 (10 years after the first survey) and all of them were middle-aged in 2017; we can, rather loosely, “track”

¹ p values given in parentheses denote Scheffe post-hoc test comparisons. Full ANOVA output documenting post-hoc tests and all other analysis results outputs can be found at Pavlović (2022).

the “same” group of respondents in time as they go through different life stages. Applying this quasi-longitudinal logic, we could say that, overall, the level of emancipative values seems to decrease from young to middle age, although, as in previous cases, there is a significant increase between the survey waves in 1996 and 2006 and our comparisons are only for the sake of illustration.

A similar analysis can be performed using generational membership as a determinant of emancipative values. Figure 2 shows mean emancipative values by generational membership, i.e. four generation groups within three waves of survey.²

The most obvious finding is a significant emancipative shift between the first two waves of survey in each generation. Emancipative values are more prominent in 2006 in comparison to 1996 ($p < .01$) in the socialist, omnibus $F(2, 1486) = 26.40$, $p < .01$, and post-socialist generations ($p < .05$), omnibus $F(2, 631) = 4.10$, $p < .05$ (all pairs of post-hoc comparisons are significant³). Among these, the rise of emancipative values is followed by a significant decline between 2006 and 2017 ($p < .05$). But the importance of emancipative values for the democracy, omnibus $F(1, 489) = 1.05$, $p = .31$, and 1990s generations, omnibus $F(2, 631) = .08$, $p = .43$, does not significantly vary between the waves of survey.

If we look at the data from a different angle, within each specific wave of survey, generational membership makes

² Two generational groups were not included in this analysis. The WWII generation group was excluded due to a small number of respondents in individual waves of survey, while the post-democracy generation was present only in the last wave of the survey.

³ For more information see analysis output at Pavlović (2022).

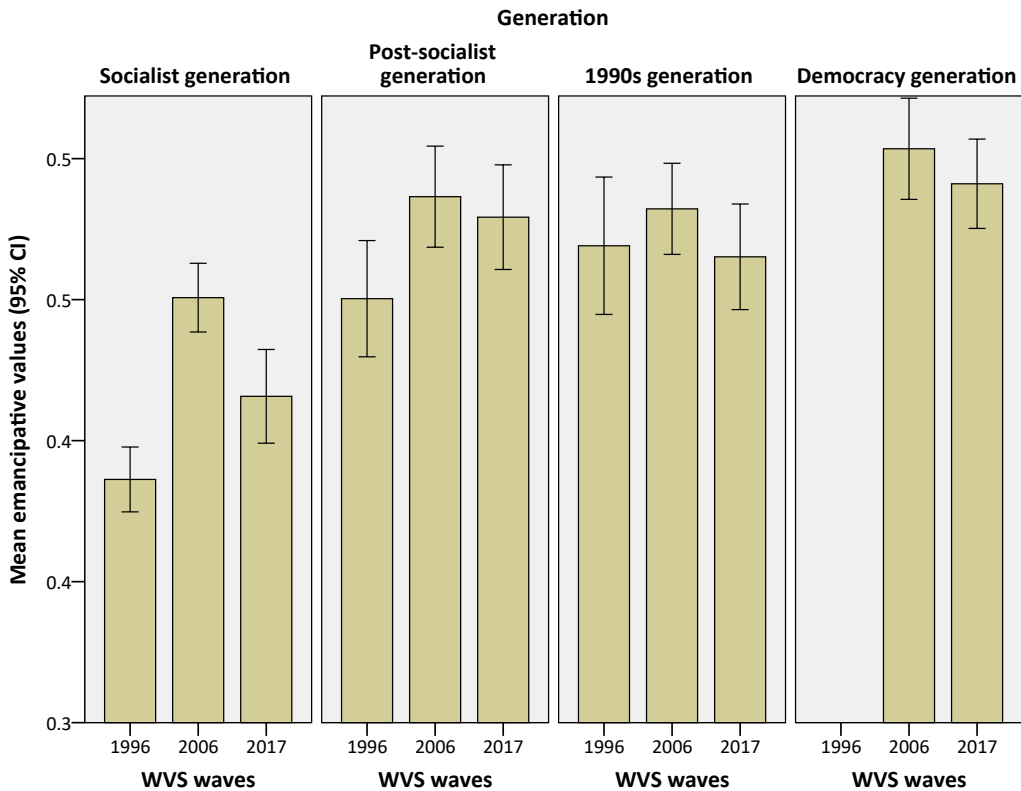


Figure 2. Mean emancipative values by generation and waves of survey
Source: Inglehart et al. 2022.

a difference in the importance attributed to emancipative values. In 1996, omnibus $F(2, 1184) = 28.07, p < .01$, the respondents who matured during socialism were less likely to attach great importance to emancipative values, while these were most intensely held by those who matured during the 1990s or during the first decade of the 21st century (the post-hoc comparison of the 1990s and democracy generations show no significant differences). Similarly, in 2006, between-generation differences were significant, omnibus $F(3, 1167) = 9.09, p < .01$, but mainly due to the distinctiveness of the members of the socialist generation, who were less inclined to accept these values (the differences between

the remaining three generations were not significant). Once again, in 2017 the generational differences in mean emancipative values were significant, omnibus $F(4, 999) = 15.11, p < .01$, but the only comparisons of all other generations with the socialist generation were significant (all comparisons significant at the .01 level).

Finally, we can plot the data combining all three 'time' variables. Figure 3 shows mean age cohort emancipative values by generation and wave of survey.

This analysis is rather exploratory and descriptive, but also limited by the fact that only some lifecycle groups and generation comparisons in specific waves are possible. Of special relevance

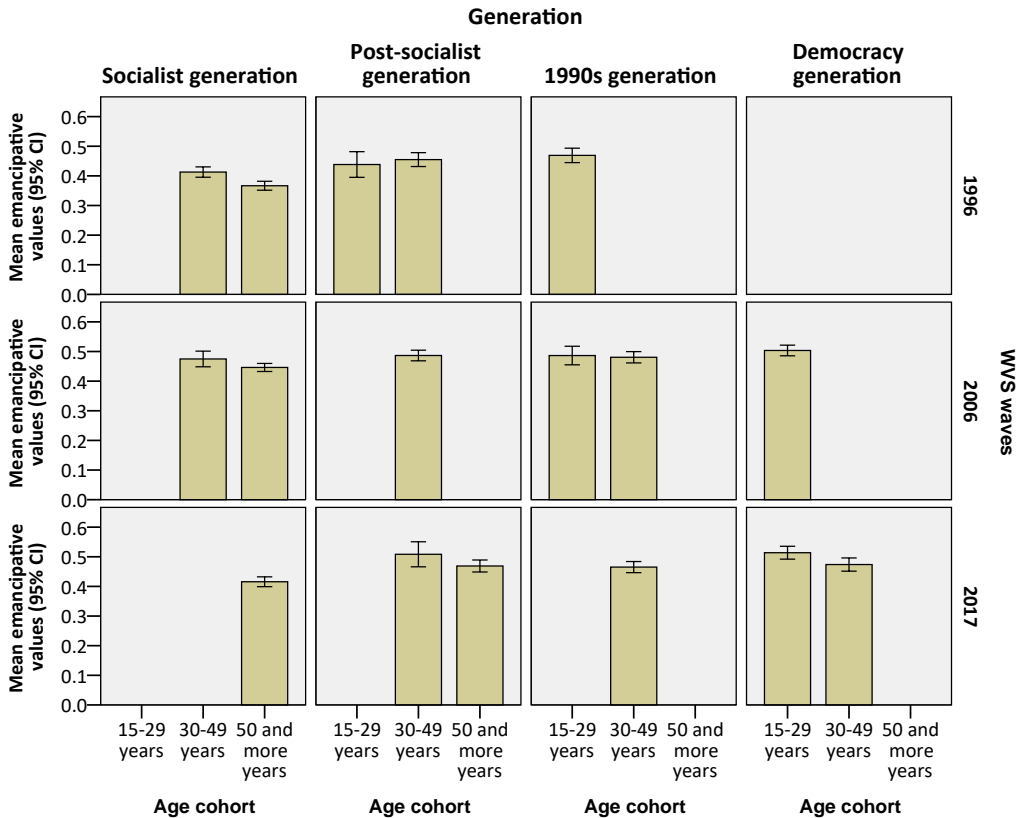


Figure 3. Mean emancipative values by lifecycle, generation, and waves of survey
Source: Inglehart et al. 2022.

are those cases that allow the comparison of respondents of the same generation and different lifecycle stage (e.g. the socialist generation in 1996). There are six comparisons of this kind. Although there is a visible trend showing that, within the same generations, the younger members are typically more supportive of emancipation, the minority of these comparisons are indeed significant (the socialist generation comparison in 1996, $p < .01$, and the democracy generation comparison in 2017, $p < .05$).⁴

⁴ For the full post-hoc output comparison, see analysis output at Pavlović (2022).

3.3 PREDICTING EMANCIPATIVE VALUES BY LIFECYCLE, GENERATIONAL MEMBERSHIP, AND PERIOD

Since lifecycle and generational differences could “mask” the effects of numerous other relevant factors (such as educational level), we additionally analysed their relevance when other important variables were statistically controlled. Table 4 presents the results of the multiple regression analysis predicting emancipative values by generational membership, lifecycle, set of demographic variables, and year of survey. Special attention was given to

Table 4. The results of the multiple regression analysis predicting emancipative values

	Unstandardised coefficients		Standardised coefficients	Collinearity statistics	
	B	S.E.	Beta	Tolerance	VIF
(Constant)	.34	.01			
Generation ^a					
WWII generation	-.07	.02	-.07***	.89	1.12
Post-socialist	.02	.01	.06**	.55	1.82
1990s	.01	.01	.02	.35	2.88
Democracy	.01	.01	.01	.25	3.98
Post-democracy	.01	.02	.01	.44	2.26
Education level	.06	.00	.28***	.72	1.38
Scale of incomes	-.00	.00	-.02	.82	1.22
Lifecycle ^b					
Young	.02	.01	.06*	.39	2.55
Elderly	-.02	.01	-.05	.36	2.74
Married ^c	-.01	.01	-.04	.75	1.34
Parent ^c	.01	.01	.04*	.72	1.39
Employed ^c	.01	.01	.03	.74	1.35
Period ^d					
1996 survey	-.05	.01	-.15***	.59	1.69
2017 survey	-.02	.01	-.07**	.60	1.67
F test			42.56***		
Adj. R ²			.15		

Source: Inglehart et al. 2022.

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$; entries are standardised regression coefficients; a) the reference group is the socialist generation; b) the reference group is the middle-aged cohort; c) dummy variables contrasting the labelled group and all other groups on that measure; d) the reference group is 2006 wave survey.

possible multicollinearity problems in the regression model and collinearity statistics were tested and reported. The tested regression model is significant and accounts for approximately 15% of individual variations in emancipative values. No multicollinearity problems were identified.⁵

Several pieces of evidence presented in Table 4 are of special importance. First of all, generational membership is of little relevance for the acceptance of emancipative values when other potential sources of variations are controlled. Based on the previous analysis,

the socialist generation was selected as a reference group; when compared to this reference group, membership of another generation is only weakly negatively (WWII generation) or positively (post-socialist generation) related to the acceptance of emancipative values.

Lifecycle effects are significant, implying that emancipative values are more likely to be embraced by younger respondents than middle-aged people, controlling for all other predictors. Other lifecycle stage marker variables are of little importance. Relationship and employment status seems to be of no relevance, while being a parent significantly and positively predicts emancipative values, but the coefficient is rather low.

⁵ As a rule of thumb, tolerance values $< .10$ and VIF > 10 are treated as cut-off points that suggest multicollinearity.

Period effects are robustly important and significant, additionally confirming the trends already described in the previous analysis. In comparison to 2006, the overall levels of emancipative values were significantly lower in 1996 and 2017.

But by far the most important predictor of the acceptance of emancipative values is the person's level of education. These values are much more readily embraced by those with a higher level of education. For example, educational effects are four times the size of lifecycle effects (i.e. being young). The main cause of emancipative values in Serbia seems to be education.

4 DISCUSSION

Age-related variables are well-known determinants of value preferences (Rokeach 1973; Inglehart 1990; Schwartz 2017) and their effects have long been interpreted and treated differently in theory. The aim of this study was to analyse lifestyle, generational, and period effects on emancipative values in Serbia over a two-decade time period. The findings of this research clearly show that age-related differences are very prominent. But their alternative interpretation must be treated as complementary rather than exclusive; each interpretative framework has at least some relevance.

The results indicate that Serbian citizens across different stages of their lives place differing levels of importance on emancipative values; across each wave of the survey (i.e. point in 'historical' time) and even among the members of the same political generations (when such comparisons were possible), younger respondents were more supportive of emancipative values than older

ones. Bearing in mind their nature and content – autonomy and the pursuit of liberty – the lifecycle effects interpretation seems reasonable. The anecdotal belief that young people are idealistic, rebellious, and strive for independence accurately captures the essence of the registered patterns of the relationship between lifecycle and preferences for emancipative values. The young cohort age span in this survey largely corresponds to the fifth and sixth stages of Erickson's (1959) psycho-social identity development theory. The identity stage (approximately 12–20 years of age) is characterised by a sort of psychological turmoil and quest for identity. The need for independence, self-direction, being true to one's own values and ideals, and being critical of authority is very intense. Placing relatively high importance on emancipative values seems to naturally accompany these. The intimacy stage (approximately 20–25 years of age) is marked by the forming of deep and intimate interpersonal relationships, true care and respect for other people (Erickson 1959), an expression of deeply altruistic and humanistic tendencies that, in theory, are captured by emancipative values and often described as a benign form of individualism, as well as nurturing greater trust and humanism (Welzel 2013). In brief, psycho-social development in these life stages seems to be especially 'attuned' to the acceptance of emancipative values.

Additionally, Welzel's (2013) theory of emancipative values predicts that younger people should be more prone to accepting these values. Still, in theory, age differences are almost exclusively treated as a measure of generational effects and, as such, an indication of differences in formative experiences and more control over resources, which

younger generations who grow up in increasing abundance gain. But the trouble with such explanation in the case of Serbia is that its young citizens are nowhere near the generational cohort that spent their formative years in (relative) abundance. Quite the contrary, they were born during the decades of the most severe crisis in modern Serbian history (1980–1990) and, if we follow the assumptions of the human empowerment model, a younger cohort should, in fact, present a less emancipative outlook (Pavlović 2009a, 2009b, 2018). Or when age differences are found, as in this survey, they ask for a different kind of interpretation and alternative explanations. Significant differences in emancipative values among members of the same age cohort at a different time would, at first, suggest the generational effect explanation. But either generational effects are caused by factors different from those postulated in theory (which cannot be discredited by the findings of this survey) or we have witnessed lifecycle and/or period effects, and/or a value shift (across all age groups) induced by temporary significant societal changes (both of which the results of this study do indeed support).

Furthermore, we have also seen that members of specific generations, as defined in this survey, are consistently more or less oriented towards emancipation. For example, those who matured during the socialist era seem to be the least likely to embrace emancipative values, and that seems to be important for several reasons. Firstly, it suggests that generational effects, however small or specific, cannot be discredited. Further, this data has theoretical relevance. Members of the socialist generation, at least compared to generations of people who matured later, represent

those who spent their formative years in relative security (material and economic), which has a profound theoretical significance in the set of culturalist value models (Inglehart 1990; Inglehart and Welzel 2005; Welzel 2013). If the acceptance of emancipative values is dependent on early formative experiences of socialisation, then expectations regarding the members of the socialist generation are quite clear – they should give a lot of importance to emancipative values. Yet the results show just the opposite patterns (at least when bivariate analyses were conducted).

Two possible explanations for these patterns seem obvious. Members of the socialist generation are predominantly in the elderly cohort in each wave of survey, and have therefore become less emancipative with age. Or, the promotion of values that bear little resemblance to emancipative ones during the socialist, politically authoritarian system (e.g. for the most part of their life) led to their adoption of value priorities that are incompatible with aspirations of liberty (Schwartz and Bardi 1997; Jackman and Miller 1998; Mishler and Pollack 2003; Pavlović 2014, 2015, 2018). Still, either way, these explanations are not compatible with the theory of emancipative values that discredits the validity of lifecycle effects or institutional learning sources of values (Welzel 2013).

Finally, period effects are unequivocal and prominent. Data from 2006, in comparison to 1996, showed a significant emancipative shift at a population level. Such a change in such a short period of time cannot be accounted for by lifecycle or generational effects, so it is safe to assume that this is a clear indication of historical events influencing value priorities in all Serbian citizens, irrespective of their lifecycle stage and

the generation they belong to. In 2000, Serbian society experienced so-called democratic changes when, after decades of authoritarian and totalitarian rule, a democratic political system was introduced. Socioeconomic circumstances and political freedoms improved, and democratic values and norms were openly and intensely promoted. Emancipative values are, by definition, a psychological equivalent of democratic institutional arrangements and their stronger upholding in these years is quite understandable. By the same token, we can understand the setback in emancipative values between 2006 and 2017, during which Serbian society experienced great transitional turmoil. Weakly established and inefficient democratic institutions could have caused great disillusionment with those values that are essential for democracy among Serbian citizens. Opportunities to practise democratic values and acknowledge their utility were limited and democratic norms were not institutionally protected. As a result, Serbian guarantees of freedom deteriorated (in 2019, Serbia lost its status of 'free' country according to Freedom House, having gained that status back in 2006) and, consequently, emancipative values lost their adaptive values (Pavlović 2018).

All said, variations in emancipative values in Serbia seem to be far better explained by period and lifecycle than generation effects, both of which have not been greatly elaborated upon in the theory of human empowerment. The relevance of lifecycle is further supported by the presented data. The importance attributed to emancipative values is significantly and positively (although weakly) predicted by parenting status. This piece of evidence is a puzzle that needs to be answered by further

research. Still, we can hypothesise that becoming a parent can cause a shift in interpersonal or social focus, making one more oriented towards others. The functional significance of pro-sociality could increase, as well as interdependence with others (Van Lange et al. 1997), all of which fuel those psychological processes that form the essence of emancipative values. Furthermore, being a parent brings additional life responsibilities and, possibly, increased sensitivity for the general state of the affairs in society at large, making one eager to place more importance on greater opportunities for individual wellbeing and growth. This corresponds well with the core features of emancipative values (Welzel 2013).

Still, no other piece of empirical evidence speaks more vocally against the notion of the relevance of the pre-adult or early adolescence stage of life for value priorities than the importance of education. By far the most important predictor of variations in emancipative values in Serbia is people's level of education. These results show that, just as Welzel's theory argues (Welzel 2013), value priorities are determined by cognitive, social, and material resources, as long as one's education level is a good proxy for these. But being more or less educated is not a generational issue *per se*; no one gets a university degree due to specific historical circumstances and/or in early adolescence. It is a matter of lifelong learning and experiences dependent on and collected during specific (later) stages in an individual's lifecycle.

The relevance of education has one additional theoretical implication. Rather than the expression of primary ungratified needs from early adolescence, emancipative values seem better conceptualised as a measure of political liberalism that can be learned

and influenced by prolonged life experiences and social circumstances (Pavlović 2018). The rising opportunity to exercise freedoms that accompanied the introduction of democracy back in 2000 showed a clear impact on value priorities and, by educating people, the level of emancipative values across the population can be boosted.

It goes beyond the scope of this paper, but the present findings suggest a possible different model of how emancipative value priorities can form. Instead of insisting on the socialisation hypothesis and deprivation logic (Inglehart 1990; Welzel 2013), the possibility of the lifelong learning model for explaining value patterns in Serbia seems well suited (Mishler and Pollack 2003; Pavlović 2015). The presented results are well accounted for by a broad theoretical framework of institutional learning, rational choice, or lifelong learning models. The main focuses of their theoretical reconsiderations are experiences and evaluations in a more recent socio-political context. Personal experiences with the performance of the system, in economic and political terms, are far more important for shaping value priorities and political attitudes than early socialisation (Muller and Seligson 1994; Jackman and Miller 1996; Mishler and Rose 2002). These reconsiderations are nothing but assumptions that value priorities are adaptable across all stages of life and can be sensitive and changeable during the course of life – early and late adolescence and adult life – when significant individual and social ‘events’ occur.

Limitations and recommendations for future research. This study relied on the cross-sectional research design, which requires caution regarding any conclusion about the (quasi)longitudinal patterns of changes in values.

The ultimate test of lifecycle effects can be found in longitudinal research data, which is not the case with WVS data. Conceptualisation of the political generation was specific, novel, and adapted to the local context. Future research should try to address different or well-known generation classifications, especially those that focus on the year of birth (i.e. early socialisation experiences). The focus of this study was one illustrative case specific to one country; a multi-country analysis, for which data is already available in the WVS dataset, would replicate the findings presented here and add to their validity and robustness.

5 CONCLUSION

This study examined the influences of lifecycle, generational, and historical periods on Serbian citizens’ preferences for emancipatory values from 1996 to 2017. The large cross-sectional time-series dataset produced by the World Values Survey (WVS), which was performed in Serbia in 1996 (N=1,280), 2006 (N=1,220), and 2017 (N=1,046), was used in the analysis. The results showed that age differences in emancipative values were prominent and that their interpretation must be nuanced and complementary. Younger respondents embraced emancipatory values more than older respondents, and the socialist generation less than those who matured after the break-up of socialism in Serbia. Emancipative values were generally higher in survey waves after 2000, demonstrating significant period effects.

When such tests were possible, it was shown that younger respondents within the same generation were nearly always more supportive of emancipatory

ideals than older members of the same generation. Similarly, those in the same lifecycle stages and political generations, at different times, i.e. between the three waves of the survey, differ in emancipative values, which generally gain prominence over time in almost all lifecycle stages and generation groups, particularly when comparing the surveys before and after the introduction of democracy in 2000.

The findings demonstrate a somewhat complicated interplay between lifecycle, generational, and period effects on the one hand, and emancipative ideals on the other, calling into doubt the theory's exclusive focus on interpretations of generational effects. It looks as

though lifecycle and period effects could serve as a more relevant interpretation of age-related differences in emancipative values than generational effects.

People's level of education proved to be by far the most important predictor of the acceptance of emancipative values in Serbia, which additionally stresses the theoretically neglected role of lifecycle transitions and lifelong learning experiences for value development. This evidence, in combination with documented period effects, suggests that the population level of emancipative values could, under the right conditions, change at a relatively faster rate (in comparison to the changes that come with generational replacement).

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Efekti životnog ciklusa, generacijske pripadnosti i perioda istraživanja na emancipativne vrednosti u Srbiji

REZIME

Seriya istraživanja u novije vreme ukazuje na to da emancipativne vrednosti, davanje važnosti slobodi izbora i jednakim mogućnostima predstavljaju ključnu komponentu šireg istorijskog procesa ljudskog osnaživanja. Navodno posledica procesa modernizacije, koja uvećava dostupnost resursa i sposobnosti za ostvarivanje sloboda, emancipativne vrednosti jedna su od njenih glavnih sociokulturnih manifestacija i imaju veoma izražene „posledice“ u društveno-političkom smislu. Glavni mehanizam njihovog širenja je, u teoriji, smena generacija, ali su sve glasniji i alternativni pogledi koji naglašavaju važnost efekata životnog ciklusa i tzv. period efekata u njihovoj izraženoosti. Cilj ovog rada je analiza efekata životnog ciklusa, generacijske pripadnosti i perioda istraživanja na preferenciju emancipativnih vrednosti u Srbiji, u periodu od 1996. do 2017. godine. Podaci korišćeni u analizi prikupljeni su tokom trećeg, petog i sedmog talasa Svetske studije vrednosti (engl. World Values Survey, WVS), sprovedenih u Srbiji 1996. (N=1.280), 2006. (N=1.220), odnosno 2017. godine (N=1.046). Podaci su prikupljeni intervjuima „licem u lice“ na reprezentativnim uzorcima punoletnih građana/ki Srbije. U analizi su korišćene mere emancipativnih vrednosti koje čine sastavni deo originalnih WVS baza podataka. Kao posredna mera faze životnog ciklusa osobe korišćena je rekodirana varijabla uzrasta (mladi/srednjih godina/stariji). Na osnovu starosnog perioda tokom kojeg je osoba proživela svoje formativne godine (uzrast 15–24 godine), konstruisana je tipologija generacijske pripadnosti (npr. socijalistička generacija, politički sazrela između 1946. i 1979. godine). Kao mera efekata perioda korišćena je godina u kojoj je sprovedeno istraživanje. Rezultati pokazuju da emancipativne vrednosti više prihvataju mlađe nego starije osobe ($r = .22^{**}$), kao i u talasima istraživanja posle 2000. godine ($r = .17^{**}$), a manje pripadnici/e socijalističke generacije ($p < .01$) nego onih generacija koje su svoje formativne godine provele posle 2000. godine, omnibus $F(5, 3440) = 58,19^{**}$. Kada su takve analize bile moguće, pokazalo se da u okviru iste generacije mlađe osobe gotovo uvek izraženije prihvataju emancipativne vrednosti nego starije. Slično, oni/e u istim fazama životnog ciklusa i pripadnici/e iste političke generacije, u različito vreme odnosno između tri talasa istraživanja, razlikuju se u stepenu prihvatanja ovih vrednosti, koje generalno dobijaju na značaju tokom vremena u skoro svim starosnim i generacijskim grupama, posebno kada se uporede istraživanje sredinom devedesetih godina XX veka i kasnija istraživanja, nakon demokratskih promena 2000. Rezultati ukazuju na složen odnos između efekata životnog ciklusa, generacijske pripadnosti i period efekata, s jedne strane, i emancipativnih vrednosti, s druge strane, i dovode u pitanje isključivi značaj koji se obično pripisuje generacijskim razlikama u teoriji. U završnim delovima diskutovane su moguće implikacije dobijenih nalaza za teoriju vrednosti, kao i praktične implikacije koje se odnose na mogućnost promene vrednosti u srpskom društvu.

KLJUČNE REČI

emancipativne vrednosti, efekti generacijske pripadnosti, efekti životnog ciklusa, period efekti, WVS, Srbija



Political participation and life course transitions among young people in Europe

Dragan Stanojević¹  Anja Gvozdanović² 

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

The subject of this article is the analysis of the relationship between the life course of young people and political participation in Europe. Results show that young people's transitions in education, work, and family in European countries are directly associated with institutional and non-institutional forms of political participation. Entering new roles and obtaining or losing resources (financial, social, or time) forms a more or less stimulating context for involvement in the political field.

The analysis shows that our first hypothesis proved to be correct. Both institutional and non-institutional forms of participation are positively associated with the study experience, and this indicator is the most consistent predictor of both forms of participation. Young people who go through higher education better understand the socio-political context and have more knowledge of how they can influence social processes. The transition to the labour market also shows positive associations with political participation, but only with certain practices, so our hypothesis is only partially correct. Young people who work vote more often, are active within parties, contact political representatives, and are active within NGOs. Work provides more financial and social capital, as well as the acquisition of new skills and competencies that are important for engagement. Employment seems to lead to a rationalisation of time and a better understanding of the effects of engagement. The third hypothesis also proved to be (almost) correct, as half of institutional and all non-institutional forms of participation are negatively associated with parenthood. Entering the parental role leads to a certain repackaging of priorities, and the lack of available time reduces the probability of participation. The fourth hypothesis was (partially) confirmed. With the growth of democracy within society, young people are more willing to participate in almost all forms of non-institutional practices (except for demonstrations) and to contact politicians and participate in campaigns more often. A high degree of organisation of political infrastructure and a democratic political culture represent a prerequisite for the existence of democratic practices.

¹ Department of Sociology,
Faculty of Philosophy,
University of Belgrade,
Belgrade, Serbia

² Institute for Social Research
in Zagreb, Zagreb, Croatia

Correspondence:

Dragan Stanojević,
Faculty of Philosophy,
University of Belgrade,
Čika Ljubina 18-20,
Belgrade, Serbia

Email:

draganstanojevich@gmail.com

The hypotheses with which we examined the associations between context, life events, and participation generally did not prove to be justified. Although the highly educated in democratic societies vote more often and join parties (and similar groups), they participate less often in campaigns and are involved in all non-institutional forms of participation at the same level as those in less democratic societies. The explanation for the lack of differences between old and new democracies in the level of non-institutional participation of the highly educated may lie in the same role played by university education. In both developed and less developed democracies, those who establish or preserve these practices are students, who are both the most open to news and the most sensitive to social injustices.

The relationship between work and activism was completely the opposite of what was expected. Given that work represents a source of resources (economic and social capital), we expected that in more democratic societies, which are also more economically developed, this connection would be stronger, but it is actually weaker. The explanation for this phenomenon may lie in the dependence of the sphere of work on the political field in "new democracies". The latter is dominated by clientelistic relations, where a significant number of young people who enter the labour market do so through political channels and in turn have to be active in political parties, especially during election campaigns.

The last hypothesis proved to be correct, as context did not moderate the relationship between parenting and participation. Entering the parental role is equally challenging for young people regardless of their location or social and political context, and on average it certainly leads to a lower level of participation.

KEYWORDS

institutional participation, non-institutional participation, youth, life course, European Social Survey

Politička participacija i tranzicije životnog toka kod mladih u Evropi

APSTRAKT

Predmet ovog rada je proučavanje odnosa između životnih tranzicija mladih i političke participacije u Evropi. Rezultati pokazuju da su tranzicije u sferi obrazovanja, rada i porodice u evropskim zemljama direktno povezane sa institucionalnim i vaninstitucionalnim oblicima političke participacije. Ulazak u nove uloge, ostvarivanje ili gubitak resursa (finansijskih, socijalnih ili vremena) formira manje ili više stimulativan kontekst za uključivanje u političku sferu. I institucionalni i vaninstitucionalni oblici participacije pozitivno su povezani sa iskustvom studiranja, i ovaj indikator je konzistentan prediktor oba oblika participacije. Mladi koji rade češće glasaju, aktivni su unutar partija, kontaktiraju političke predstavnike i aktivni su unutar NVO. Porodične obaveze sa sobom nose manje raspoloživo vremena, promenu prioriteta, te vode nižem stepenu participacije. U društvima koja su više demokratska, mladi su spremniji da učestvuju u gotovo svim oblicima vaninstitucionalnih praksi (osim demonstracija), a kad je reč o institucionalnim češće kontaktiraju političare i učestvuju u kampanjama. Hipoteze kojima smo pretpostavljali veze između konteksta, životnih događaja i participacije uglavnom se nisu pokazale opravdanim, te zahtevaju dalja istraživanja i objašnjenja.

KLJUČNE REČI

institucionalna participacija, vaninstitucionalna participacija, mladi, životni tok, Evropsko društveno istraživanje

1 UVOD

Predmet ovog rada je proučavanje odnosa između životnih tranzicija mladih i političke participacije u Evropi. Istraživanja su već dokumentovala da nove uloge, iskustva, kao i same godine života sa sobom nose drugačije interese, poglede i aktivnosti u političkoj sferi. Rad zato ima za cilj da, koristeći najnovije podatke za populaciju mladih u Evropi – IX ciklus Evropskog društvenog istraživanja, ispita asocijacije između obrazovne, radne i porodične tranzicije i stepena institucionalne i vaninstitucionalne političke participacije, kao i da prepozna da li društvenopolitički kontekst izražen stepenom demokratije posreduje u ovoj vezi.

Longitudinalne studije pokazuju da u poslednjih nekoliko decenija u evropskim zemljama dolazi do pada učestvovanja građana u demokratskim procesima: glasanju na izborima, radu političkih partija, kampanjama (Blais 2007; Macedo i dr. 2005; Pilkington i Pollock 2015). Pad je izrazitiji sa svakom novom generacijom, tako da se mladi u proseku brže isključuju iz ovih oblika participacije nego stariji. Promene u stepenu uključenosti mladih tumače se ili kao deo krize demokratije koja je i njih zahvatila ili kao pokušaj mladih da pronađu nove i efikasnije kanale uticaja na političku sferu (Norris 2003). Potonje smatraju oni koji u analizama prepoznaju da su mladi skloniji da biraju neinstitucionalne kanale participacije (poput demonstracija, bojkota, peticija, digitalnog aktivizma, učešća u radu NVO i dr.), koji su fluidni, daju više slobode i imaju veze sa njihovim identitetima i potrošnjom (Furlong i Cartmel 2012; Henn i Foard 2014). S obzirom da se mladost vidi kao faza između detinjstva i odraslosti, i da je obeležena postepenim preuzimanjem odgovornosti i sticanjem autonomije,

zanimljivo je ispitati kako je ovaj proces isprepletan sa različitim oblicima participacije. Sticanje autonomije podrazumeva promene uloga, prepakivanje prioriteta i dovodi do sticanja resursa (na primer ekonomskog i socijalnog kapitala), ali i do njihovih gubitaka (na primer vremena), pa možemo da očekujemo da ovi procesi utiču na mogućnost političkog angažovanja. Polazeći od različitih društvenih, institucionalnih i političkih konfiguracija u društvima Evrope koje uslovljavaju kako dinamiku sticanja (finansijske, stambene) autonomije, tako i mogućnosti za političku participaciju, opravdano je pretpostaviti da su mladi aktivniji u onim društvima u kojima postoji duža tradicija i razvijenija infrastruktura učestvovanja u javnom životu.

Rad je podeljen na četiri celine. U prvom delu ćemo dati teorijski okvir kojim ćemo obrazložiti odnos između obrazovne, radne i porodične tranzicije i participacije. Posebno ćemo se osvrnuti na značaj političkog konteksta i njegovu potencijalnu posredujuću vezu između životnih događaja i participacije. U drugom delu ćemo predstaviti metod, podatke i uzorak, a u trećem analizu podataka kroz deskriptivnu statistiku i *multilevel* logističke modele. U poslednjem delu rada ćemo pokušati da sumiramo zaključke i da analize integrišemo u postojeće teorijske okvire.

2 TEORIJSKI OKVIR

Ovaj rad u razmatranju političke participacije polazi od pristupa životnog toka, što znači da je politička participacija shvaćena kao varijabilna pojava u životima mladih. Drugim rečima, prepoznato je da odnos mladih spram politike varira u svom intenzitetu zavisno o dobi ili životne faze. Tako oni koji tokom mladosti nisu bili zainteresovani za politiku

postaju donekle zainteresovani tokom godina i sazrevanjem (Hooghe i Wilkenfeld 2008; Levine 2007). Uspešnost društvene integracije mladih, koja u kontekstu tranzicije ka odraslosti podrazumeva preuzimanje društvenih uloga (porodičnih, radnih, javnih), može nositi sa sobom povećanje nivoa političke participacije. To je pogotovo slučaj kod institucionalne političke participacije (glasanje) za kojom raste interes odrastanjem, dok za vaninstitucionalnu političku participaciju (na primer proteste), koja se često vezuje uz mlađe uzraste, vremenom jenjava (García-Albacete 2013). Sazrevanje podrazumeva sticanje resursa koji mladima omogućuju da se građanski ili politički aktiviraju. Tako neki autori prepoznaju vreme, novac i građanske veštine kao glavne resurse političke participacije (Brady, Verba i Schlozman 1995). Vreme, ali i građanske kompetencije su često pretpostavke onih oblika participacije koji zahtevaju više slobodnog vremena i određeni nivo predanosti, poput angažmana u kampanji, građanskoj inicijativi, protestu, učestvovanje u različitim odborima u zajednici, školi i sl. Iako u periodu do osnivanja vlastite porodice i roditeljstva mladi raspolažu s više vremena, vrstom resursa koja uglavnom manjka zaposlenim roditeljima, smatra se da im nedostaju druge relevantne vrste resursa za političku participaciju. Zbog tranzicionog perioda u kojem se nalaze nedostaju im adekvatne informacije, veštine i „uronjenost“ u zajednicu, što čini ključne pretpostavke građanskog ili političkog angažmana (García-Albacete 2013). S druge strane, doniranje u političke svrhe uveliko zavisi od finansijskih mogućnosti, pa se novac kao resurs pokazuje značajnim gotovo isključivo u toj vrsti političke participacije (Brady, Verba i Schlozman 1995). Treba dodati da su tokom tranzicije u

odraslost mladi u većoj meri zainteresovani za druženja i izlaske, obrazovanje, nalaženje posla i partnera, dok se politika kao predmet interesa za najveći broj njih najčešće nalazi na dnu lestvice ličnih prioriteta (García-Albacete 2013; Ilišin i Spajić Vrkaš 2017).

Kao važne životne faze ili prelomne tačke životnog toka mladih obično se prepoznaju završavanje školovanja, prvo zaposlenje i osnivanje porodice. Pretpostavlja se da navedene faze u različitoj meri mogu doprineti resursima koji su mladima potrebni za angažman izvan kruga primarnih veza, porodice i prijatelja.

2.1 PROCES OBRAZOVANJA

Proces obrazovanja je značajan za političku socijalizaciju, proces kojim se mladi ljudi politički integrišu u društvo. Politička socijalizacija je društveni proces kojim mladi ljudi usvajaju političku kulturu odnosno političke vrednosti, prakse i znanja kako bi uspešno preuzeli građansku ulogu (Šalaj 2011). Uloga građanina u demokratskom društvu stoga podrazumeva razmerno visok nivo političke informisanosti i znanja, demokratsku vrednosnu orijentaciju i visoki stepen političkog angažmana. Obrazovni sistem je jedan od glavnih agensa političke socijalizacije, a posebno je značajno visoko obrazovanje za politički angažman jer je značajno i pozitivno povezano sa političkim interesovanjem i građanskim kompetencijama (Brady, Verba i Schlozman 1995; Levine 2007; Ilišin i Spajić Vrkaš 2017). Iako postoje konzistentni pokazatelji o uticaju nivoa obrazovanja na glasanje (Ahearn, Brand i Zhou 2022), neka istraživanja ne potvrđuju direktnu vezu, pri čemu se ne umanjuje važnost obrazovanja. Uticaj višeg nivoa obrazovanja je posredovan preko stepena

političkog interesovanja koji ima snažan uticaj na politički angažman, a posebno na glasanje (Brady, Verba i Schlozman 1995). Takođe, građanske kompetencije su posebno važne kao prediktori vaninstitucionalnog angažmana, poput učestvovanja u kampanjama, protestima, neformalnim građanskim inicijativama, a njihovo sticanje pak u velikoj meri zavisi od tipa i nivoa obrazovanja. Mladi ljudi s višim stepenom obrazovanja imaju i viši stepen građanskih kompetencija koje čine relevantan resurs za političku participaciju (Lavrić, Tomanović i Jusić 2019; Ilišin i Spajić Vrkaš 2017).

2.2 ZAPOSLENJE

Odnosu rada i političke participacije moguće je pristupiti na dva načina (Lorenzini i Giugni 2012). Prvi pristup posmatra radnu sredinu kao socijalizacijski prostor u kojem radnik osveštava svoje radne a onda i političke interese, što može imati značajan uticaj na njegovo političko ponašanje. Drugim rečima, radna okolina može stvoriti prilike za preuzimanje dodatnih odgovornosti, ali i za učenje kako participirati u okviru kolektiva, što se onda prenosi na političku sferu (*spillover* efekt). Drugi pristup vidi radnu okolinu kao prostor sticanja resursa potrebnih za participaciju, poput novca i građanskih kompetencija (sposobnosti komunikacije i organizacije) (Lorenzini i Giugni 2012). Može se reći da se uključenost u tržište rada generalno smatra povoljnim faktorom za političku participaciju, iako valja imati na umu da zaposlenja variraju i s obzirom na prihod, izloženost mogućnostima ovladavanja građanskim veštinama (Brady, Verba i Schlozman 1995; Erkulwater 2012), a sve više treba uzimati u obzir i tip ugovora o radu, s obzirom na sve zastupljeniji prekarni rad. Suprotno očekivanjima, uticaj zaposlenja mladih

ljudi na političko aktiviranje, prema nekim istraživanjima, nije značajan. Tako Lorenzini i Giugni (2012) zaključuju da dugoročno nezaposleni mladi nisu značajno manje angažovani od zaposlenih mladih, s obzirom na vaninstitucionalnu (protesti) i institucionalnu participaciju (kontaktiranje političara) (Lorenzini i Giugni 2012; Giugni i dr. 2021).

2.3 OSNIVANJE PORODICE

Roditeljstvo je značajna faza u formiranju odnosa mladih prema javnoj sferi u najširem smislu. S jedne strane, radi se o životnoj fazi u kojoj dolazi do prepakivanja prioriteta koji motivišu roditelje da više pažnje polažu na kvalitet i mogućnosti koje im osigurava društvo u odgoju dece. U tom smislu, u odnosu na osobe koje nemaju decu, roditelji imaju širi krug poznanstava (uspostavljena s roditeljima druge dece), više su „uronjeni“ u zajednicu u kojoj žive, što se vidi u višem stepenu zainteresovanosti za kvalitet javnih usluga vezanih za dobrobit dece (vrtići, škole, zdravstvena zaštita i sl.), sigurnosti susedstva i slično (Quaranta 2016). To se ogleda u slučaju izlaska na izbore budući da neka istraživanja upućuju na zaključak da su osobe u braku s decom sklonije da na taj način participiraju u odnosu na one bez dece (Wolfinger i Wolfinger 2008). Uprkos tome, roditeljstvo se pokazuje kao faza u kojoj su resursi vremena ali i porodičnih finansija značajno smanjeni, što se odražava na slabljenje socijalnih veza, a posebno je to slučaj kod roditelja dece predškolskog uzrasta (Brady, Verba i Schlozman 1995; Quaranta 2016). Drugim rečima, efekti roditeljstva na participaciju uveliko zavise od uzrasta deteta, ali i od pola roditelja. Žene odnosno majke su nezavisno od uzrasta deteta radno

opterećenije (kroz plaćeni i neplaćeni rad), što doprinosi njihovom slabijem aktiviranju u političkoj sferi posebno kada je reč o aktivnostima koje zahtevaju više vremena i posvećenosti, kao i uopšte roditelji male dece. Zato rezultati koji analiziraju roditelje male dece pokazuju negativne veze između participacije i ove životne faze (Quaranta 2016; Sartori, Tuorto i Ghigi 2017).

2.4 STEPEN DEMOKRATIJE

Posebna dimenzija od interesa je odnos demokratije i participacije mladih. Osnovno polazište kako klasičnih, tako i savremenih teorija o demokratiji i participaciji je da bez participacije građana nema demokratije, te da je ona kako uslov tako i pokazatelj njene vitalnosti (Dalton 1996; Inglehart 1997; Norris 2002). Komparativno posmatrano, društva koja imaju viši stepen participacije su i demokratskija, dok ona u kojima su građani uključeni na niskom nivou imaju rizike legitimizacije i monopolizacije procesa odlučivanja. Ali, ovde treba biti dodatno oprezan jer stepen participacije nije nužno jednak stepenu demokratičnosti. Ukoliko kao indikatore koristimo isključivo učešće u različitim aktivnostima (što je najčešće slučaj, i komparativna istraživanja nam ne pružaju alternativne indikatore), možemo da pretpostavimo da učestvovanje u aktivnostima ima isto značenje u različitim kontekstima i da vodi istim ili sličnim rezultatima, što ne mora biti slučaj. Na primer, učestvovanje u radu političkih partija u zemljama Jugoistočne Evrope za jedan broj mladih ima instrumentalni karakter, i može se odnositi pre na strategiju zapošljavanja ili napredovanja nego na ostvarivanje političkih ciljeva (Stanojević i Petrović 2020). Kod mladih u skandinavskim zemljama ova instrumentalna motivacija može biti

gotovo potpuno odsutna. Različita vrsta motivacija vodi i različitim rezultatima participacije. Prevladavanje instrumentalne, pragmatične, partikularne motivacije vodi društvenom zatvaranju, a onda i nižem stepenu demokratije. S druge strane, različitost motiva bez dominacije pragmatičnih motiva za učestvovanjem u političkom i društvenom životu vodi reprezentaciji pluraliteta društvenih interesa odnosno višem stepenu demokratije. Zato u radu podrazumevamo višedimenzionalnost demokratičnosti društva, sa kojom prakse i stepen participacije mogu da variraju.

Imajući u vidu navedena teorijska polazišta u radu, polazimo od sledećih hipoteza:

H1. Obrazovna tranzicija utiče na stepen institucionalne i vaninstitucionalne participacije. Iskustvo studiranja povećava verovatnoću učestvovanja u oba oblika participacije.

H2. Iskustvo rada je pozitivno povezano sa stepenom učešća u institucionalnoj i vaninstitucionalnoj participaciji.

H3. Roditeljstvo je negativno povezano sa stepenom učešća kako u institucionalnim, tako i u vaninstitucionalnim oblicima participacije.

H4. Stepen demokratičnosti društva je pozitivno povezan sa oba oblika participacije.

H5. Interakcija između obrazovanja i stepena demokratičnosti je pozitivna na stepen oba oblika participacije, tako što očekujemo da je u društvima sa višim stepenom demokratije ova veza jača.

H6. Interakcija između rada i stepena demokratičnosti je pozitivna na stepen oba oblika participacije, tako što očekujemo da je u društvima sa višim stepenom demokratije ova veza jača.

H7. Interakcija između roditeljstva i stepena demokratičnosti ne utiče različito na stepen participacije.

3 METOD

3.1 PODACI I DIZAJN ISTRAŽIVANJA

Da bismo analizirali odnos između dva tipa političke participacije, životnih događaja i karakteristika društvenopolitičkog konteksta, koristili smo podatke iz devetog ciklusa Evropskog društvenog istraživanja (ESS9-2018), sprovedenog u 29 zemalja tokom 2018–2020. godine (The European Social Survey 2020). ESS podaci su reprezentativni na nacionalnom nivou za populaciju stariju od 15 godina, ali smo mi u analizama koristili podatke za mlade starosti od 15 do 30 godina. Ova baza podataka nam daje mogućnost da analiziramo mlade u Evropi i u sebi sadrži dovoljan broj indikatora koji izražavaju institucionalnu i vaninstitucionalnu participaciju. Da bismo prepoznali kontekstualne razlike (na nivou društava), koristili smo Indeks demokratije koji je razvila posebna jedinica časopisa *The Economist* (2021).

3.2 ZAVISNE VARIJABLE

Kao što smo naveli u teorijskoj elaboraciji, participaciju smo operacionalizovali kao institucionalnu i vaninstitucionalnu. Treba imati u vidu da je to urađeno imajući u vidu kvalitet i karakteristike podataka kojima raspolažemo i oslanjajući se na teorijske operacionalizacije sadržane u dizajnu ESS instrumenta. Svesni smo

da ovi indikatori u različitim društveno-političkim kontekstima mogu izražavati donekle drugačije prakse, pa je zato i sama podela uslovna. Ipak, za prezentaciju rezultata se čini najcelishodnija i praktična.

Pitanje o glasanju na izborima je glasilo: „u današnje vreme neki ljudi ne glasaju iz različitih razloga. Da li ste glasali na poslednjim parlamentarnim izborima u Srbiji?“ Odgovori na pitanje su uključivali „da“, „ne“ i „nisam imao pravo glasa“. Poslednja opcija je bila isključena iz analize. Ostali oblici participacije su mereni preko sledećih pitanja: „Postoje razni načini na koje bi se moglo pokušati da se stvari u Srbiji poboljšaju ili da se spreči da stvari krenu nagore. Da li ste tokom poslednjih 12 meseci uradili nešto od navedenog:“ „kontaktirali nekog političara, predstavnike republičkih ili lokalnih vlasti?“, „dali donaciju ili učestvovali u radu političke stranke ili aktivističke grupe?“, „nosili transparent, zastavu ili bedž, ili isticali poster ili nalepnicu određene političke kampanje?“, „potpisali neku peticiju?“, „učestvovali u javnim demonstracijama?“, „bojkotovali određene proizvode?“, „objavili ili podelili bilo šta vezano za politiku na internetu, na primer na blogovima, putem elektronske pošte ili na društvenim mrežama, poput Fejsbuka ili Tvitera?“ i „volontirali u neprofitnoj ili dobrotvornoj organizaciji?“. Svi odgovori su uključivali opcije „ne“ i „da“, a zavisne u modelima su binarne varijable koje

Institucionalna participacija obuhvata:

1. glasanje na izborima
2. kontaktiranje političara
3. aktivnost u političkoj partiji ili akcionojoj grupi
4. nošenje oznake određene kampanje

Vaninstitucionalna participacija obuhvata:

1. potpisivanje peticije
2. učestvovanje u demonstracijama
3. bojkotovanje proizvoda
4. aktivnosti na internetu
5. učestvovanje u radu NVO

podrazumevaju uključenost u svaku od pojedinačnih navedenih aktivnosti. Opseg godina analiziranih ispitanika je od 15 do 35, osim za indikatore glasanje na izborima i članstvo u političkim partijama kada je ovaj opseg ograničen na punoletna lica i uključuje mlade starosti od 18 do 35 godina.

3.3 NEZAVISNE VARIJABLE

Kao prediktorske smo koristili indikatore koji izražavaju da li se određeni životni događaj desio ili ne. Za to nam je poslužio poseban modul o životnim događajima, kojim je bilo moguće izdvojiti da li je mlada osoba izvršila sledeće

Tabela 1. Oblici političke participacije u evropskim zemljama

	Institucionalna				Vaninstitucionalna				
	Glasanje	Kontaktiranje političara	Partija ili akciona grupa	Kampanja	NVO	Peticija	Demonstracije	Bojkot	Internet
Austrija	73,9	13,3	4,9	5,3	14,0	32,2	12,0	28,6	27,0
Belgija	69,2	15,7	2,9	7,7	17,8	25,5	5,0	13,8	27,9
Bugarska	62,0	1,5	1,5	3,2	2,0	7,7	7,9	5,2	7,4
Hrvatska	49,3	5,1	3,8	4,6	9,0	34,4	9,5	8,7	10,5
Kipar	49,2	3,6	2,6	2,0	1,0	7,7	5,1	6,6	8,7
Češka	43,3	8,5	2,7	11,0	5,0	24,1	14,3	15,0	22,2
Danska	82,7	12,8	3,3	12,8	25,9	42,9	11,1	27,7	30,2
Estonija	48,8	10,3	3,3	7,7	4,3	14,6	2,9	9,1	23,0
Finska	71,8	8,5	2,3	22,1	26,5	43,5	7,3	42,2	27,6
Francuska	43,1	7,7	5,9	14,5	13,8	37,7	16,5	30,0	30,5
Nemačka	76,9	10,6	2,2	8,8	24,6	36,3	12,9	34,2	28,2
Mađarska	57,9	4,0	0,0	1,2	1,4	4,1	4,1	3,2	6,4
Island	72,9	14,3	11,1	39,3	28,7	43,2	25,8	38,8	24,6
Irska	49,0	11,1	3,8	15,3	9,2	29,7	14,3	13,5	22,7
Italija	76,2	7,0	1,5	7,7	5,5	14,0	9,7	5,6	21,7
Letonija	65,2	19,0	2,9	8,8	12,7	14,5	5,2	4,6	29,1
Litvanija	45,6	6,3	1,7	3,5	3,0	19,6	6,9	5,2	17,4
Crna Gora	70,7	10,3	10,9	7,6	8,8	19,6	7,9	6,7	10,0
Holandija	76,1	12,3	2,7	6,2	30,2	26,3	4,9	9,6	17,3
Norveška	79,1	15,3	6,3	47,0	22,1	45,1	18,1	29,0	33,1
Poljska	55,5	5,9	2,8	8,1	6,9	13,1	4,4	5,6	8,8
Portugalija	54,7	15,6	5,2	8,5	21,7	35,1	10,8	8,1	27,8
Srbija	57,4	7,0	7,0	2,8	17,9	23,8	8,6	11,8	19,3
Slovačka	45,7	2,3	1,8	3,2	1,4	29,9	6,3	3,6	7,7
Slovenija	49,2	10,7	2,4	2,0	8,7	13,6	4,0	7,9	15,8
Španija	70,5	12,3	7,4	12,3	20,4	24,3	25,3	13,7	34,7
Švedska	86,6	14,7	2,8	17,2	28,6	47,7	14,7	47,4	42,3
Švajcarska	43,7	7,2	3,7	6,9	12,4	29,1	6,9	19,6	15,7
Velika Britanija	55,2	7,3	3,1	8,8	7,2	40,5	6,3	14,8	28,9

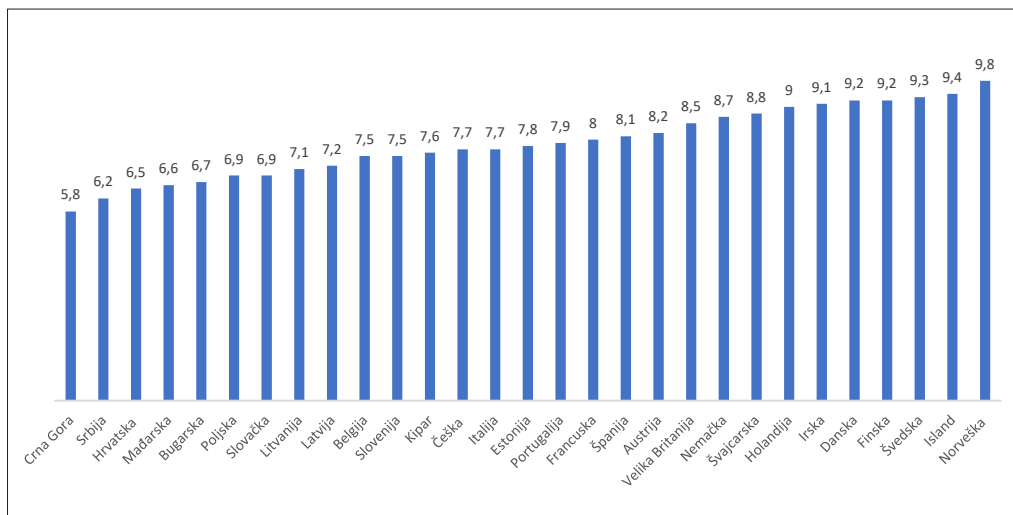
Izvor: The European Social Survey (2020)

tranzicije: 1. tranziciju ka/kroz visoko obrazovanje, odnosno da li je (svršeni) student visokog obrazovanja, i ovaj indikator je u modelima predstavljen kao referentna kategorija (sa najviše završenim osnovnim i srednjim obrazovanjem kao indikatorima u modelu); 2. da li je do sada radila u periodu dužem od 3 meseca u kontinuitetu, kojim se merila radna tranzicija; 3. da li je roditelj, čime se merila dosadašnja ostvarenost roditeljske tranzicije.

Društenopolitički kontekst je izražen indeksom demokratije koji koristi istraživačka jedinica časopisa *The Economist* (2021). Ovaj indeks se sastoji od pet dimenzija: izbornog procesa i stepena političkog pluralizma u zemlji, efektivnosti rada vlade, participacije, političke kulture, i političkih sloboda. Indeks je formiran od ukupno 60 varijabli i uključuje kako podatke zvanične statistike, istraživanja javnog mnjenja, tako i mišljenja stručnjaka iz različitih oblasti. Raspon vrednosti indeksa za izabrane zemlje u uzorku je od 5,77 do 9,81.

Kao kontrolne varijable koristili smo pol (gde je muški pol referentna kategorija), godine ispitnika.

Podaci pokazuju da postoje značajne razlike u stepenu participacije mladih u evropskim zemljama. Od institucionalnih oblika participacije najčešće je glasanje na izborima, a u većini zemalja uglavnom najmanje zastupljen oblik je članstvo u partijama. Izlazak na izbore je najčešći među mladima u Skandinaviji, Švedskoj, Danskoj, Norveškoj, a najniže u Francuskoj, Češkoj i Švajcarskoj. Kontaktiranje političara je relativno malo popularan način participacije, ali je nešto češći među mladima u Portugalu, Norveškoj, Belgiji i Švedskoj, a ređi u Bugarskoj, Mađarskoj, Kipru i Hrvatskoj. Podaci pokazuju da političke partije nisu atraktivan oblik participacije mladima, pa tako u većini zemalja učešće je ispod 5% – najviše je na Islandu, u Crnoj Gori, Španiji i Srbiji, a najniže u Mađarskoj, Bugarskoj, Italiji, Litvaniji i Slovačkoj. Isticanje bedža ili učestvovanje u političkoj kampanji prilično varira među mladima. Tako čak gotovo polovina mladih u Norveškoj praktikuje ovaj



Grafikon 1. Prosečne vrednosti indeksa demokratičnosti – *The Economist* (2021) Intelligence Unit's *democracy index*

vid participacije, nešto manje na Islandu, a veoma mali broj mladih u Mađarskoj, na Kipru, u Sloveniji i Srbiji.

Od vaninstitucionalne participacije, peticije se u većini zemalja izdvajaju kao najčešći način aktivizma. Ovaj oblik izražavanja je nešto češći među mladima u Švedskoj, Norveškoj, Finskoj i Danskoj, a ređi na Kipru, u Mađarskoj i Bugarskoj. Članstvo u NVO prilično varira i najniže je među mladima na Kipru, u Slovačkoj, Mađarskoj i Bugarskoj, a najviše u Holandiji, na Islandu, u Švedskoj, Finskoj i Danskoj. I bojkotovanje određenih roba prilično varira među mladima u Evropi, ali pokazuje slične pravilnosti kao i prethodni oblici aktivizma. Najčešće je ponovo u skandinavskim zemljama, a najređe u postsocijalističkim zemljama. Učestvovanje u demonstracijama je posebno prisutno među mladima na Islandu i u Španiji, ali se relativno retko praktikuje u Estoniji, Sloveniji, Mađarskoj, Poljskoj i Holandiji. Internet aktivizam pokazuje nešto manje varijacije i, kao i ostali oblici aktivizma, nešto je ređi u Mađarskoj, Kipru i Bugarskoj, a nešto češći u Švedskoj, Španiji i Norveškoj.

Stepen demokratičnosti zemlje se u literaturi direktno povezuje sa nivoom političke participacije. Pretpostavka je da vitalnost demokratije direktno zavisi od spremnosti građana da se angažuju, ali i mogućnosti da to ostvare. Grafikon nam pokazuje raspored analiziranih društava prema stepenu demokratičnosti. Najviše ocene imaju skandinavska društva, njih prate društva zapadne, južne i centralne Evrope, dok najniže skorove imaju postsocijalističke i zemlje zapadnog Balkana. Ova skala prati podelu na „uspostavljene“ i „mlade demokratije“, odnosno korespondira u velikoj meri sa dužinom prisustva demokratije u zemlji i intenzitetom izgradnje demokratskih institucija i praksi.

U regresionim modelima ćemo analizirati asocijacije demokratičnosti društva i oblika participacije, ali ćemo uvoditi i interakcije između ovog indeksa i događaja tokom životnog toka.

3.4 METOD ANALIZE

Kao metod analize koristili smo multilevel logističku analizu, koja je uključivala 29 zemalja u uzorku. Ovaj metod nam daje mogućnost da prepoznamo efekte individualnih karakteristika mladih ispitanika, ali i društvenog konteksta u kom žive. Na taj način je moguće prepoznati u kojoj meri lične osobine, u kojoj meri društveni kontekst, a u kojoj meri interakcija oblikuje njihovo političko ponašanje, odnosno u kojoj meri podstiče ili destimuliše mlade da se uključe u institucionalne i/ili vaninstitucionalne oblike participacije. U svakoj tabeli su prikazana pet modela. U prvom su uključeni svi nezavisni prediktori na I nivou. U drugi je dodata i kontekstualna varijabla, (indikator na II nivou) indeks demokratičnosti, dok su u naredna tri modela uključene i interakcije između indeksa demokratičnosti na II nivou i ostvarenih životnih događaja, obrazovne, radne i roditeljske tranzicije, na I nivou analize. Za ponderisanje podataka smo koristili ponder koji uzima u obzir dizajn, osobine populacije, ali i relativan brojčani odnos između društava (*anweight*).

4 ANALIZA

Iskustvo studiranja je pozitivno povezano sa svim oblicima institucionalne participacije (tabele 2 do 5), potvrđujući teorijske pretpostavke o visokom obrazovanju kao polju unutar kog se generišu potrebna znanja, iskustva i zainteresovanost za politiku. Mladi koji imaju visoko obrazovanje ili studiraju,

značajno češće glasaju na izborima, učestvuju u kampanjama, kontaktiraju političke predstavnike i aktivni su unutar političke partije ili slične grupe. Ulazak na tržište rada je na sličan način povezan sa participacijom. Veća je verovatnoća da će mladi koji rade učestvovati u svim oblicima institucionalne participacije, osim učestvovanja u kampanjama. I ovde su rezultati u skladu sa teorijskim pretpostavkama, s obzirom da je verovatno da integracija u sferu rada kod mladih razvija svest o sopstvenim interesima i bolju percepciju kako da ih zastupaju. Iako mladi koji rade češće participiraju u većini aktivnosti, njihov direktniji angažman tokom kampanja nije viši od proseka. Objašnjenje za ovu nekonzistentnost možemo verovatno pronaći u resursima kojima raspolažu, gde visok nivo kulturnog kapitala vodi uključivanju u većinu oblika institucionalne participacije, ali nedostatak vremena smanjuje direktnu i intenzivniju uključenost. Roditeljstvo pokazuje negativne asocijacije sa izlaskom na izbore i sa učestvovanjem u kampanji, ali ne i veze sa aktivizmom unutar partije ili kontaktiranjem političara. Mladi koji su roditelji glasaju u manjoj meri tokom izbora i manje učestvuju u političkim kampanjama od onih koji nemaju dece. Manje učestvovanje u kampanjama je najverovatnije usled manjka vremena koje ide sa roditeljskom ulogom, ali je moguće da sa ranim roditeljstvom generalno opada zainteresovanost za politiku, pa samim tim i za glasanje. Kontekstualni indikator, stepen demokratičnosti, pokazuje pozitivnu povezanost sa kontaktiranjem političara i sa učestvovanjem u kampanjama, dok se ne pokazuje povezanost sa izlaskom na izbore i uključenošću u rad političkih partija i sličnih grupa. Dakle, mladi u zemljama sa višim stepenom demokratičnosti nešto češće kontaktiraju političare i spremniji su da se uključe u kampanje,

dok izlaznost na izborima i partijska aktivnost zavise od drugih uslova. Najzad, interakcija kontekstualne i varijabli životnih događaja pokazuje da je iskustvo pohađanja tercijarnog obrazovanja povezano sa institucionalnom participacijom i društvenim kontekstom. Iako rezultati pokazuju da je opšti trend da mladi koji imaju visoko obrazovanje češće glasaju i češće ulaze u partije, ova veza je izraženija u demokratskim društvima. S druge strane, veza između visokog obrazovanja, demokratičnosti i učestvovanja u kampanjama je negativna, tako da sa povećanjem demokratičnosti zemlje opada verovatnoća da će visokoobrazovani učestvovati u kampanjama. Roditeljstvo i institucionalna participacija nisu posredovani obrazovanjem, te ni kod jedne od analiziranih interakcija ne beležimo statistički značajnu vezu. Participacija je posredovana odnosom između stepena demokratičnosti i radnog statusa mlade osobe. Naime, što je društvo više demokratski, manja je verovatnoća da će se mlada osoba angažovati u radu partije ili biti aktivna tokom kampanje ukoliko radi. Ali možemo da kažemo i na drugi način, što je društvo manje demokratski, veća je verovatnoća da će se mlada osoba koja radi politički angažovati. Glasanje i kontaktiranje političara nije posredovano radom i društvenim kontekstom. Poslednji nalaz je zanimljiv jer ukazuje da kontekst utiče na povezanost rada i participacije na neočekivani način.

Od kontrolnih varijabli, godine pokazuju asocijacije sa svim oblicima institucionalne participacije, ali ne na konzistentan i očekivan način. Dok sa godinama starosti raste verovatnoća glasanja na izborima, uključivanje u kampanje i kontaktiranje političara, u ovom starosnom opsegu opada verovatnoća da će biti deo političkih partija ili sličnih akcionih grupa.

Tabela 2. Multilevel logistički regresioni model – Glasanje na izborima

Prediktori	I			II			III			IV			V		
	Količnici šansi	CI	p	Količnici šansi	CI	p	Količnici šansi	CI	p	Količnici šansi	CI	p	Količnici šansi	CI	p
(Intercept)	0,1	0,07–0,14	<0,001	0,1	0,07–0,14	<0,001	0,09	0,06–0,13	<0,001	0,09	0,06–0,13	<0,001	0,09	0,06–0,13	<0,001
godine	1,11	1,09–1,12	<0,001	1,11	1,09–1,12	<0,001	1,11	1,10–1,12	<0,001	1,11	1,10–1,12	<0,001	1,11	1,10–1,12	<0,001
ženski (ref. muški)	1,03	0,94–1,13	0,547	1,03	0,94–1,12	0,553	1,03	0,94–1,13	0,539	1,02	0,94–1,12	0,602	1,02	0,94–1,12	0,598
OS	0,15	0,11–0,20	<0,001	0,15	0,11–0,20	<0,001	0,16	0,12–0,21	<0,001	0,15	0,12–0,20	<0,001	0,15	0,12–0,20	<0,001
IV	0,52	0,47–0,57	<0,001	0,52	0,47–0,57	<0,001	0,53	0,48–0,58	<0,001	0,53	0,48–0,58	<0,001	0,53	0,48–0,58	<0,001
Radi	1,73	1,56–1,93	<0,001	1,73	1,56–1,92	<0,001	1,74	1,57–1,93	<0,001	1,74	1,56–1,93	<0,001	1,74	1,56–1,93	<0,001
Roditeljstvo	0,79	0,70–0,89	<0,001	0,79	0,70–0,89	<0,001	0,91	0,71–1,16	0,458	0,88	0,69–1,12	0,299	0,92	0,72–1,18	0,511
Indeks demokratije				1,09	0,94–1,27	0,269	1,02	0,87–1,20	0,833	1,14	0,97–1,34	0,12	1,11	0,94–1,31	0,231
Visoko * Indeks dem.				1,17	1,06–1,30	0,002									
Roditeljstvo * Indeks dem.										0,87	0,72–1,05	0,14			
Radi * Indeks dem.													0,97	0,88–1,08	0,628
Slučajni efekat															
σ^2	3,29			3,29			3,29			3,29			3,29		
T00	0,25 zemlja			0,23 zemlja			0,25 zemlja			0,24 zemlja			0,25 zemlja		
T11							0,16 zemlja,roditeljstvo			0,14 zemlja,roditeljstvo			0,17 zemlja,roditeljstvo		
P01							-0,28 zemlja			-0,25 zemlja			-0,28 zemlja		
ICC	0,07			0,07			0,07			0,07			0,07		
N	29 zemlja			29 zemlja			29 zemlja			29 zemlja			29 zemlja		
n	10454			10454			10454			10454			10454		

Tabela 3. Multilevel logistički regresioni model – Politička partija

Prediktori	I			II			III			IV			V		
	Količnici šansi	CI	P	Količnici šansi	CI	P	Količnici šansi	CI	P	Količnici šansi	CI	P	Količnici šansi	CI	P
(Intercept)	0,12	0,06–0,25	<0,001	0,12	0,06–0,25	<0,001	0,12	0,05–0,25	<0,001	0,12	0,06–0,25	<0,001	0,13	0,06–0,27	<0,001
godine	0,97	0,94–1,00	0,03	0,97	0,94–1,00	0,031	0,97	0,94–1,00	0,028	0,97	0,94–1,00	0,031	0,97	0,94–0,99	0,019
ženski (ref. muški)	0,8	0,64–1,01	0,063	0,8	0,64–1,01	0,062	0,81	0,64–1,02	0,076	0,8	0,64–1,01	0,064	0,81	0,64–1,02	0,071
OS	0,59	0,31–1,13	0,112	0,59	0,31–1,13	0,111	0,63	0,33–1,20	0,16	0,59	0,31–1,14	0,116	0,6	0,32–1,16	0,13
IV	0,35	0,27–0,46	<0,001	0,35	0,27–0,46	<0,001	0,35	0,26–0,45	<0,001	0,35	0,27–0,46	<0,001	0,35	0,27–0,46	<0,001
Radi	1,65	1,24–2,20	0,001	1,64	1,23–2,19	0,001	1,63	1,22–2,17	0,001	1,65	1,23–2,20	0,001	1,67	1,25–2,23	0,001
Roditeljstvo	0,96	0,69–1,34	0,818	0,96	0,69–1,34	0,822	0,97	0,68–1,39	0,866	0,96	0,68–1,35	0,822	0,96	0,67–1,39	0,83
Indeks demokratije				1,04	0,87–1,25	0,645	0,83	0,65–1,07	0,155	1,01	0,83–1,23	0,929	1,3	1,00–1,69	0,051
Visoko * Indeks dem.				1,43	1,09–1,88	0,01									
Roditeljstvo * Indeks dem.										1,19	0,84–1,67	0,323			
Radi * Indeks dem.													0,72	0,54–0,96	0,024
Slučajni efekat															
σ^2		3,29			3,29			3,29			3,29			3,29	
T00	0,09 zemlja			0,09 zemlja			0,11 zemlja			0,10 zemlja			0,10 zemlja		
T11							0,04 zemlja, roditeljstvo			0,01 zemlja, roditeljstvo			0,05 zemlja, roditeljstvo		
P01							-0,68 zemlja			-0,73 zemlja			-0,60 zemlja		
ICC		0,03			0,03		0,03			0,03			0,03		
N	29 zemlja			29 zemlja			29 zemlja			29 zemlja			29 zemlja		
n	10521			10521			10521			10521			10521		

Tabela 4. Multilevel logistički regresioni model – Kontaktirao političara

Prediktori	I			II			III			IV			V		
	Količnici šansi	CI	p	Količnici šansi	CI	p	Količnici šansi	CI	p	Količnici šansi	CI	p	Količnici šansi	CI	p
(Intercept)	0,04	0,03–0,06	<0,001	0,04	0,03–0,06	<0,001	0,04	0,03–0,06	<0,001	0,04	0,03–0,06	<0,001	0,04	0,03–0,06	<0,001
godine	1,05	1,04–1,07	<0,001	1,05	1,04–1,07	<0,001	1,05	1,04–1,07	<0,001	1,05	1,04–1,07	<0,001	1,05	1,04–1,07	<0,001
ženski (ref. muški)	0,82	0,72–0,93	0,003	0,82	0,72–0,93	0,003	0,82	0,72–0,93	0,003	0,82	0,72–0,94	0,003	0,83	0,73–0,94	0,004
OS	0,38	0,24–0,61	<0,001	0,39	0,25–0,61	<0,001	0,37	0,23–0,58	<0,001	0,37	0,24–0,59	<0,001	0,37	0,24–0,59	<0,001
IV	0,69	0,60–0,79	<0,001	0,69	0,61–0,79	<0,001	0,68	0,60–0,78	<0,001	0,69	0,60–0,79	<0,001	0,69	0,60–0,79	<0,001
Radi	1,34	1,14–1,56	<0,001	1,32	1,13–1,54	0,001	1,28	1,10–1,50	0,001	1,28	1,10–1,50	0,001	1,33	1,14–1,56	<0,001
Roditeljstvo	0,97	0,82–1,15	0,722	0,97	0,82–1,15	0,717	1,05	0,84–1,31	0,657	1,05	0,84–1,31	0,668	1,05	0,84–1,31	0,679
Indeks demokratije				1,34	1,20–1,49	<0,001	1,38	1,23–1,55	<0,001	1,33	1,22–1,45	<0,001	1,53	1,34–1,74	<0,001
Visoko * Indeks dem.				0,94	0,81–1,09	0,417									
Roditeljstvo * Indeks dem.										1,03	0,84–1,26	0,779			
Radi * Indeks dem.													0,81	0,69–0,95	0,009
Slučajni efekat															
σ^2		3,29			3,29			3,29			3,29			3,29	
T00	0,14 zemlja			0,04 zemlja			0,00 zemlja			0,00 zemlja			0,00 zemlja		
T11							0,05 zemlja, roditeljstvo			0,05 zemlja, roditeljstvo			0,05 zemlja, roditeljstvo		
P01															
ICC		0,04			0,01										
N	29 zemlja			29 zemlja			29 zemlja			29 zemlja			29 zemlja		
n	11657			11657			11657			11657			11657		

Tabela 5. Multilevel logistički regresioni model – Bedž tokom kampanje

Prediktori	I			II			III			IV			V		
	Količnici šansi	CI	p	Količnici šansi	CI	p	Količnici šansi	CI	p	Količnici šansi	CI	p	Količnici šansi	CI	p
(Intercept)	0,04	0,03–0,07	<0,001	0,05	0,03–0,07	<0,001	0,05	0,03–0,07	<0,001	0,05	0,03–0,07	<0,001	0,05	0,05–0,05	<0,001
godine	1,02	1,00–1,03	0,015	1,02	1,00–1,03	0,013	1,02	1,00–1,03	0,01	1,02	1,00–1,03	0,013	1,02	1,01–1,02	<0,001
Ženski (ref. muški)	1,39	1,21–1,59	<0,001	1,38	1,21–1,58	<0,001	1,38	1,21–1,58	<0,001	1,38	1,21–1,58	<0,001	1,39	1,39–1,39	<0,001
OS	0,64	0,42–0,97	0,033	0,64	0,42–0,97	0,033	0,62	0,41–0,93	0,022	0,64	0,42–0,96	0,032	0,64	0,64–0,64	<0,001
IV	0,8	0,69–0,92	0,002	0,8	0,69–0,92	0,002	0,78	0,67–0,90	0,001	0,8	0,69–0,92	0,002	0,79	0,79–0,79	<0,001
Radi	0,99	0,84–1,16	0,883	0,98	0,83–1,15	0,777	0,98	0,83–1,15	0,768	0,98	0,83–1,15	0,76	1,01	1,01–1,01	<0,001
Roditeljstvo	0,66	0,54–0,80	<0,001	0,66	0,54–0,80	<0,001	0,63	0,51–0,79	<0,001	0,63	0,50–0,79	<0,001	0,64	0,64–0,65	<0,001
Indeks demokratije				1,6	1,35–1,89	<0,001	1,82	1,50–2,22	<0,001	1,59	1,34–1,89	<0,001	1,81	1,80–1,81	<0,001
Visoko * Indeks dem.				0,81	0,69–0,95	0,012									
Roditeljstvo * Indeks dem.										1,05	0,77–1,43	0,773			
Radi * Indeks dem.													0,8	0,80–0,80	<0,001
Slučajni efekat															
σ^2		3,29			3,29			3,29			3,29			3,29	
T00	0,44 zemlja			0,17 zemlja			0,16 zemlja			0,16 zemlja			0,16 zemlja		
T11							0,02 zemlja, roditeljstvo			0,02 zemlja, roditeljstvo			0,02 zemlja, roditeljstvo		
P01							0,51 zemlja			0,63 zemlja			0,21 zemlja		
ICC		0,12			0,05		0,05			0,05			0,05		
N	29 zemlja			29 zemlja			29 zemlja			29 zemlja			29 zemlja		
n		11647			11647			11647			11647			11647	

Kod analize vaninstitucionalne participacije (tabele 6 do 10) primenili smo isti postupak i koristili iste nezavisne varijable. Obrazovanje je kod svih posmatranih oblika participacije pozitivno povezano. Iskustvo studiranja povećava šansu mladih da budu aktivni u NVO, da potpišu peticiju, učestvuju u demonstracijama, bojkotuju robe iz ideoloških razloga i budu aktivni na internetu. S druge strane, roditeljska tranzicija smanjuje verovatnoću participacije u svakoj od navedenih aktivnosti. Ulazak u roditeljstvo sa sobom povlači manje raspoloživog vremena, više obaveza oko dece, i drugih resursa, te izazov usklađivanja roditeljske sa drugim ulogama. Vaninstitucionalni aktivizam je sfera koja gubi na značaju u konkurenciji prioriteta i, makar privremeno, jedan broj mladih roditelja isključuje iz ovih oblika participacije. Zaposlenje je pozitivno povezano jedino sa angažmanom u NVO, dok ne pokazuje veze sa drugim oblicima vaninstitucionalne participacije. Mladi koji rade su spremniji da se aktiviraju u radu različitih udruženja, ali njihov angažman nije veći od mladih koji ne rade ili su neaktivni. Ovaj nalaz nam potvrđuje da integracija u tržište rada može biti podsticaj da se uđe u onaj tip aktivizma koji je takođe institucionalizovan i organizovan – udruženja građana. Istovremeno, ulazak na tržište rada ne menja značajno već postojeće obrasce vaninstitucionalne participacije, već se ti obrasci formiraju pod uticajem drugih faktora i tranzicija (u prvom redu obrazovne tranzicije).

Stepen demokratičnosti društva, kao kontekstualni indikator, pozitivno je povezan sa svim oblicima participacije, osim sa demonstracijama. Naime, što je društvo više demokratično, veća je verovatnoća da će mladi učestvovati u radu NVO, potpisati peticiju, podeliti politički sadržaj na internetu ili bojkotovati robu.

Ovaj nalaz je u skladu sa pretpostavkama od koji smo krenuli, jer razvijene demokratije imaju i razvijenije prakse demokratske političke kulture koja uključuje različite oblike participacije, uspostavljene oblike institucionalne i vaninstitucionalne političke i građanske socijalizacije mladih, i razvijeniju infrastrukturu koja je neophodna za participaciju. U mladim demokratijama kako politička kultura, tako i infrastruktura su u izgradnji, te je stepen participacije niži. Uvođenjem interakcija u modele doveli smo u vezu stepen demokratičnosti društva, životne događaje i forme političke participacije. Samo je zaposlenje povezano sa stepenom demokratičnosti društva, i to negativno. Sa rastom demokratičnosti društva, manja je verovatnoća da će mladi koji rade demonstrirati i potpisivati peticije, odnosno sa smanjenjem stepena demokratičnosti rad nosi veći stepen ovog tipa angažmana. Od kontrolnih varijabli, godine su blago pozitivno povezane sa svim tipovima participacije, tako što sa godinama starosti raste verovatnoća da će se mladi uključivati u vaninstitucionalne oblike.

5 DISKUSIJA

Polazeći od teorijskih pretpostavki i postavljenih hipoteza, rezultate naše analize možemo sumirati na sledeći način. Tranzicije mladih u sferi obrazovanja, rada i porodice u evropskim zemljama su direktno povezane sa većinom analiziranih oblika političke participacije. Ulazak u nove uloge, ostvarivanje ili gubitak resursa (finansijskih, socijalnih ili vremena) formira manje ili više stimulativan kontekst za uključivanje u političku sferu. I naše analize pokazuju značaj visokog obrazovanja kao veoma značajnog agensa političke socijalizacije, kao i prethodne studije

Tabela 6. Multilevel logistički regresioni model – NVO

Prediktori	I			II			III			IV			V		
	Količnici šansi	CI	p	Količnici šansi	CI	p	Količnici šansi	CI	p	Količnici šansi	CI	p	Količnici šansi	CI	p
(Intercept)	0,15	0,10–0,24	<0,001	0,16	0,11–0,25	<0,001	0,17	0,11–0,25	<0,001	0,17	0,11–0,26	<0,001	0,17	0,11–0,25	<0,001
godine	1,01	1,00–1,02	0,094	1,01	1,00–1,02	0,092	1,01	1,00–1,02	0,111	1,01	1,00–1,02	0,11	1,01	1,00–1,02	0,112
ženski (ref. muški)	0,88	0,79–0,99	0,029	0,88	0,79–0,99	0,029	0,88	0,79–0,99	0,027	0,88	0,79–0,99	0,027	0,88	0,79–0,99	0,028
OS	0,52	0,36–0,74	<0,001	0,52	0,36–0,74	<0,001	0,51	0,35–0,73	<0,001	0,51	0,35–0,73	<0,001	0,51	0,35–0,73	<0,001
IV	0,49	0,43–0,55	<0,001	0,49	0,43–0,55	<0,001	0,48	0,42–0,55	<0,001	0,48	0,42–0,54	<0,001	0,48	0,42–0,54	<0,001
Radi	1,39	1,20–1,59	<0,001	1,38	1,20–1,59	<0,001	1,38	1,20–1,58	<0,001	1,38	1,20–1,58	<0,001	1,38	1,19–1,59	<0,001
Roditeljstvo	0,65	0,55–0,77	<0,001	0,65	0,55–0,77	<0,001	0,61	0,45–0,83	0,002	0,6	0,44–0,82	0,001	0,61	0,45–0,83	0,002
Indeks demokratije				1,52	1,25–1,85	<0,001	1,5	1,21–1,87	<0,001	1,49	1,22–1,81	<0,001	1,52	1,23–1,87	<0,001
Visoko * Indeks dem.				1,01	0,88–1,16	0,92									
Roditeljstvo * Indeks dem.										1,17	0,90–1,51	0,251			
Radi * Indeks dem.													1	0,87–1,14	0,956
Slučajni efekat															
σ^2		3,29			3,29			3,29			3,29			3,29	
T00	0,61 zemlja			0,34 zemlja			0,33 zemlja			0,32 zemlja			0,33 zemlja		
T11							0,17 zemlja, roditeljstvo			0,18 zemlja, roditeljstvo			0,17 zemlja, roditeljstvo		
P01							0,04 zemlja			0,07 zemlja			0,04 zemlja		
ICC		0,16			0,09			0,1			0,1			0,1	
N	29 zemlja			29 zemlja			29 zemlja			29 zemlja			29 zemlja		
n		11659			11659			11659			11659			11659	

Tabela 7. Multilevel logistički regresioni model – Potpisao peticiju

Prediktori	I			II			III			IV			V		
	Količnici šansi	CI	p	Količnici šansi	CI	p	Količnici šansi	CI	p	Količnici šansi	CI	p	Količnici šansi	CI	p
(Intercept)	0,15	0,10–0,21	<0,001	0,16	0,12–0,22	<0,001	0,16	0,12–0,21	<0,001	0,16	0,12–0,21	<0,001	0,16	0,12–0,21	<0,001
godine	1,04	1,03–1,05	<0,001	1,04	1,03–1,05	<0,001	1,04	1,03–1,05	<0,001	1,04	1,03–1,05	<0,001	1,04	1,03–1,05	<0,001
ženski (ref. muški)	1,2	1,10–1,31	<0,001	1,2	1,10–1,31	<0,001	1,2	1,10–1,31	<0,001	1,2	1,10–1,31	<0,001	1,2	1,10–1,31	<0,001
OS	0,27	0,20–0,36	<0,001	0,27	0,20–0,36	<0,001	0,26	0,20–0,35	<0,001	0,27	0,20–0,35	<0,001	0,27	0,20–0,35	<0,001
IV	0,57	0,52–0,62	<0,001	0,57	0,52–0,62	<0,001	0,56	0,51–0,62	<0,001	0,57	0,52–0,62	<0,001	0,57	0,52–0,62	<0,001
Radi	1,11	1,00–1,23	0,06	1,1	0,99–1,23	0,066	1,1	0,99–1,22	0,074	1,1	0,99–1,22	0,074	1,14	1,02–1,27	0,021
Roditeljstvo	0,7	0,62–0,79	<0,001	0,7	0,62–0,80	<0,001	0,68	0,57–0,80	<0,001	0,68	0,57–0,80	<0,001	0,68	0,58–0,80	<0,001
Indeks demokratije				1,41	1,23–1,62	<0,001	1,45	1,25–1,69	<0,001	1,42	1,23–1,63	<0,001	1,54	1,33–1,80	<0,001
Visoko * Indeks dem.				0,96	0,86–1,07	0,453									
Roditeljstvo * Indeks dem.										0,99	0,85–1,16	0,93			
Radi * Indeks dem.													0,85	0,76–0,94	0,002
Slučajni efekat															
σ^2		3,29			3,29			3,29			3,29			3,29	
T00	0,37 zemlja			0,17 zemlja			0,16 zemlja			0,16 zemlja			0,16 zemlja		
T11							0,03 zemlja, roditeljstvo			0,03 zemlja, roditeljstvo			0,03 zemlja, roditeljstvo		
P01							0,49 zemlja			0,51 zemlja			0,51 zemlja		
ICC		0,1			0,05		0,05			0,05			0,05		
N	29 zemlja			29 zemlja			29 zemlja			29 zemlja			29 zemlja		
n		11627			11627			11627			11627			11627	

Tabela 8. Multilevel logistički regresioni model – Učešće u demonstracijama

Prediktori	I			II			III			IV			V		
	Količnici šansi	CI	p	Količnici šansi	CI	p	Količnici šansi	CI	p	Količnici šansi	CI	p	Količnici šansi	CI	p
(Intercept)	0,09	0,06–0,13	<0,001	0,09	0,06–0,13	<0,001	0,09	0,06–0,13	<0,001	0,09	0,06–0,13	<0,001	0,09	0,06–0,13	<0,001
godine	1,03	1,02–1,05	<0,001	1,03	1,02–1,05	<0,001	1,03	1,02–1,05	<0,001	1,03	1,02–1,05	<0,001	1,03	1,02–1,05	<0,001
ženski (ref. muški)	0,87	0,77–0,98	0,025	0,87	0,77–0,98	0,024	0,87	0,77–0,98	0,023	0,87	0,77–0,98	0,024	0,87	0,77–0,98	0,025
OS	0,54	0,37–0,79	0,001	0,54	0,37–0,79	0,001	0,54	0,37–0,78	0,001	0,54	0,37–0,79	0,001	0,54	0,37–0,78	0,001
IV	0,49	0,43–0,57	<0,001	0,49	0,43–0,57	<0,001	0,49	0,43–0,56	<0,001	0,49	0,43–0,57	<0,001	0,49	0,43–0,56	<0,001
Radi	1,09	0,94–1,27	0,268	1,08	0,93–1,26	0,296	1,08	0,93–1,26	0,297	1,08	0,93–1,26	0,297	1,11	0,95–1,30	0,179
Roditeljstvo	0,48	0,40–0,58	<0,001	0,48	0,40–0,58	<0,001	0,46	0,37–0,57	<0,001	0,45	0,36–0,57	<0,001	0,46	0,37–0,58	<0,001
Indeks demokratije				1,15	0,99–1,34	0,064	1,17	0,98–1,41	0,09	1,13	0,97–1,32	0,111	1,27	1,07–1,51	0,007
Visoko * Indeks dem.				0,96	0,82–1,13	0,658									
Roditeljstvo * Indeks dem.										1,16	0,92–1,47	0,211			
Radi * Indeks dem.													0,82	0,70–0,96	0,013
Slučajni efekat															
σ^2	3,29			3,29			3,29			3,29			3,29		
T00	0,18 zemlja			0,16 zemlja			0,15 zemlja			0,15 zemlja			0,15 zemlja		
T11							0,00 zemlja, roditeljstvo			0,01 zemlja, roditeljstvo			0,00 zemlja, roditeljstvo		
P01							0,99 zemlja			0,73 zemlja			1,00 zemlja		
ICC	0,05			0,05			0,05			0,05			0,05		
N	29 zemlja			29 zemlja			29 zemlja			29 zemlja			29 zemlja		
n	11657			11657			11657			11657			11657		

Tabela 9. Multilevel logistički regresioni model – Bojkot

Prediktori	I			II			III			IV			V		
	Količnici šansi	CI	p	Količnici šansi	CI	p	Količnici šansi	CI	p	Količnici šansi	CI	p	Količnici šansi	CI	p
(Intercept)	0,03	0,02–0,05	<0,001	0,03	0,02–0,05	<0,001	0,04	0,02–0,05	<0,001	0,04	0,02–0,05	<0,001	0,04	0,02–0,05	<0,001
godine	1,08	1,07–1,09	<0,001	1,08	1,07–1,09	<0,001	1,08	1,07–1,09	<0,001	1,08	1,07–1,09	<0,001	1,08	1,07–1,09	<0,001
ženski (ref. muški)	1,11	1,00–1,22	0,052	1,11	1,00–1,22	0,053	1,1	1,00–1,22	0,057	1,1	1,00–1,22	0,055	1,1	1,00–1,22	0,055
OS	0,31	0,22–0,44	<0,001	0,31	0,22–0,44	<0,001	0,3	0,21–0,43	<0,001	0,31	0,22–0,44	<0,001	0,31	0,22–0,44	<0,001
IV	0,57	0,51–0,64	<0,001	0,58	0,52–0,64	<0,001	0,56	0,50–0,63	<0,001	0,57	0,51–0,64	<0,001	0,57	0,51–0,64	<0,001
Radi	1,05	0,93–1,19	0,407	1,05	0,93–1,19	0,443	1,05	0,93–1,18	0,471	1,05	0,93–1,18	0,468	1,03	0,91–1,18	0,622
Roditeljstvo	0,58	0,50–0,66	<0,001	0,58	0,50–0,66	<0,001	0,56	0,46–0,69	<0,001	0,56	0,45–0,68	<0,001	0,56	0,46–0,68	<0,001
Indeks demokratije				1,74	1,45–2,09	<0,001	1,84	1,50–2,25	<0,001	1,73	1,44–2,08	<0,001	1,69	1,39–2,06	<0,001
Visoko * Indeks dem.				0,91	0,79–1,05	0,197									
Roditeljstvo * Indeks dem.										1,02	0,84–1,24	0,833			
Radi * Indeks dem.													1,05	0,91–1,20	0,518
Slučajni efekat															
σ^2		3,29			3,29			3,29			3,29			3,29	
T00		0,73 zemlja			0,30 zemlja			0,28 zemlja			0,29 zemlja			0,29 zemlja	
T11								0,02 zemlja, roditeljstvo			0,02 zemlja, roditeljstvo			0,02 zemlja, roditeljstvo	
P01								0,33 zemlja			0,33 zemlja			0,35 zemlja	
ICC		0,18			0,08			0,08			0,09			0,08	
N		29 zemlja			29 zemlja			29 zemlja			29 zemlja			29 zemlja	
n		11631			11631			11631			11631			11631	

Tabela 10. Multilevel logistički regresioni model – Postovao na internetu

Prediktori	I			II			III			IV			V		
	Količnici šansi	CI	p	Količnici šansi	CI	p	Količnici šansi	CI	p	Količnici šansi	CI	p	Količnici šansi	CI	p
(Intercept)	0,12	0,08–0,16	<0,001	0,12	0,09–0,17	<0,001	0,13	0,10–0,17	<0,001	0,13	0,10–0,17	<0,001	0,13	0,10–0,17	<0,001
godine	1,04	1,03–1,05	<0,001	1,04	1,03–1,05	<0,001	1,04	1,03–1,05	<0,001	1,04	1,03–1,05	<0,001	1,04	1,03–1,05	<0,001
ženski (ref. muški)	1,07	0,98–1,17	0,139	1,07	0,98–1,17	0,14	1,07	0,98–1,17	0,145	1,07	0,98–1,17	0,143	1,07	0,98–1,17	0,142
OS	0,4	0,30–0,53	<0,001	0,4	0,30–0,53	<0,001	0,4	0,30–0,53	<0,001	0,4	0,30–0,53	<0,001	0,4	0,30–0,53	<0,001
IV	0,78	0,71–0,86	<0,001	0,78	0,71–0,86	<0,001	0,78	0,71–0,86	<0,001	0,78	0,70–0,85	<0,001	0,77	0,70–0,85	<0,001
Radi	0,96	0,86–1,07	0,472	0,96	0,86–1,06	0,411	0,95	0,86–1,06	0,392	0,95	0,86–1,06	0,391	0,97	0,87–1,08	0,545
Roditeljstvo	0,6	0,53–0,69	<0,001	0,61	0,53–0,69	<0,001	0,58	0,47–0,72	<0,001	0,58	0,47–0,72	<0,001	0,59	0,47–0,73	<0,001
Indeks demokratije				1,38	1,22–1,57	<0,001	1,35	1,17–1,56	<0,001	1,34	1,18–1,53	<0,001	1,42	1,23–1,64	<0,001
Visoko * Indeks dem.				1,03	0,92–1,15	0,659									
Roditeljstvo * Indeks dem.										1,17	0,97–1,41	0,096			
Radi * Indeks dem.													0,93	0,83–1,04	0,215
Slučajni efekat															
σ^2	3,29			3,29			3,29			3,29			3,29		
T00	0,27 zemlja			0,13 zemlja			0,11 zemlja			0,12 zemlja			0,12 zemlja		
T11							0,06 zemlja, roditeljstvo			0,06 zemlja, roditeljstvo			0,06 zemlja, roditeljstvo		
P01							0,18 zemlja			0,12 zemlja			0,18 zemlja		
ICC	0,08			0,04			0,04			0,04			0,04		
N	29 zemlja			29 zemlja			29 zemlja			29 zemlja			29 zemlja		
n	11630			11630			11630			11630			11630		

(Brady, Verba i Schlozman 1995; Levine 2007; Lavrić Tomanović i Jusić 2019). I institucionalni i vaninstitucionalni oblici participacije su pozitivno povezani sa iskustvom studiranja, i ovaj indikator je najkonzistentiniji prediktor oba oblika participacije. Studiranje podrazumeva dovoljno slobodnog vremena i okruženje koje je stimulativnije za razmenu ideja o društvenim i političkim događajima, kolektivno organizovanje i aktivizam. Drugim rečima, studiranje mladim ljudima omogućuje pristup resursima vremena i građanskim kompetencijama. Visoko obrazovanje mladima nudi više prilika za političku socijalizaciju koja podrazumeva sticanje relevantnih kompetencija i znanja za aktivno građanstvo u generalnom smislu. Veće prilike za političku socijalizaciju rezultiraju većim stepenom razumevanja društvenog i političkog konteksta i znanja o načinima kako mogu da utiču na društvena kretanja. Usvojene političke kompetencije i prakse ostaju i nakon završetka studija kao deo habitusa visokoobrazovanog segmenta društva.

Tranzicija ka tržištu rada takođe pokazuje pozitivne veze sa participacijom, ali samo sa određenim praksama, te se naša hipoteza pokazala samo delimično tačnom. Mladi koji rade češće glasaju, aktivni su unutar partija, kontaktiraju političke predstavnike i aktivni su unutar NVO. Rad omogućuje više finansijskog i socijalnog kapitala, a radno okruženje može podstaći usvajanje novih veština i kompetencija koje mlade mogu osposobiti za veći stepen političkog angažmana. Ta kombinacija dovodi do jasnije artikulacije interesa i lakšeg uključivanja u sferu politike. Ipak, radna uloga sa sobom nosi manje vremena, te oni koji rade biraju češće direktnije, institucionalne i organizovane, oblike participacije jer se kroz njih

mogu neposrednije ostvariti interesi i ciljevi. Izgleda da zaposlenje dovodi do racionalizacije vremena i višeg stepena kalkulacije efekata angažmana, te zaposleni sebe ne investiraju značajnije u neinstitucionalne, labavije i *ad hoc* aktivnosti. Na tom tragu može se zaključiti da, premda neka istraživanja pokazuju suprotne tendencije (Lorenzini i Giugni 2012), ovo istraživanje potvrđuje pretpostavku o radnom okruženju kao podsticajnom za različite forme političkog angažmana mladih.

Polovina institucionalnih i svi vaninstitucionalni oblici participacije su negativno povezani sa roditeljstvom, čime se treća hipoteza delimično potvrđuje. Treba ponovo naglasiti da smo analizirali populaciju mladih čija su deca (uglavnom) još uvek mala i zahtevaju veći stepen angažmana roditelja, čime oni raspoložuju s manje vremena za druge sfere života. Kao i u drugim sličnim studijama (Brady, Verba i Schlozman 1995; Quaranta 2016) pokazuje se da porodične obaveze sa sobom nose manje vremena, roditelji su pod pritiskom da obezbede dodatna finansijska sredstva, te više rade, što vodi izazovima pri uspostavljanju balansa između sfere rada i privatnog života. Niži stepen političkog angažmana mladih roditelja je posebno vidljiv u vaninstitucionalnoj participaciji. S obzirom da su ove prakse jednim delom povezane sa identitetskim politikama, njihov potencijal da se održe tokom životnog toka zavisi od konkurentskih uloga i identiteta. Ulazak u roditeljsku ulogu dovodi do izvesnog prepakivanja prioriteta i, uz manjak raspoloživog vremena, smanjuje verovatnoću participacije. Dok se životne faze vezane uz obrazovni proces i radni odnos pokazuju važnima za sticanje resursa potrebnih za aktivni društveni i politički angažman, u roditeljskoj

životnoj fazi relevantni resursi mladih (pogotovo onih koji imaju decu predškolskog uzrasta) su privremeno, ali intenzivno preusmereni na privatnu sferu života (i radnu, ako su zaposleni). U tom smislu, uz visoko obrazovanje, i radno okruženje se pokazuje kao relevantan agens političke socijalizacije u većini evropskih zemalja.

Sa rastom demokratičnosti društva mladi su spremniji da učestvuju u gotovo svim oblicima vaninstitucionalnih praksi (osim demonstracija), a od institucionalnih praksi češće kontaktiraju političare i učestvuju u kampanjama. Visok stepen organizovanosti političke infrastrukture i politička kultura predstavljaju značajan preduslov za praktikovanje demokratskih oblika izražavanja interesa i pogleda, što je u skladu sa dosadašnjim teorijskim pretpostavkama o razlikama između novih i starih demokratija (Norris 2003; Inglehart 1997). Naši rezultati ukazuju da je za postojanje oba oblika participacije veoma značajan stepen razvijenosti demokratskih institucija i kanala participacije, kao i stepen rizika sa kojima se mladi suočavaju u političkoj sferi. Ovome treba dodati da i tamo gde postoje i gde ne postoje razlike u participaciji u odnosu na stepen demokratičnosti društva, mi govorimo samo o stepenu, ali ne i o motivima i rezultatima participacije. Naime u manje demokratskim društvima motivi participacije mogu biti primarno instrumentalni (Stanojević i Petrović 2020), a rezultat ne nužno više, već manje demokratije.

Pretpostavke o vezama koje smo imali između konteksta, životnih događaja i participacije uglavnom se nisu pokazale opravdanim. Iako visokoobrazovani u demokratskim društvima češće glasaju i ulaze u partije i slične grupe, ređe učestvuju u kampanjama, a na istom nivou su uključeni u sve vaninstitucionalne

oblike participacije kao i oni u manje demokratskim društvima. Objašnjenje za nepostojanje razlika između starih i novih demokratija u stepenu vaninstitucionalne participacije visokoobrazovanih može ležati u istoj ulozi koje ima univerzitetsko obrazovanje. I u razvijenim i u manje razvijenim demokratijama oni koji uspostavljaju ili čuvaju ove prakse su studenti, koji su i najotvoreniji za novine i najosetljiviji na društvene nepravde. Kad je reč o institucionalnoj participaciji, novija istraživanja i teorije treba da nam daju odgovore.

Odnos između rada i aktivizma bio je potpuno suprotan od očekivanog. Od institucionalnih praksi postoji negativno posredovanje stepena demokratičnosti i rada na učestvovanje u radu političkih partija i aktivizam tokom kampanje, a od vaninstitucionalnih na potpisivanje peticije i demonstracije. S obzirom da rad predstavlja izvor resursa (ekonomskog i socijalnog kapitala), očekivali smo da će u više demokratskim društvima, koja su i ekonomski razvijenija, ta veza biti jača, ali je ona u njima slabija. Objašnjenje za ovaj fenomen može ležati u zavisnosti sfere rada od političke sfere u „novim demokratijama“, te u prisutnosti klijentelističkih odnosa u ovim društvima, što nam pokazuju istraživanja u regionu zapadnog Balkana (videti Bliznakovski i dr. 2020) gde značajan broj mladih koji ulaze na tržište rada to čine kroz političke kanale, a zauzvrat moraju da budu aktivni u političkim strankama, a posebno tokom izbornih kampanja.

Poslednja hipoteza je potvrđena s obzirom na to da društveni kontekst ne moderira odnos između roditeljstva i participacije. Ulazak u ulogu roditelja je podjednako izazovan za mlade bez obzira na mesto života, društveni i politički kontekst, te u proseku svakako dovodi do snižavanja stepena participacije.

6 ZAKLJUČAK

Rezultati ove analize pokazuju značaj bavljenja kako odnosom životnih tranzicija mladih i političke participacije, tako i zavisnošću ovog odnosa od društvenog konteksta. Deveti talas Evropskog društvenog istraživanja potvrđuje dobrim delom ono što smo pretpostavili, ili iz prethodnih istraživanja znali, o odnosu između novih životnih uloga i političkog angažmana, a do određenih uvida smo sada došli. Neke uloge nose viši a neke niži stepen participacije, neke podrazumevaju širok spektar a neke fokusirane aktivnosti. Iako je nedvosmisleno da stepen demokratičnosti društva utiče

na nivo praktikovanja većine analiziranih oblika participacije, ostaje otvoreno veoma značajno pitanje karakteristika same participacije u više i manje demokratskim društvima. Kontekst se pokazao još jednom veoma značajnim prilikom analize odnosa između tranzicija i participacije. Pokazalo se da iskustvo studiranja i ulazak u sferu rada na drugačiji način podstiču mlade u starim i novim demokratijama da se uključe u političko polje. Iako nam rezultati daju nedovoljno preciznu sliku da bismo nedvosmisleno mogli da zaključujemo o posredujućem efektu društvenog konteksta, oni nam istovremeno pružaju podsticaj da se ovom temom detaljnije pozabavimo.

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Aging well? Social spending, age, and subjective wellbeing across Europe

Vladimir Mentus¹ 

ABSTRACT

The association between age and subjective wellbeing has been examined across different samples and observational time frames, most often indicating a decline in subjective wellbeing with age or a U-shaped relation. Although various contextual variables have been examined as moderators of this relation, the moderating effect of social spending has not been investigated so far. Given that social spending is potentially beneficial for wellbeing and that social spending in Europe is primarily elderly-oriented, we assumed that in countries with higher social spending expenditures, there is a more positive effect of age on subjective wellbeing. We used cross-sectional hierarchical linear modelling (HLM) analysis and the data from the ninth round of the European Social Survey, including 29 countries. Our results show that age is generally negatively related, while age squared is positively related to subjective wellbeing, indicating a U-shaped relation between age and wellbeing. Additionally, social spending at the aggregate level is a significant determinant of wellbeing at the individual level. Most importantly, social spending is a significant positive moderator of this association: with increasing social spending levels, aging is more positively related to wellbeing.

KEYWORDS

age, subjective wellbeing, social spending, HLM, European Social Survey

¹*Institute of Social Sciences,
Belgrade, Serbia*

Correspondence:

Vladimir Mentus,
Institute of Social Sciences,
Kraljice Natalije 45,
11000 Belgrade, Serbia

Email:

vmentus@idn.org.rs

1 INTRODUCTION

Subjective wellbeing is becoming more widely recognised as a reliable wellbeing indicator that offers a supplemental perspective on living conditions beyond the objective components. It may be defined as “the various ways that people evaluate and experience their lives” and involves “three distinct but often related components of wellbeing: frequent positive affect, infrequent negative affect, and cognitive evaluations such as life satisfaction” (Tov and Diener 2013: 1).

A rising number of studies have indicated the association of wellbeing indicators with many individual-level qualities, such as health and longevity, self-efficacy, optimism and self-esteem, pro-social behaviour and sociability, creativity, and cognitive flexibility. (Blanchflower, Oswald and Stewart-Brown 2012; Schneider et al. 2009; Jovanović and Brdarić 2012; Davis 2009; Lyubomirsky, King and Diener 2005; Tay and Diener 2011). There is also evidence that many aggregate-level factors, such as GDP per capita, the unemployment rate, the quality of government, economic, political, and personal freedom, inflation rate, corruption rate, the rule of law, the standard of public goods, and labour protection, have a strong effect on people’s wellbeing (Clark 2018; Frey and Stutzer 2002; Boarini et al. 2013; Preziosi 2013; Di Tella, MacCulloch and Oswald 2003; Helliwell 2005).

Age belongs to a much-examined sociodemographic category in relation to subjective wellbeing, although the results are relatively mixed. This inconsistency can be partially explained by a large number of potentially confounding variables, such as gender (Hansen and Slagsvold 2012). For example, a study from 65 countries indicates higher average levels

of wellbeing among women by midlife, but lower rates in old age compared to men (Inglehart, 2002). Although some authors emphasise that the relationship between age and wellbeing depends on many contextual factors, the effect of social spending in this regard has not been examined so far, even though the importance of social spending for wellbeing has been indicated many times (Boarini et al. 2013; Radcliff 2001; Rothstein 2010; Boarini et al. 2012).

Social spending is a key component of welfare policy and is primarily implemented to enhance population wellbeing, since it offers insurance in the form of social assistance and financial contributions to people or households in need (Nordheim and Martinussen 2019). “Such insurance provides social assistance and financial contributions to individuals or households experiencing difficulties, where such arrangements are related to a range of social protection programmes associated with poverty, unemployment and labour market, pensions and old age support, family and child care, health and long-term care, housing, as well as support, facilitation and income maintenance for sick or disabled individuals” (ibid: 4). Social spending has the potential to be effective in order to reduce poverty and income inequality. Additionally, efforts to enhance the overall welfare of society mostly depend on rises and drops in public spending caused by the redistribution of spending on public goods in order to minimise social inequities (Aydan, Bayin Donar and Arikan 2021: 442). In European countries, although not homogeneously, the most significant beneficiaries of expenditure on social protection are elderly populations (Eurostat 2019). More precisely, the largest expenditures go towards pension payments, survivors,

sickness, and disability, while much less is typically spent on family and children, unemployment, and housing. “The growing imbalance between the needs of the old and the young is likely to create a fracture over welfare policy: in most developed countries, one can observe a rise in pensions spending due to the increasing ageing of the population [...] On the other hand, the homogeneous proportion of old voters makes it difficult to reform extant pensions systems in favour of the young, as well as encourage future workforce participation in those countries where ‘tax increases are needed to pay for transfer to growing older population’” (Focacci 2022). Thus, it becomes crucial to understand age-subjective wellbeing association differences potentially resulting from different social spending levels.

This paper aims to examine the moderating effect of social spending on age-subjective wellbeing association. Bearing in mind that the largest beneficiaries of expenditure on social protection in European societies are the elderly, we hypothesised the lessening of the negative effect of age on subjective wellbeing as social spending increases. The data coming from the European Social Survey from 2018 covering 29 countries confirmed our hypothesis. The structure of the paper is as follows: after the introduction, we present the state of research about age and subjective wellbeing, as well as the associated between social spending and wellbeing. In the third section, we present the novelties of this study. In the fourth section, we present the results and methodology of the analysis, while in the fifth section, we present the results of the HLM analysis. The last section contains discussion, policy recommendations, and directions for future research.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Although relatively mixed, research findings on the relationship between age and subjective wellbeing generally point to a decline in wellbeing with age (e.g., Deaton 2008; Carmel 2001) or a U-shaped association (e.g., van Landeghem 2012; Blanchflower and Oswald 2008). Data from many countries regarding the latter indicates such an association with a minimum level of wellbeing occurring in middle age (35–50 years) (Blanchflower and Oswald 2008), while other studies indicate a minimum level around the age of 40–43 (Frey and Stutzer 2002; Oswald 1997).

However, research results also indicate that the relationship between age and wellbeing may differ between nations. For instance, numerous cross-national studies reveal a negative correlation between age and wellbeing in poorer nations but a U-shaped association in affluent countries (Bartram 2020; Deaton 2008; Morgan, Robinson and Thompson 2015; Swift et al. 2014). Some authors suggest that these differences relate to welfare regimes, arguing that the association between age and wellbeing may be “distinctly positive in the Nordic countries because of more generous pensions and high-quality, affordable medical care than in most other countries” (Hansen and Blekesaune 2022: 2). On the other hand, “wellbeing among the elderly is particularly low in Eastern European and former Soviet Union countries, which mirrors low health and financial satisfaction and high levels of disability among the elderly in these societies” (Hansen and Slagsvold 2012: 188). However, the fact that the elderly are not uniformly the biggest beneficiaries of social spending in Europe adds another layer of complication to

this pattern. For example, compared to Southern and Continental European welfare states, Scandinavian welfare states spend proportionately more on social programs for their youthful populations (Calero 2002).

Prior studies regarding social spending effects on individual wellbeing have mainly “focused either on subsets of social protection (for instance, unemployment benefits) or the size of the state as proxies to welfare policies” (Kolev and Tassot 2016: 8). Pacek and Radcliff (2008) “considering individual responses in 18 industrial democracies from 1981 to 2000, found that welfare state generosity exerts a positive and significant impact on life satisfaction and happiness”. Di Tella, MacCulloch and Oswald (2003) challenged the idea that European unemployment arises because higher unemployment benefits have made life “too easy” for the unemployed. Using the Euro-Barometer Survey Series, these authors evidenced “a positive effect of generous unemployment benefits on life satisfaction and happiness, with a similar impact on both employed and unemployed individuals”. According to Radcliff (2013), life satisfaction is positively correlated with social spending, general government consumption, de-commodification, and higher tax rates. These were similar to Radcliff’s earlier findings (2001), which showed that “societies with more socialist and less liberal welfare state regimes tended to have higher levels of satisfaction”.

Findings from studies concerning the size of the state as proxies to welfare policies, however, are more inconsistent. Using individual- and aggregate-level data for OECD nations, Flavin, Pacek and Radcliff (2014) discovered that life satisfaction is positively correlated with the level of government intervention

in the economy as measured by social spending, government consumption, de-commodification, and labour market regulation. Furthermore, these results are not sensitive to changes in income: both high- and low-income people seem to view more “leftist” social policies to be beneficial to their subjective wellbeing. De Neve et al. (2018) demonstrated that economic recessions lead to greater declines in wellbeing than growth leads to increases, and they made the case that social spending should be used in relation to macroeconomic cycles in order to minimise wellbeing losses by acting as a cycle buffer.

In contrast to these results, Bjørnskov, Dreher and Fischer (2007) demonstrated that life satisfaction declines as government consumption increases using data from a cross-section of 74 nations. When the administration is left-wing, the effect is significantly more pronounced for persons with low and intermediate incomes and men. Additionally, neither social nor governmental spending has a large effect on life satisfaction. Veenhoven (2000) discovered no correlation between the level of personal wellbeing and social spending, which is a proxy for the size of the welfare state. In a sample of 12 EU nations from 1990 to 2000, Hessami (2010) found an inversely U-shaped association between government size and wellbeing.

3 THE PRESENT STUDY

Our aim in this paper is to examine the moderating effect of social spending on the association between age and subjective wellbeing. Although it has been found that contextual variables may have a significant moderating effect and there is an assumption that the social welfare system can have an important

role in that sense, this theory has not been empirically tested. Additionally, since “social protection spending also increases with the number of people eligible, i.e. the elderly or unemployed and, consequently, spending may be increased by economic or demographic conditions and not represent a great measure of policy” (O’Connor 2017: 6–7), we added controls for the unemployment rate and old-age-dependency ratio at the aggregate level. Finally, we introduced data from the European Social Survey to replicate and extend previous research on social welfare and subjective wellbeing. Given that the largest beneficiaries of expenditure on social protection in European societies are the elderly, we hypothesised that there would be a reduced negative effect of age on subjective wellbeing in countries with higher social spending levels. More specifically, regardless of whether wellbeing declines with age or this relationship is U-shaped, we expect that in countries with higher social spending, the relationship between age and subjective wellbeing becomes more positive. We set up our hypothesis expecting a positive effect of aggregate social spending on individual wellbeing.

4 METHOD

We used cross-sectional HLM analysis and data from the ninth round of the European Social Survey (from 2018), including 29 countries and 49,519 respondents (51.4% female, $M_{age} = 47.84$, $SD_{age} = 18.89$). Happiness assessment captures the affective aspect of subjective wellbeing, whereas life satisfaction data refers to the cognitive aspect (Diener 2012). One question in the database measures life satisfaction, while the other measures happiness.

Both items use an 11-point scale, with 0 denoting “very unhappy/dissatisfied” and 10 denoting “extremely happy/satisfied”. We calculated the mean of both components as a measure of subjective wellbeing, bearing in mind findings that these two components measure one unique feature of the same latent factor (Diener and Ryan 2009).¹ Subjective wellbeing has an internal consistency level of Cronbach’s $\alpha = 0.82$.

The data on social spending comes from the Eurostat database on social protection expenditure and is composed of social benefits related to “sickness/health care, disability, old age, survivors, family/children, unemployment, housing, and benefits related to social exclusion not elsewhere classified” (Eurostat 2019).

We control for a set of individual variables shown in prior research as potentially relevant determinants of subjective wellbeing: gender, education, subjective income, locality size, subjective health, interpersonal trust, social contacts, religiosity, having or ever having had a child, being or ever having been married, being unemployed, being divorced, and being widowed. We use dummy variables to measure gender (1 = female), having or ever having had a child (1 = having or ever having had a child), being or ever having been married (1 = being or ever having been married), being unemployed (1 = unemployed), being divorced (1 = divorced), and being widowed (1 = widowed). Since objective income may be a poor measure of personal feelings of income adequacy, and these differences may be particularly moderated by age (Isengard and König 2021), we use subjective income instead.

¹ See also Glatz and Eder 2020, Sortheix and Schwartz 2017.

In the European Social Survey, “feeling about household’s income nowadays” is used, with a four-point Likert scale ranging from “1–living comfortably on present income” to “4–finding it very difficult on present income”. Social contacts (“How often do you meet socially with friends, relatives, or work colleagues?”), subjective health (“How is your health in general?”), interpersonal trust (a composite index constructed additively from three items: “Most people can be trusted, or you can’t be too careful”, “Most people try to take advantage of you, or try to be fair”, “Most of the time people helpful, or they mostly look out for themselves”),² and religiosity (“How religious are you?”) are measured with scales from 1 to 5, 1 to 7, or 1 to 10.

At the aggregate level, we controlled for the unemployment rate and used the International Labour Organization database. We also controlled for the old-age-dependency ratio, defined as “the ratio of the people aged 65 years and older to the population aged 15–64” (Eurostat 2019). GDP per capita, which is frequently used as a controlling contextual variable, was omitted due to indicated multicollinearity with social spending levels. This indicator data is available from the Eurostat database; we used data from 2018 all aggregate-level variables.

We applied a post-stratified design weight “constructed using the information on age, gender, education, and region in order to mutually adjust individual respondents’ probabilities of being sampled, accounting for differences in inclusion probabilities, sampling errors, and possible non-response errors” (Mentus and Vladislavjević 2021).

² The index has good internal consistency, with Cronbach’s $\alpha = 0.79$.

5 RESULTS

With a mean of 7.3, as presented in the descriptive statistics in Table 1, it is evident that there are high levels of subjective wellbeing across European countries. In 2018, approximately 8% of Europeans felt extremely happy/satisfied with their lives, while less than 1% were extremely unhappy/dissatisfied. The countries with the highest levels of average subjective wellbeing were Denmark ($M = 8.41$, $SD = 1.34$), Iceland ($M = 8.18$, $SD = 1.33$), Switzerland ($M = 8.61$, $SD = 1.45$), and Finland ($M = 8.07$, $SD = 1.38$), while the lowest levels were in Bulgaria ($M = 5.43$, $SD = 2.23$), Hungary ($M = 6.47$, $SD = 1.97$), Slovakia ($M = 6.57$, $SD = 1.85$), and Serbia ($M = 6.69$, $SD = 2.31$). The countries with the highest levels of social spending per inhabitant in 2018 were Denmark (€16,588), Norway (€18,612), and Switzerland (€19,279), while the lowest levels were found in Serbia (€1,192), Montenegro (€1,248), and Bulgaria (€1,347). Given the large variability in social spending levels, in further analysis we used the logarithm of this indicator.

As the first step of the HLM analysis, null models were computed to check whether there was a systematic variance between groups among the dependent variables. This precondition was fulfilled (Wald $Z = 3.790$, $p < 001$) and showed that around 11% of the variation in subjective wellbeing lies at the country level. Table 2 presents the results of our regression analysis. In model 1, we entered individual-level predictors only. In model 2, we added level-2 predictors. Finally, in model 3, we ran an additional model with the interaction term to test the moderating effect of social spending on the association between age and subjective wellbeing.

As our first model shows, all individual-level variables are significant

Table 1. Descriptive statistics

Variable	N	Mean	Std. deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Subjective wellbeing	49,122	7.325	1.865	0	10
Age	49,286	47.843	18.893	15	90
Education	48,800	12.923	4.097	0	60
Subjective income	48,711	1.947	0.836	1	4
Locality size	49,479	2.882	1.211	1	5
Subjective health	49,459	2.146	0.913	1	5
Interpersonal trust	48,992	5.218	1.999	0	10
Social contacts	49,355	4.927	1.570	1	7
Religiosity	48,989	4.488	3.129	0	10
Social spending	49,519	3.775	0.368	3.08	4.29
Unemployment rate	49,519	6.487	3.277	2.24	15.25
Old-age dependency ratio	49,519	29.272	3.591	21.10	35.20
		n		%	
Female		25,475		51.4	
Are or have ever been married		31,876		64.4	
Have or have ever had a child		16,440		33.2	
Unemployed		2,754		5.6	
Divorced		3,624		7.3	
Widowed		3,436		6.9	

determinants of subjective wellbeing, with the exception of education. Age is negatively related and age squared is positively related to wellbeing, indicating a U-shaped association between age and subjective wellbeing. Furthermore, being female is associated with greater wellbeing, although the effect is relatively weak. Locality size, feeling better about household income, higher interpersonal trust, better health, more frequent social contacts, and higher religiosity are all significantly and positively related to wellbeing. On the contrary, being unemployed, divorced, and widowed negatively affects wellbeing. Concerning life-course variables, being or ever having been married and having or ever having had a child are significant positive predictors of wellbeing.

Social spending significantly and positively affects subjective wellbeing (model 2). On the contrary, our level-2 controls have no significant effect on subjective wellbeing. Most importantly, as shown in model 3, the interaction effect between social spending and age on subjective wellbeing is positive and significant. In other words, as hypothesised, social spending is a positive moderator of the association between age and subjective wellbeing, meaning that the negative effect of age on wellbeing is lessened as social spending increases. Given that subjective wellbeing is on the rise in old age on average, this finding suggests that it rises more intensely with higher social spending levels. Judging by AIC and BIC, model 3 represents a better fit for the data than models 1 and 2.

Table 2. Results of the HLM analysis on subjective wellbeing

Parameter	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	Estimate	Std. error	Estimate	Std. error	Estimate	Std. error
Intercept	6.768***	0.113	5.279***	0.688	6.639***	0.71
<i>Individual level variables</i>						
Female	0.089***	0.014	0.089***	0.014	0.089***	0.014
Age	-0.038***	0.002	-0.038***	0.002	-0.066***	0.005
Age squared	0.001***	0.001	0.001***	0.001	0.001***	0.001
Education	-0.003	0.002	-0.003	0.002	-0.002	0.002
Subjective income = Living comfortably	1.795***	0.036	1.793***	0.036	1.783***	0.036
Subjective income = Coping	1.392***	0.034	1.391***	0.034	1.381***	0.034
Subjective income = Difficult	0.732***	0.036	0.731***	0.036	0.726***	0.036
Subjective income = Very difficult (ref)	–	–	–	–	–	–
Locality size	0.033***	0.006	0.033***	0.006	0.032***	0.006
Subjective health	-0.503***	0.009	-0.503***	0.009	-0.493***	0.009
Interpersonal trust	0.155***	0.004	0.154***	0.004	0.153***	0.004
Social contacts	0.154***	0.005	0.154***	0.005	0.152***	0.005
Religiosity	0.040***	0.002	0.040***	0.002	0.039***	0.002
Are or have ever been married	0.272***	0.022	-0.272***	0.022	-0.275***	0.022
Have or have ever had a child	0.270***	0.022	-0.271***	0.022	-0.266***	0.022
Unemployed	-0.484***	0.091	-0.485***	0.091	-0.488***	0.091
Divorced	-0.217**	0.079	-0.217**	0.079	-0.219**	0.079
Widowed	-0.498***	0.032	-0.498***	0.032	-0.483***	0.032
<i>Aggregate-level variables</i>						
Ln social spending			0.424**	0.144	0.068	0.152
Unemployment rate			0.023	0.016	0.022	0.016
Old-age dependency ratio			-0.009	0.013	-0.009	0.013
<i>Cross-level interaction</i>						
Age*Ln social spending					0.008***	0.001
AIC		170,354.794		170,352.982		170,300.612
BIC		170,529.948		170,554.408		170,510.796
Obs.	n	49,519		49,519		49,519
	N	29		29		29

Note: – indicates reference category; ***p < 0.001; **p < 0.01.

6 DISCUSSION

In this paper, we analysed the moderating effect of social spending on the association between age and wellbeing in Europe. Given that social spending is potentially beneficial for wellbeing and that in Europe it is primarily oriented towards elderly populations, we assumed that in countries with greater social spending, age has a more positive association with subjective wellbeing. The data indicated a significant positive moderating effect of social spending on the association between age and wellbeing, thus confirming our hypothesis.

In general, the data indicated a U-shaped relationship between age and wellbeing, which is consistent with most findings from previous studies. There are several explanations for such a result. The demands on a person's time may increase as they get older, and they may find it difficult to juggle work and family obligations. Middle age also comes with the difficulties of having to care for both parents and children at the same time as individuals start having children later in life. On the other hand, younger people who might still be in school and older, retired people might have more free time for enjoyable pursuits (Gayle 2016). Another explanation is that the U-shape could be caused by unfulfilled hopes that are painfully felt in middle age but abandoned in later years. When people are young, they expect a bright future, which lowers actual wellbeing, but as they get older, their expectations are revised downward and actual wellbeing increases (Schwandt 2016; George 2006).

Our analysis further showed that extent of social spending at the aggregate level is a significant determinant of subjective wellbeing at the individual level.

The results indicate that welfare state policy directly "affects the concerns important for individual wellbeing: it protects individuals from the impersonal market mechanisms that force people to behave as a commodity in order to survive" (O'Connor 2017). Despite the evidence for the positive effects of social spending on individual wellbeing, "there appears in certain countries a trend of reducing social spending owing to the pressure of economic restructuring that follows neoliberal prescriptions. As social protection nets are removed, the notion of individual responsibility comes to the fore, requiring the individual to assume adverse life situations. Sharp reduction in social protection spending is likely to hurt wage workers, pensioners, low-wage families, the ill and injured, single families with children, etc., and sends threatening messages to intimidated people who have already been living on the margin of a decent living condition/ (Tsai 2009: 105). Tsai adds that institutional rules that normally include social protection measures make them less susceptible to short-term volatility, while long-term reductions in social spending are, on the contrary, detrimental to people's wellbeing.

One more way in which social spending can affect wellbeing is that "government intervention in the economy is associated with lower levels of poverty, inequality, and unemployment", which can also lead to "lower self-esteem, lower efficacy, higher rates of depression, and other deleterious psychological states [...] poor physical health, greater rates of alcoholism, domestic violence, and divorce rates". All of these factors are potentially important to individual wellbeing (Flavin, Pacek and Radcliff 2014: 1243).

The explanation for the stronger association between age and wellbeing in countries with higher social spending levels may be found in the expenditure structure, which across Europe is predominantly oriented towards the elderly population (Eurostat 2019). Considering the apparent beneficial effects of social spending on wellbeing and the U-shaped pattern of the age-wellbeing association, our results advocate for increasing expenditures on middle age populations in Europe. These protection expenditures include “general social assistance, unemployment benefits, labour market programs, sickness, maternity, employment injury, and disability” (O’Connor 2017: 400). Additionally, our results call

for a general increase in social spending, regardless of beneficiaries’ age category, especially in the countries with the lowest levels among examined, such as Serbia, Montenegro, and Bulgaria.

In future research, it will be very important to investigate the moderating effects of social spending over time, with potentially more observation cases. Additionally, the introduction of a random slope in addition to random intercept HLM model would potentially reveal specific patterns of associations between countries. Finally, it would also be useful to carry out split analyses by gender, since gender is shown as a possible moderator of the association between age and wellbeing.

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Srećno starenje? Socijalna davanja, starost i subjektivno blagostanje u Evropi

PROŠIRENI SAŽETAK

Povezanost između starosti i subjektivnog blagostanja ispitivana je na različitim uzorcima i vremenskim okvirima posmatranja, najčešće ukazujući na pad subjektivnog blagostanja sa starošću ili na povezanost u obliku slova U. Iako su različite kontekstualne varijable ispitivane kao moderatori ove povezanosti, moderirajući efekat socijalnih davanja do sada nije istražen. Kako su socijalna davanja potencijalno korisna za blagostanje i kako su davanja u Evropi prvenstveno orijentisana ka starijim, hipotetisali smo da u zemljama sa većim socijalnim davanjima postoji pozitivniji efekat starosti na subjektivno blagostanje. Koristili smo kros-sekcionalno hijerarhijsko linearno modelovanje i podatke iz devetog talasa Evropskog društvenog istraživanja, iz 2018. i dvadeset devet zemalja.

Rezultati su ukazali, prvo, da je starost generalno negativno, dok je kvadrat starosti pozitivno povezan sa subjektivnim blagostanjem, što ukazuje na povezanost između starosti i blagostanja u obliku U. Objašnjenja ovakvog nalaza se kriju u rastućim poslovnim i porodičnim (istovremeno brinući se i za roditelje i za decu) obavezama u srednjem dobu, kao i neostvarenim aspiracijama tokom tog doba, a koje se napuštaju u starosti.

Drugo, podaci su ukazali da je nivo socijalnih davanja na agregatnom nivou značajna pozitivna determinanta blagostanja na individualnom nivou. Naime, kako je intervencija vlade u ekonomiju potencijalno povezana sa nižim nivoima siromaštva, nejednakosti i nezaposlenosti, posledično se nižu pozitivni efekti i na rast efikasnosti, samopouzdanja, pad depresije i drugih štetnih psihičkih stanja, poboljšanje fizičkog zdravlja, pa i pad alkoholizma, porodičnog nasilja, stope razvoda itd. – a koji su svi od potencijalno velikog značaja za individualno blagostanje.

Konačno, rezultati su ukazali da su socijalna davanja značajan pozitivan moderator povezanosti između starosti i subjektivnog blagostanja: sa povećanjem nivoa socijalnih davanja starenje je pozitivnije povezano sa blagostanjem. Time se potvrdila naša hipoteza. Objašnjenje za ovaj nalaz se može naći u strukturi socijalnih davanja, koja je, kako je istaknuto, dominantno orijentisana širom Evrope ka starijoj populaciji.

Uzimajući u obzir nalaze o pozitivnom efektu socijalnih davanja na blagostanje i U-oblik povezanosti između starosti i blagostanja, naši rezultati pozivaju na rast socijalnih davanja ka sredovečnoj populaciji u Evropi. Pored toga, rezultati pozivaju na generalno povećanje socijalnih davanja bez obzira na starosnu kategoriju korisnika, a posebno u zemljama sa najnižim nivoom davanja od ovde ispitivanih, kao što su Srbija, Crna Gora i Bugarska.

KLJUČNE REČI

starost, subjektivno blagostanje, socijalna davanja, HLM, Evropsko društveno istraživanje



Anthropological research on coming of age and “extended youth”: Youth “well-spent” in Serbia

Katarina M. Mitrović ¹ 

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

While focusing on the phenomenon of “extended youth”, this paper presents the results of anthropological research on coming of age: classical and contemporary. The paper questions the parameters of “normality” when it comes to “extending” phases, youth in particular. While examining what it means to be young, the paper emphasises anthropological contributions to life course research. First of all, the paper focuses on research that highlights concepts seen as universal and biological. Moreover, it approaches classical anthropological research that analyses lifecycle customs and rites of passage. By emphasising classic anthropological works, such as the contributions of Margaret Mead, the paper shows how ethnographic examples have helped present the diversity of the perception of “adequate”, “normal”, and “good” when it comes to life stages or transitions from one life stage to another.

In addition to the work of Mead, special attention is paid to the work of Arnold van Gennep, whose research on rites of passage had a great influence on generations of Serbian ethnologists and anthropologists. Van Gennep’s scheme of successive stages made up of the pattern of rites of passage (separation, transition/liminality, and aggregation) has been particularly important in the context of the transition into adulthood. Finally, this paper analyses how young people in Serbia perceive their youth and life stages in the contemporary context. The presented results are part of a qualitative research study based on in-depth interviews conducted in 2019 and 2020. The results highlight the cultural representations of the “normal” life course and life stage transitions, then present how some young people manage their transition to adulthood in order to perceive their youth as “well-spent”. The conclusion examines how time, life phases, and expectations have been constructed in the local context. Moreover, the paper highlights the layers of the transition to adulthood and autonomy (residential, financial, emotional etc.) that,

¹ *Institute of Ethnography
SASA, Belgrade, Serbia*

Correspondence:

Katarina M. Mitrović,
Institute of Ethnography
SASA, Kneza Mihaila 36,
Belgrade, Serbia

Email:

katarina.mitrovic@ei.sanu.ac.rs

furthermore, show the complexity of the phenomenon of "extended youth". By questioning the mainstream explanations of extended youth as an exclusive consequence of structural factors and political crisis, the paper offers an alternative explanation of extended youth through the analysis of cultural logic.

KEYWORDS

youth, Serbia, extended youth, cultural representation, life course

Antropološko istraživanje odrastanja i „produžene mladosti“: „proživeti“ mladost u Srbiji

SAŽETAK

Rad se bavi fenomenom „produžene mladosti“, oslanjajući se na antropološka istraživanja odrastanja i sazrevanja, kao i na rezultate mog istraživanja sprovedenog u Srbiji. Pitajući se u odnosu na koje parametre „normalnosti“ je mladost „produžena“, te šta znači biti mlad, rad naglašava doprinos antropoloških proučavanja životnog toka i životnih faza. U radu se najpre daje prikaz istraživanja koja preispituju biološku determinisanost i univerzalnost ovih koncepata, kao i istraživanja u kojima se analiziraju običaji životnog ciklusa i obredi prelaza (Margaret Mid, Van Genep). Koristeći navedeni teorijski okvir, u radu se razmatra odrastanje i fenomen „produžene mladosti“ u Srbiji danas, uz analizu etnografskog materijala sakupljenog tokom 2019. i 2020. godine. Cilj rada je da analizira da li se fenomen „produžene mladosti“ u lokalnom kontekstu može tumačiti kroz prizmu kulturnih predstava o „proživljavanju“ mladosti. Rezultati i zaključci istraživanja pokazuju na koji način neki mladi ljudi u Srbiji segmentiraju svoje iskustvo odrastanja, te kako upravljajući tranzicijom u odraslost koriste svoju produženu mladost. Razumevanjem načina na koji su konstruisani pojmovi: „proživeti mladost“, „dobro roditeljstvo“, „adekvatna briga“, „normalan život“, istraživanje preispituje iznuđenost produžene mladosti kao isključivu posledicu ekonomske i političke situacije i daje alternativno objašnjenje ovog fenomena putem analize kulturne logike zrelog zajedničkog stanovanja i „produžavanja“ mladosti.

KLJUČNE REČI

mladi, Srbija, produžena mladost, kulturne predstave, životni tok

1 UVOD

Proučavanja detinjstva, mladosti i životnog toka, kao i tranzicije u odraslost i roditeljstvo, ustanovljavaju se u sociologiji, te su i u domaćoj nauci češća tema socioloških nego antropoloških istraživanja. Kada je reč o proučavanjima mladosti i mladih, ne možemo reći da su ovi koncepti često bili glavna tema antropoloških studija. Literatura koja se bavi odrastanjem i kulturom mladih u užem smislu, iako ne malobrojna niti skorašnja, dugo nije bila proizvod antropoloških interesovanja. Ukoliko se pristupalo analizi ovih tema, adolescencija i mladost posmatrane su u perspektivi zrelog doba, kao (ne toliko važna) faza koja prethodi stvaranju društvenog subjekta. Na ovakav način zapostavljena je perspektiva mladih, njihovih interakcija i kulturne produkcije u korist naglašavanja tranzicije ka zreloom dobu i učenja za uloge i izazove koji čekaju u budućnosti (Amit i Wulff 1995; Bucholtz 2002).

Međutim, iako možda ne direktno naglašeno, mladima je i te kako posvećena pažnja u istoriji antropološke misli, posebno kada su u pitanju faze životnog toka. Na primer, Edvard E. Evans-Pritchard (Edward Evan Evans-Pritchard), britanski antropolog i stručnjak u proučavanju naroda u oblasti oko Belog Nila, u svom delu posvećenom Nuerima piše o sistemima godina i inicijacijama koje prate prelaze, te njihovim daljim implikacijama (Evans-Pritchard 1940; Bošković 2010). Pišući o sazrevanju na Samoi, američka antropološkinja Margaret Mid (Margaret Mead) preispituje biološke datosti puberteta i adolescencije, stavljajući poseban akcenat na bunt i nemir, te dalje analizira društvene faktore i doživljaj odrastanja (Mid 1978). Bronislav Malinowski (Bronisław Malinowski) ukazuje na to da porodice nisu iste u svim društvima,

te da uloge koje mi poznajemo neko drugo društvo ne percipira na isti način. On takođe objašnjava na koji način se ostvaruju konstruisane faze u društvima koje je proučavao (Malinowski 2001). Poseban uticaj na domaću antropologiju ima i delo Arnolda van Genepa (Arnold van Gennep) koje se bavi životnim fazama i obredima prelaza (Van Genep 2005).

Budući da su centralni pojmovi ovog rada „mladi“, te fenomen „produžavanja“ mladosti, važno je naglasiti da „mladi“ ne podrazumevaju uvek pojedince istih godina, da su starosne kategorije, kao i faze odrastanja, fluidne, istorijski, društveno i kulturno specifične. Shodno tome, mladost je društvena i identitetska kategorija, okarakterisana specifičnim kulturnim shvatanjima uloga, prava, obaveza i dužnosti (Durham 2000; Honwana 2012); mladost je proces, iskustvo, relaciji koncept koji podrazumeva određene prakse i pozicioniranje u odnosu na društvene i kulturne norme (Arnett 2001); mladost je „promenljiva u svojoj formi i sadržaju u zavisnosti od vremena i mesta, pri čemu biologija i fiziologija samog tela nije glavna nepromenljiva varijabla identiteta mladih, već predmet različitih interpretativnih okvira između i unutar kulturnih i istorijskih epoha“ (Amit i Wulff 1995: 45). Dalje, kada je reč o „pomernju“, „produžavanju“, „kašnjenju“, „prolongiranju“, važno je još jednom ukazati na društvenu i kulturnu uslovljenost faza koje ljudi u jednom društvu prepoznaju, te kulturno konstruisanog vremena u odnosu na koje postoji „adekvatan“, „pravi“ i „normalan“ tempo kojim se pojedinci kreću, postižući „uspešnu“ tranziciju. Doprinos antropologije u istraživanjima mladosti, faza životnog toka, običaja životnog ciklusa i još mnogih koncepata i fenomena koji prate odrastanje i starost kao sociokulturne kategorije značajan je jer ukazuje na kulturni, društveni,

ekonomski, politički i istorijski kontekst prema kojima se konstruišu faze, uloge, kulturne predstave koje ih oblikuju i koje iz njih proizlaze.

Koncept „produžene mladosti“, koji u radu navodim kao centralni pojam, koristim u skladu sa određenjem Anđelke Milić i drugih autora koji ukazuju na produženu ekonomsku, finansijsku, stambenu i drugu zavisnost mladih ljudi usled različitih uslova života: dužeg školovanja i kasnijeg dobijanja profesionalnog statusa u pojedinim profesijama (lekari, pravnici, inženjeri), teškoća na tržištu rada, duge potrage za poslom ili nedovoljne zarade, nesigurnosti radnog mesta, osećaja marginalnosti i nedostatka dovoljno jasne perspektive u budućnosti (Milić 2001; Corijn i Kljizing 2001; Honwana 2012). U perspektivi faza i životnog toka mladost postaje posebno teška i duga faza liminalnosti, neodređenog čekanja, ili čak drastičnije „zaglavljenosti“, „zakočenosti“ i „ne-postajanja“ (Khosravi 2017). Na liminalost i kvalitativnu odliku *međustanja* ukazuju i drugi nazivi koji se koriste kao sinonimi ili kao srodni izrazi i fenomenima pri proučavanju „produžene mladosti“. Takve su, na primer, odrednice „produžena adolescencija“, „postadolescencija“, „produženo/zrelo zajedničko stanovanje (engl. *prolonged/mature co-residency*)“, „produženo detinjstvo“ ili „odloženo odrastanje“ (Mitchell, Wister i Gree 2002; Divac 2009; Tomanović 2010; Honwana 2012). Sam fenomen nastaje u kontekstu društvenih promena u zapadnim društvima pedesetih i šezdesetih godina prošlog veka. Promene koje, pre svega, donosi dostupnost i pristup obrazovanju dalje vode do dužeg školovanja, kasnijeg napuštanja roditeljskog doma, prolongiranja mladosti i odlaganja zaposlenja, braka i roditeljstva (Corijn i Kljizing 2001: 8–9). Kao i kod drugih fenomena koji narušavaju ideal linearnosti, te se

percipiraju kao „kašnjenje“ ili „prebrzo“ ulaženje u faze i uloge, trend dužeg školovanja i produžene mladosti postaje prepoznat kao demografski i politički problem, koji se potom ustaljuje i prepoznaje kao poseban stil života.¹ Kada je reč o Srbiji, za razumevanje fenomena „produžene mladosti“ važno je i razumevanje društvenog konteksta postsocijalizma i društveno-političke tranzicije. Naime, kako Zorica Divac navodi, ekonomska i politička situacija u Srbiji značajno se odražava na psihološke, socijalne i ekonomske potrebe u društvu i porodici (Divac 2009: 125). Takođe, usled kriza i nemira, roditelji nastoje da zaštite svoju decu, a osećaj nesigurnosti i rizika dovodi do zaustavljanja ili prolongiranja faza (Milić 2001: 278; Tomanović i Ignjatović 2004: 42–43).

Cilj ovog rada biće da istraži kako se fenomenu „produžene mladosti“ može pristupiti iz ugla antropologije. Uz osvrt na klasična antropološka dela nastojaću da prikažem antropološki doprinos u analizi faza i prekretnica. Potom ću kroz etnografske primere objasniti antropološke karakteristike fenomena „produžene mladosti“ u savremenoj Srbiji. Dati fenomen analiziraću uzimajući u obzir ideju o kulturi kao „osnovnom antropološkom kognitivnom sredstvu za razumevanje sveta“ (Gačanović 2009: 34), a u smislu zamišljanja i opisivanja sopstvene pozicije. Shodno tome, koristiću pojam „kulturne predstave“ kao „manje-više konzistentan skup ideja koje određena grupa ljudi ima o nekoj pojavi iz stvarnosti i uključuje faktička znanja o toj pojavi, njene simboličke reference u kulturi kojoj pripada data grupa, diskurzivnu, normativnu ili stvarnu povezanost sa drugim kulturnim artefaktima, simbolima,

¹ Poput „prevremene“ tranzicije u roditeljstvo i pun radni odnos (videti: Franklin 1988; Card i Wise 1978; Chilman 1980).

pojavama, procesima i tome slično, kao i stereotipne poglede na datu pojavu, zasnovane na njenom sociokulturnom tretmanu u stvarnosti“ (Žikić 2013: 19).

Pored teorijskih uvida, rad će se osloniti i na kvalitativno istraživanje koje sam sprovela tokom 2019. i 2020. godine.

2 ANTROPOLOŠKA ISTRAŽIVANJA ŽIVOTNIH FAZA I MLADOSTI

Kada je reč o proučavanju mladosti iz ugla antropologije, značajna je literatura koja se bavi odrastanjem i kulturom mladih u užem smislu. Antropološka istraživanja fokusirana su na običaje životnog ciklusa, obrede prelaza, a preispitivanje koncepata zasnovanih na biologiji i fiziologiji prolazi svojevršne etnografske testove. Jasno je da je proces starenja, sazrevanja i odrastanja univerzalan, prisutan svuda u svetu, te da su ljudi u svim kulturama u nekom trenutku svog života „mladi“. Ipak, iskustvo mladosti i pozicija mladih variraju u zavisnosti od lokalnog društveno-političkog konteksta. Iz antropološke perspektive zgodno je posmatrati životne faze kao društveno prepoznate i prihvaćene kategorije kroz ideju o vremenu kao kulturnoj kategoriji, odnosno poimanju vremena, „te o opažljivim posledicama toga u društvenom i kulturnom životu“ (Žikić 2013: 27). Samim tim, način poimanja vremena (u ovom slučaju i kroz faze) utiče na način strukturiranja života koji se događa u fizičkoj stvarnosti što, kako Žikić navodi, „može da bude nadgrađeno refleksivističkim postulatom da način mentalnog organizovanja kulturnih kategorija utiče na poimanje sebe kao kulturnog subjekta“ (Žikić 2013: 27).

Pitanja odrastanja i društvene konstrukcije starosnih doba postavlja značajno delo Margaret Mid. Ona dovodi u

pitanje koncepte viđene kao univerzalne i biološke kroz analizu terenskog rada, obavljenog tokom višemesečnog boravka na Samoi tokom 1925. i 1926. godine (Milenković 2003: 11). Ova analiza predstavljena je u njenoj doktorskoj disertaciji koja je kasnije i priređena u delo „Sazrevanje na Samoi: psihološka studija mladeži u primitivnom društvu, namenjena ljudima zapadne civilizacije“ (1928). Imajući u vidu isti proces telesnog razvoja koji prati pubertet, ali i sukobe i bunt koji prati adolescentski period u Americi tog doba, Midova želi da ispita da li je nemir i jad ove faze odrastanja isti za sve ljude poput, na primer, nemira i jada faze nicanja zuba kod dece (Mid 1978: 176–177). Proučavajući samoansko društvo, Midova zaključuje da su društveni faktori presudni za doživljaj odrastanja. Kako bi obrazložila svoj stav ona detaljno prikazuje odnos prema jakim osećanjima, sukobima i bolnim situacijama, izborima i merilima moralnosti koji se u mnogome razlikuju u istraživanoj kulturi i kulturi istraživača. Midova potom naglašava da problem nije u biologiji već u kulturi, ističući da „pritisak leži u našoj civilizaciji, ne u telesnim promenama kroz koje prolaze naša deca, ali pri svemu tome taj pritisak, u Americi dvadesetoga stoleća, nije ništa manje stvaran niti manje neminovan“ (Mid 1978: 208). Svojoj analizi, pored društvene i kulturne, Midova dodaje i istorijsku dimenziju, sugerišući čitaocu da se zapažanja odnose na period u kojem je sproveden terenski rad, te da ne moraju nužno biti tačna u budućnosti. Delo Margaret Mid posebno je značajno jer u prvi plan stavlja ideju o raznolikosti čovečanstva i kontekstualno tumačenje definisanja faza mladosti, odraslosti, zrelosti, što je imalo i šire društvene implikacije (videti Milenković 2003; Shankman 2018). Njeno delo napisano je za širu publiku, kao antropološko štivo posebno

prihvaćeno kod zaposlenih u mediji-
ma, prosveti, nauci, ali i kao popularni
priručnik za vaspitavanje. Štaviše, kako
naglašava Milenković, „Mid je postala
poznata antropološkinja zato što je ste-
kla vanakademski društveni ugled, a ne
obrnuto“: „U kontekstu u kojem je obja-
vljena, ova studija je imala reformatorski,
čak revolucionarni karakter. U skladu
sa regulativnim idealom boasovske an-
tropologije – kulturnom kritikom i pro-
mocijom mira i tolerancije – dovela je u
pitanje predrasudna i zdravorazumska
poimanja normalnosti i uobičajenih shva-
tanja o 'prirodnosti' adolescentske krize i
za nju karakterističnih odgovora (kazna,
prevaspitavanje, tortura nad mladom
populacijom).“ (Milenković 2003: 101).

Polemika o rezultatima i stavovima
Midove povelu se u godinama koje su
usledile (Lowie 1929; Winston 1934;
Harries 1968 prema Milenković 2003),
a posebno je postala značajna i popu-
larna kroz kritiku Dereka Frimana koji je
u godinama posle smrti autorke doveo
u pitanje njen materijal, objektivnost i
zaključke (Freeman 1996). U kontekstu
mog istraživanja, rad Midove značajan
je i koristan za objašnjavanje ideje o
konstrukciji mladosti, odrastanja, sa-
zrevanja, ideja o konstrukciji životnih
faza uopšte. Važno je zapažanje da se
u različitim društvima i istorijskim peri-
odima različito definišu „normalnosti“,
a posebno ukazivanje Midove da su ne
samo karakteristike ličnosti već i odnosi
među polovima društveno konstruisani
kroz pitanja „šta znači biti žena“ ili „šta
znači biti muškarac“ u određenoj kulturi
(Bošković 2010: 65). Pri tome, posebno
treba istaći perspektivu koja preispituje
jednoobraznosti odrastanja, ukazuju-
ći na opovrgavanje bioloških datosti,
determinisanosti čovečanstva i opšteg
ljudskog ponašanja. Široka upotreba dela
Margaret Mid u akademskim krugovima,

a posebno van njih – među „običnim lju-
dima“ može ukazati na uticaj „Sazrevanja
na Samoi“ na društveno razumevanje
odrastanja u Sjedinjenim Američkim
Državama.

Govoreći o fazama i prekretnicama
kojima se kategorizuje zrelost u društvu,
treba istaći istraživanja obreda prelaza u
svetskoj i domaćoj antropološkoj misli,
kao i važnost pretpostavke da se „život
pojedince, bez obzira na tip društva, sa-
stoji (se) iz uzastopnih prelaza iz jednog
uzrasta u drugi i iz jedne delatnosti u
drugu“ (Van Genep 2005: 7). Delo Arnol-
da van Genepa imalo je veliki uticaj na
domaću nauku. Kako Kovačević navodi,
u srpskoj antropologiji možemo naći više
od dvadeset i pet radova inspirisanih Van
Genepovim delom „Obredi prelaza“ (Ko-
vačević 2006: 81). Prema Van Genepu,
život nameće stalne prelaze i sukcesivne
etape „čiji se krajevi i počeci spajaju u
jedan niz: rođenje, društveno sazreva-
nje, brak, očinstvo, uspon na društvenoj
lestvici, specijalizacija u poslu, smrt“
(Van Genep 2005: 7), pri čemu svakoj od
etapa odgovara određena ceremonija.²
Za razumevanje produžene mladosti je
naročito korisna Van Genepova klasifi-
kacija obreda prelaza koju čine obredi
segregacije, liminalnosti, agregacije.
Oni se različito ceremonijalno razvijaju
u zavisnosti od životne faze, domena u

² On, na primer, navodi kineske obrede i cere-
monije u gradu Fučou koje vode pojedinca od
detinjstva do odraslosti: od prvog kupanja, cere-
monije svezivanja zglavaka, brijanja glave bebe i
prvog napuštanja sobe po isteku prvog meseca,
raznih proslava i prinošenja žrtve „Majci“ u mese-
cima koji dolaze, ceremonije presecanja uza na
stopalima dok dete prohodava, preko ceremonije
prolaženja kroz vrata svake druge ili treće godine,
pa sve do „sazrevanja“ koje određuje ceremonija
izlaska iz detinjstva. Interesantno je i da se posle
50. rođendana posebno obeležava svaki jubilar-
ni rođendan, koji prate ceremonije i obredi koji
označavaju prelazak iz jednog starosnog doba u
naredno (Van Genep 2005: 66–71).

kome se status menja. Tako su liminalni obredi značajni kod veridbe, inicijacije i trudnoće, dok su obredi agregacije važni kod sklapanja braka, a obredi separacije kod sahrana (Van Genep 2005).

U kontekstu istraživanja sazrevanja i odrastanja, svojevrsnog stepenovanja faza i etapa u životu, a konačno i prekretnica u sticanju nove zrelosti, važno je imati na umu radove antropologa u Srbiji koji analiziraju rituale uvođenja u svet odraslih. Miroslava Malešević, na primer, piše o obrascima ritualnog ponašanja koji prate polno sazrevanje devojaka, bazirajući analizu na terenskom istraživanju u selima zapadne Srbije, među ženama koje su prepričavale svoje iskustvo iz prve polovine 20. veka (Malešević 1985: 34). Maleševićeva kao posebno važan događaj ističe pojavu prve menstruacije koja označava devojčinu biološku i društvenu zrelost,³ navodeći da se „od tog događaja ona (se) smatra odraslom devojkom sposobnom da rađa, pa prema tome i da se uda te da je to pravi trenutak da se njena zrelost i objavi. Neposredno (ili ubrzo) posle toga događaja, devojka se svečano izvodi u javnost (na vašare, posela), uključuje u grupu

³ Društvena zrelost, kao i bračni status, mogla je biti sugerisana i putem kostima ili ukrašavanja glave: frizure, različitih oglavlja, brade i brkova. Način vezivanja marama i češljanja, vezivanja pletenica, kao i detalji u kapi mogu ukazati na to da li je u pitanju devojka, nevesta, udata žena, majka ili žena u poznim godinama. Važno je naglasiti da status neveste u nekim krajevima traje od venčanja do dobijanja prvog deteta, kojim se dobija status udate žene (videti na primer Radojičić 2006; Medić 2011). O oglavljljima i kosi kao važnom individualnom i kolektivnom markeru piše i Van Genep, navodeći da se u plemenu Rehamna u Maroku sasvim malim devojčicama glava brije, a ostavljaju se samo prednji pramenovi i čuba na temenu; tokom puberteta kosa se pušta, ali su opet u prvom planu prednji pramenovi, dok se ostatak suplja oko glave; udajom se kosa deli u dve pletenice zabačene pozadi, dok se s majčinstvom one prebacuju napred, tako da padaju preko ramena i grudi (Van Genep 2005: 193).

zrelih devojaka, udavača, ozvaničava se promena njenog društvenog statusa“ (Malešević 1985: 34).

Prva menstruacija samim tim postaje biološki indikator polnog sazrevanja, kao i društveno doživljenog zdravog tela. Budući da se uloga roditelja i ostvarivanje zdravog i brojnog potomstva smatraju izuzetno važnim, prvu menstruaciju prate i brojne magijske radnje kojima devojčica na neki način „obebeđuje“ sebi laku i uspešnu tranziciju ka ulozi supruge i majke, odnosno ka fazama koje društveno slede.

Interesantno je pogledati i tekst iste autorke u kojem je analiziran prijem u pionirsku organizaciju u ključu obreda prelaza, a kao ritual uključivanja nove generacije mladih u društvo. Naime, kako Miroslava Malešević navodi, jedna od najvažnijih prekretnica u životu pojedinca je polazak u školu koji se obeležava u porodici deteta i školi prijema, a na izvestan način potvrđuje, u datom vremenskom kontekstu, tokom svečanosti povodom Dana republike, 29. novembra, kada prvaci postaju članovi Saveza pionira Jugoslavije (Malešević 1984: 74). Ritual kojim se generacija dece uvodi u društveno ustanovljenu starosnu organizaciju podrazumeva jednodnevni upliv u svet odraslih, podražavanje ponašanja odraslih do karikiranosti (zvaničnost, ozbiljnost, red, tišina, polaganje zakletve), odnosno, kako autorka navodi, inverziju uobičajenog dečjeg ponašanja i napredak u pravcu odraslosti i zrelosti (Malešević 1984: 78). Pionirskom zakletvom oni se obavezuju na odgovornost, koja jeste jedna od odlika zrelosti i odraslosti. Proklamovana zrelost u opštem društvenom sistemu, međutim, dešava se sa punoletstvom, koja se kod muškaraca preklapa sa odlaskom u vojsku (Kovačević 1986: 66). Kako Kovačević navodi, prelaz se odigrava iz statusa „dečaka“ ili „momčića“, „momka“

u status „muškarca“, pri čemu se pojedinac u novoj ulozi ponaša „ozbiljnije“, što prati i novi položaj i tretman u porodici. Važno je napomenuti da deo regruta na drugi način stiže status „zreloug čoveka“ – brakom i/ili dobijanjem dece pre odlaska u vojsku.⁴

U savremenom kontekstu, pomenuti događaji kojima se označavao prelaz u zrelost i odraslost nisu više značajni (vojni rok više nije obavezan, ne polaže se pionirska zakletva, a prvoj menstruaciji ne pridaje se toliki značaj). Ipak, živa je ideja o linearnosti i uzastopnim prelazima iz jednog uzrasta u drugi i iz jedne društvene uloge u drugu. Punoletstvo označava zakonsku tačku prelaza u odraslost, a proslavi 18. rođendana uglavnom se pridaje veća važnost nego ostalim rođendanima. Ono što odlikuje period koji nastupa nakon „zakonskog“ odrastanja značajno se menja poslednjih decenija, a dolazi i do odlaganja značajnih životnih događaja koji su ranije označavali odrastanje (brak, rađanje). Pitanje je kako se antropološki objašnjava promena životne faze tokom dvadesetih i tridesetih godina. Određenje mladosti već se menja u javnoj politici i javnom diskursu, pa tako na primer u državnim strategijama za mlade možemo videti pomeranje „granice mladosti“ na 30 godina (Mitrović 2021a: 11).

Kulturno propisana linearnost koja se nalazi u samoj srži moje istraživačke teme i fenomena „produžene mladosti“ implicira pitanje u odnosu na koje parametre „normalnosti“ je mladost „produžena“?

⁴ O zrelosti koja se stiže bračnim statusom svedoči bogata etnološka literatura. Žarko Trebješanin, na primer, navodi: „tek kada *stupi u brak*, kada se oženi ili kada postane roditelj, on [mladić] onda u punom i konačnom smislu postaje zrelo ljudsko biće“ (Trebješanin 1991: 224), dok na isti način „devojka tek činom *udaje* dobija zvanje i status 'žene'“ (Trebješanin 1991: 229).

Kada je reč o podrazumevanom postojanju individualne i društvene linearnosti i segmentiranog vremenskog toka, pri čemu se segmenti na izvestan način „osvajaju“ godinama života, ponašanjima i događanjima, a u cilju idealtipskog pravolinijskog kretanja bez vraćanja, sociološka istraživanja analiziraju ideju „uspešnog“ životnog toka. Sam pojam o kojem se govori, životni tok, istraživan je na više načina, a predstavlja „istraživanje životnih događaja, trajektorija, faza životnog toka i tranzicija“⁵ (Ignjatović 2009: 7–8). Iako se tranzicija u odraslost može posmatrati više kao proces nego kao događaj, ukazuje se na faze i događaje koje pojedinci osvajaju i prevazilaze. Ovi događaji označeni su kao „prekretnice“ (engl. *milestones*) ili ključni životni događaji – završetak školovanja, zaposlenje, ostvarenje finansijske i stambene samostalnosti i porodične tranzicije – sklapanje braka i rađanje deteta (Galland 2001 prema Tomanović 2012: 16). Ovde ispituemo da li je produžena mladost posebna faza i da li se tako percipira, odnosno koje su kulturne predstave povezane sa njenim određenjem.

⁵ Ignjatović definiše navedene pojmove na sledeći način: „*Životni događaji* su markeri koji obeležavaju životne faze, npr. završetak školovanja, ulazak u brak itd; *Trajektorija* (putanja) označava aktuelno stanje prethodno kumuliranih životnih događaja. Npr. razlikuju se trajektorije aktera koji se zaposle nakon srednje škole i aktera koji nastave školovanje; faze su delimično zasnovane na razvojnim fazama životnog ciklusa: detinjstvo, mladost, starost itd; *tranzicija* je prelazak iz jedne životne faze u drugu (npr. tranzicija u odraslost), a označavaju je ključni životni događaji. Pitanje određivanja granica među fazama životnog ciklusa slikovito je opisao Pareto, objašnjavajući teškoću određivanja tačke prelaska u odraslost: „Mi ne znamo gde počinje odraslost, kao što ne znamo gde počinje bogatstvo“ (Bourdieu 1993: 94 prema Ignjatović 2009: 8).

3 METOD

Za potrebe svog istraživanja, pored razmatranja literature i teorijskog pristupa temi, sprovedla sam polustrukturisane dubinske intervjuje. Izbor ispitanika spada u namerni uzorak, koji je biran kao „uzorak dobijen po principu grudve snega“ (Vučinić Nešković 2013: 33–34), pri čemu ispitanici preporučuju druge ispitanike, svoje poznanike, koje smatraju pogodnim za istraživačku temu, a odgovaraju zadatom kriterijumu. U konkretnom slučaju, kriterijum izbora je da pojedinci sebe smatraju mladima, zaposleni su i zarađuju platu koju smatraju dovoljnom za samostalan život, ali ipak biraju da žive sa svojim roditeljima. U istraživanju je učestvovalo trideset i tri ispitanika: sedamnaest ispitanika – mladih (starosti od 24 do 32 godine) i šesnaest ispitanika – roditelja (starosti od 47 do 64 godine) koji imaju odraslu decu prema navedenom kriterijumu. Neki od ispitanika su članovi iste porodice (jedanaest parova roditelji – deca). Zaposleni mladi intervjuisani su radi preispitivanja teze o iznuđenosti produžavanja mladosti, odnosno, kako bi se utvrdilo koji su još činioci važni kada je u pitanju ovaj fenomen. Analizirajući narative mladih za koje izdržavanje od strane roditelja nije nužnost, nastojala sam da naglasim slojeve nesamostalnosti i produžavanja zavisnosti u različitim aspektima života. Terenski deo istraživanja sprovedla sam u periodu od avgusta 2019. do novembra 2020. godine. Kao posebnu okolnost u drugom delu istraživanja istakla bih uslove pandemije kovida 19, što je značajno uticalo na pristup terenu (više u Mitrović 2021b, 2021c).

Shodno tome, ispitanici su prihvatili poziv na intervju onako kako je njima bilo najzgodnije, u atmosferi koju smo zajed-

no smatrali najprijetnijom ili najbezbednijom imajući u vidu pandemiju. Prvo su uglavnom intervjuisani mladi, a oni bi mi kasnije pomogli da ostvarim kontakt sa njihovim roditeljima. Uglavnom sam dobijala kontakt jednog od roditelja, sa kojim bih posle dogovorila intervju onako kako je najviše odgovaralo, pojedinačno ili u paru. Mesta zakazanih razgovora bila su različita, od kafića, preko stanova ispitanika, do zakazanih *Skype*, *Zoom* ili *Viber* „prostora“. Tokom prvog dela istraživanja, koje sam uglavnom obavljala u stanovima ispitanika, u jednom danu sam intervjuisala mlade i njihove roditelje. Sa mladima sam uglavnom razgovarala u njihovoj sobi, ukoliko su je imali, a sa roditeljima u zajedničkim prostorijama – dnevnom boravku ili kuhinji.

Antropološki teren ograničen je na teritoriju Beograda iz praktičnih razloga blizine terena, ali i sa idejom da se intervjuišu stanovnici različitih tipova naselja – gradskih, mešovitih i prigradskih – koja pripadaju beogradskim opštinama.⁶ Svi mladi ispitanici u trenutku istraživanja živeli su sa svojim roditeljima u Beogradu, na opštinama Čukarica, Grocka, Palilula, Rakovica, Savski venac, Voždovac, Vračar i Zvezdara. Istraživanje je sprovedeno prema etičkim principima i standardima u društvenim naukama.⁷

Kvalitativni metod i dubinski intervjui otkrivaju kako neki ljudi koji žive u Beogradu percipiraju mladost i odrastanje, odnosno kako izgleda saživot roditelja i njihove dece u kasnim dvadesetim

⁶ Beogradske opštine razlikuju se po gustini naseljenosti, infrastrukturi i broju stanovnika. Smatrala sam da je istraživanje života u različitim tipovima naselja značajno za potrebe šire teme, a posebno radi utvrđivanja kulturnih predstava o gradu. Shodno tome, nastojala sam da sagledam kako način na koji se doživljava grad i kraj u kome se živi utiče na fenomen „produžene mladosti“ (više u: Mitrović 2021a, 2021d).

⁷ Više u: Mitrović 2021a: 61–62.

i ranim tridesetim godinama života. Smatram da je doprinos antropološkog pristupa i kvalitativnog metoda pri proučavanju fenomena „produžene mladosti“ u dubljem razumevanju interpretacija iskustava ispitanika. U ovom radu izdvojene su interpretacije vezane za predstave o odrastanju, životnom toku i njegovim segmentima, doživljenim društvenim očekivanjima kada je reč o pojedincima određenih godina.

4 REZULTATI ETNOGRAFSKE STUDIJE: ODLOŽENA ODRASLOST I PROŽIVLJENA MLADOST

Kulturne predstave o vremenu i životnom toku analizirala sam kroz narative o odrastanju kroz društvene i lične prekretnice, kao i predstave o mladosti i odraslosti u nastojanju da objasnim šta u proučavanom kontekstu znači „adekvatnost“ odrastanja, „dobra“ ili „loša“ tranzicija, „prerastanje“, „kašnjenje“, „stagniranje“, „produžavanje“ i „skraćivanje“ i slično. Ovim pojmovima se artikuliše odnos između pojedinca i kulturno konstruisanog vremena u kojem bi pojedinac „pravim tempom“ trebalo da postigne nešto kako bi faza ili tranzicija bila „uspešna“.

Kada je reč o segmentaciji iskustva ili racionalizaciji doživljaja vremena, istraživanje koje sam sprovedla pokazalo je da ispitanici koriste iskustvo godina i odrastanja doživljavajući ga na četiri načina: 1) kroz državni školsko-vaspitni sistem;⁸ 2) kroz doživljaje sebe i sopstvenog

ponašanja koje se menja i „sazreva“; 3) kroz velike lične životne prekretnice izazvane događajima (na primer, razvod roditelja, preseljenje porodice, dobijanje sopstvene dece); 4) kroz šira društvena zbivanja koja utiču na generacijske razlike (mladi i roditelji su proživljavali mladost u različitom istorijskom kontekstu). Važno je reći da isti ispitanici nekada koriste dve ili tri navedene odrednice kako bi se orijentisali u opisivanju iskustva odrastanja. U nastavku teksta ističem neke od navoda ispitanika kako bih ilustrovala njihov doživljaj faza životnog toka. Navedeni delovi intervjua samo su deo bogate etnografske građe.

Ispitanici neke od faza ili perioda u odrastanju doživljavaju kao „klasične“ ili „društveno prihvaćene“ kategorije čija je odlika preciznost, odnosno postojanje segmentiranog vremena „od – do“. „Kategorije“ koje ispitanici prepoznaju kao faze i periode u sopstvenom iskustvu, koji obeležavaju određene prekretnice, uglavnom su: a) vrtić – osnovna škola – srednja škola/gimnazija – fakultet i dalje studije – zaposlenje – penzija; b) detinjstvo (nekad rano i kasno) – mladost – odraslost – zrelije godine – penzija; c) škola – vojska – brak – rođenje dece, pri čemu je važno naglasiti da nisu svi ispitanici proživeli ili prepoznali sve ove kategorije.

Jedna ispitanica, na primer, navodi: *Svoj dosadašnji život delim na one klasične kategorije: detinjstvo, mladost i odraslost, da tako kažem, a rekla bih da je ovo neka rana faza odraslosti od kad sam se zaposlila. Taj neki period se opet može podeliti na one društveno prihvaćene kategorije: vrtić, osnovna škola, srednja škola, fakultet, pa zaposlenje. To stvarno jesu bile takve etape. Jer ako srednja škola traje četiri godine, volim da znam da će se to završiti za četiri godine, a ne ova odraslost kad ne znam šta će biti sutra. (INFŽ, 28)*

⁸ Ovde je važno dodati i odlazak u vojsku koji kao važan deo iskustva odrastanja naglašava veliki deo ispitanika – očeva, što ukazuje na važnu generacijsku razliku u odnosu na mladiće u savremenoj Srbiji za koje ovaj događaj više ne označava promenu društvenog statusa i ritual prelaza u odraslost, već isključivo ličnu odluku o profesionalnoj karijeri vojnika.

Jedan ispitanik – otac takođe navodi: *Jedna faza je osnovna, druga srednja, treća fakultet. A pre fakulteta ima i vojska koja je nama dosta značila u to vreme. Ipak se osamostališ na godinu dana bez roditelja. To sad ove generacije nemaju, a mnogo znači u smislu da se odvojiš u glavi od roditelja, i praktično i fizički; ti godinu dana živiš sam, odnosno sa nepoznatim ljudima u kasarni. I nama je to mnogo značilo, to je bila velika prekretnica kod muškaraca i ja mislim da bi to trebalo da se vrati, taj vojni rok. Ne zato što će biti rata ili nečega, nego što to dosta u glavi izmeni muškarca. Dešava se posle srednje škole, pre fakulteta, znači u pravo vreme. Posle ide fakultet i ja sam, kad sam završio fakultet, počeo da radim.* (INFm*⁹ 55)

Kada je reč *individualnim faktorima odrastanja*, ispitanici na različite načine doživljavaju svoju zrelost, uglavnom je definišući primerima izbora koji su postajali prihvatljiviji ili neprihvatljiviji s vremenom. Nekad su u pitanju spoznaje preferenci („šta mi odgovara“, „šta volim, a šta ne“) bilo da se radi o odabiru mesta za izlazak, izboru društva ili ponašanja, dok su nekad u pitanju doživljaji izbora sopstvene reakcije na spoljne faktore. Jedna ispitanica dodatno naglašava važnost ličnog osećaja sazrevanja, ističući da lične promene kod nje stvaraju osećaj novih faza, od kojih trenutnu fazu opisuje kao „istraživanje“, što odgovara predstavi o produženoj mladosti: *Ja periode delim nekako po značajnim ličnim događajima i ne delim ih po školi. OK, mogu da bih se lakše snašla i „od – do“: od srednje do faksa i slično. Ali više ih delim po nekim ličnim prekretnicama koje su vrlo duboke i unutrašnje. Smatram sebe zreloom devojkom... zrelo devojaštvo kao period. Ne smatram se detetom, ne smatram sebe ženom... daleko*

sam od žene, devojka sam, ali nisam mlada više. Nisam više mlada devojka, nego neka zrelija devojka više. (...) Pre zrelog devojaštva je jedno lutanje, istraživanje, pronalaženje, gde sam ja u ovom celom sistemu. Kakav život hoću, kakav jednom hoću brak, kakav hoću posao, kako hoću da mi izgleda dan. Sva ta pitanja stoje pod 'istraživanje'. Introspekcija, sve to 'na unutra' da bih znala kako hoću da živim. To može da se zove istraživanjem u mladosti. Sad sam mnogo manje naivna, mnogo više biram, već nekako mogu da svrstam te ljude bez nekih lažnih iluzija da možda mi nešto možemo zajedno. Mnogo sam izbirljivija. (INFŽ, 28)

Treća grupa odrednica, kada govorimo o odrastanju i klasifikaciji perioda, za moje ispitanike obeležena je sećanjima na neki važan događaj koji je vrlo ličan i vezan za njihovu porodicu, obično preseljenje, stupanje u brak, razvod roditelja ili sopstveni razvod, rođenje ili smrt člana porodice. Faze su za ispitanike omeđene događajima u porodici, uz razvoj i modifikacije doživljaja porodice: *Moje detinjstvo je bilo obeleženo razdvajanjem roditelja, bila sam jako malena, sećam se ali... nakon toga škola gde sam bila super-vukovac, super-đak, sve kako treba. Onda srednja škola gde sam bila usmereno (obrazovanje) i onda tu neki izbor studija. Rad u struci... (...) U profesionalnom smislu potpuno super, neki lep put. I onda paralelna priča, nas dvoje [ispitanica i suprug] smo znači zajedno sad već milion godina, od te neke '84, slavili smo ono 30 godina, nikako da izračunam da li je 35, 36, puno godina zajedno i zajedničko odrastanje, i naše i deca u nekom trenutku, potpuno željenom, kad smo nas dvoje bili spremni za to. I onda čarolija dečjeg odrastanja i našeg sazrevanja do srednjih godina i sada neki stvarno momenat puštanja dece da se odvoje. Dajemo podršku, i eto. To je neki moj presek.* (INFŽ*, 55)

⁹ Ispitanici – roditelji obeleženi su zvezdicom (*).

Naposletku, neki ispitanici definišu faze u dosadašnjem životu u odnosu na *šira društvena, ekonomsko-politička dešavanja*, koja su direktno ili indirektno uticala na njihov život. Jedan ispitanik, na primer, navodi: *Pre sam bio dete. Drugačije gledaš na svet. 2008. godine se desila ona finansijska kriza i posle je naš posao dosta osetio sve to. U tom nekom trenutku sam ja zaista shvatio da sam ja odrastao. Tada je nekako bio opšti haos, niko od starijih u mojoj porodici, mi smo velika porodica i svi se družimo i slažemo, ima nas mnogo... niko od starijih se nije baš lepo snašao tu, kad je ta prva firma propala bilo je teško jer su svi uložili mnogo svojih godina u tu firmu i osetili to na ličnom nivou. Ja koji sam tu bio relativno nov i trebao sam samo onda da smirim situaciju. Tu sam shvatio da nema neke racionalne razlike između mene tada i njih kao odraslih. Nije sad da su oni mnogo zreliji od mene, sve je to isto. Kroz život sam shvatio da niko zapravo ne odraste, ljudi su generalno jako nezreli. Tako sam došao do samopouzdanja u svoje razmišljanje da neće da se desi neka velika prekretnica, da neće da mi klikne nešto u glavi i da mi se promeni način razmišljanja, nego jednostavno samo iskustvo i mudrost koja dolazi sa godinama da ne pravim iste gluposti koje sam pravio ranije. Video sam i mnogo starije ljude da se ponašaju mnogo klinačkije nego mnogo mlađi ljudi.* (INFm, 32)

Na ovom tragu, važno je reći da se i kod ispitanika – mladih i kod ispitanika – roditelja tranzicija u odraslost doživljava kao dosta duži proces nego što bi se moglo pretpostaviti. Mladost i odraslost ispitanici vide kao opozicije, pri čemu mogu postojati elementi odraslosti u mladosti i obrnuto. Na primer, naglašava se da neko može biti jako zreo u mladosti, ili čak ozbiljno i zrelo dete, dok neko može biti „neozbiljna“ odrasla osoba. Ipak, ponašanje „u skladu sa godinama“,

odrastanje i odraslost u narativima ispitanika osvajaju se „ozbiljnim ponašanjem“ doživljenim kroz kulturne predstave o odgovornosti za druge. Mladost se, s druge strane, doživljava kao doba bezbrižnosti, naivnosti i prava na istraživanje. Ona se takođe, prema ispitanicima, odnosi na promišljanje života i učenje: *Mladost mi je mnogo manje kontrolisana, mnogo impulsivnija. Ti ideš za tim nekim impulsima, koji nisu toliko promišljeni, ali učiš o sebi. Težiš da doneseš neke zaključke, mnogo više srljaš, što kažu, ali kroz to srljanje i impuls ti učiš o sebi. Izlaganje iskustvima, mislim da je to ključno. U ranoj mladosti se izlažem iskustvima koja ću u kasnijem životu obrađivati.* (INFž, 28)

Ispitanici su komentarisali i kako doživljavaju ponašanje u „skladu sa godinama“ u kontekstu vršnjaka ili „starijih“ od kojih se očekuje da budu „ozbiljniji“. Ispitanici nekad komentarišu „drugom mladost“ svojih poznanika ili članova porodice, manje ili više kritički, opisujući njihovu „neozbiljnost“. Dok je mladost viđena kao da jeste ili bi „trebalo da bude“ sebična i dinamična, odraslost je u narativima ispitanika određena idejom o odricanju i vođenju računa o nekome, o preuzimanju brige i odgovornosti: *Mlad si dok god si ti sebi na prvom mestu. Kada više nisi na prvom mestu, ti onda imaš decu, ženu – to ti postaje prioritet, onda više nisi mlad, nego si ozbiljan.* (INFm, 30)

Mladost se, prema mojim ispitanicima, „stepenuje“ i u odnosu prema roditeljima, zavisnosti od njih materijano, ali i u pogledu traženja odobrenja i dozvola, kao i u pogledu podrazumevanih zajedničkih aktivnosti. Prakse koje se često pominju su traženje dozvole za izlazak i najavljivanje druženja. Prema ispitanicima, autonomija u odlučivanju menjala se od trenutka kada su sami birali gde će da prespavaju i koliko dugo će ostati u izlasku. Mladost se takođe

stepenuje količinom slobodnog vremena. Iako smatraju da i sad imaju slobodno vreme, ono je, prema rečima ispitanika, u „pravoj mladosti“ bilo kontinuirano i neometano obavezama prema poslu ili stalnom partneru.

Posmatrajući odrastanje sopstvene dece, ispitanici – roditelji osvrću se na strahove koje su uz decu prevazilazili. Ovi strahovi menjali su se kako su deca odrastala, a stiče se utisak da su svakim novim izazovom deca ispitanika pomalo odrastala: od prvog samostalnog koraka, do izbegavanja „lošeg društva“, završetka školovanja i zaposlenja. Jedna ispitanica govori o svojim ranim strahovima koji su za nju ujedno bili i prvi pokazatelji odrastanja dece: *Prvo odrastanje jeste kad pustiš dete samo do škole. Kad ga pustiš da ti sam pređe ulicu. Sećam se to je meni bilo „kad ću ja da se rasteretim tog straha da on sam pređe ulicu“! Znači, taj strah da će moći sam da brine o sebi! Pa ga pratiš do kraja ulice, pa ga pustiš, pa sve manje i manje. U stvari, to ti je to učenje – učenje odvikavanja da moraš svuda nad njim kao kišobran da budeš, ili kao tepih da budeš, da se ne povredi. Da staneš ispred njega da ga sačuvaš od svih loših uticaja.* (INFŽ*, 60)

Kada su u pitanju narativi roditelja, odraslost je takođe stepenovana kroz razne događaje, životne prekretnice i ponašanja. Kao i u narativima mladih, stiče se utisak da se zrelost osvaja, te da odrastanje karakteriše ponašanje, odnos prema ljudima, stvarima i događajima. Ispitanici – roditelji svoju odraslost vezuju za dobijanje dece i spoznaju sebe u odnosu na svoju decu. Prema gotovo svim narativima, glavni i poslednji marker afirmisanja odraslosti postaje dobijanje sopstvene dece: *Ja sam postala odrasla osoba kad sam dobila decu. To je bio ključan momenat. Ja sam porasla uz moju decu. Znači, dok nisam imala svoju decu ja sam bila prvenstveno dete svojim*

roditeljima i tako su me tretirali i ja sam samu sebe tako tretirala – kao dete svojih roditelja. A kad sam ja postala roditelj, onda sam odrasla i sve sam manje bivala dete svojim roditeljima, a sve više roditelj svojoj deci. (INFŽ*, 56)

Posebno je interesantno da neki ispitanici naglašavaju da su taj veliki prelaz u odraslost kroz roditeljstvo videli samo oni, odnosno da je reakcija okoline izostala: *Kad sam dobila Iliju [starijeg sina, 27], pošto je prvi, očekivala sam nenormalne promene – sada sam ja postala mama. Iliju sam dobila sa 20 godina, što je za ovo vreme, vrlo mlado. Isto bih to uradila i sa ovom pameću, znači da mlada rodim. Nije bila neka promena, a očekivala sam je – ja sam mama i to treba da se vidi na čelu, da me prepoznaju kao mamu, međutim to nije to.* (INFŽ*, 47)

5 DISKUSIJA

Kao što primećuju različiti autori i kako studije mladih pokazuju, parametre zrelosti predstavljaju i lične i socijalne karakteristike, kao i doživljaj „odraslosti“ čiji je naglasak često na individualizmu, prihvatanju odgovornosti za svoje postupke, donošenju samostalnih ili samostalnijih odluka, ostvarivanju odnosa sa roditeljima kao jednakima i spremnosti pojedinca da se odrekne nečega (od materijalnih dobara do slobodnog vremena) zarad nekog drugog. Naime, kako naglašava Smiljka Tomanović, ključne promene pri tranziciji u odraslost vezuju se za ostvarivanje autonomije u odnosu na roditelje i sam odnos prema odgovornosti. Mlada osoba, shodno navedenom, sa položaja objekta odgovornosti svojih roditelja postaje subjekat odgovornosti, te odgovorna za sebe i druge (Brannen et al. 2002: 5 prema Tomanović 2010: 179). Važno je napomenuti da tranziciju u odraslost, kao i druge tranzicije

procesu, karakteriše promenljiv tempo (u ovom slučaju odrastanja), budući da markeri imaju promenljiv raspored, kao i da raspon između događaja može biti različito vremenski strukturiran (Ignjatović 2009: 11–12).

Vodeći se narativima ispitanika, potvrđuje se hipoteza o tranziciji u odraslost kao procesu pre nego događaju (Hogan i Astone 1986; Arnett 1997). Uz to, moglo bi se dodati i da je reč o procesu koji je dosta duži nego što bi se moglo pretpostaviti, odnosno da se odrastanje kroz vizuru ispitanika u velikoj meri poistovećuje sa čitavim periodom odrastanja. Na primer, ispitanici – mladi tranziciju u odraslost doživljavaju i kroz razliku u preuzimanja odgovornosti od momenta zaposlenja, ali i kroz razliku između osnovne i srednje škole ili između najranijeg detinjstva i preuzimanja prvih školskih obaveza. Ispitanici – roditelji sopstveno odrastanje doživljavaju na sličan način, a odrastanje dece povezuju sa istraživanim kontekstom, naglašavaju tranziciju koja se desila i koja se očekuje u budućnosti, posebno kroz preseljenje, brak i roditeljstvo dece. Dok se kod ispitanika – mladih kao rekreativaca u odrastanju (koju su prevazišli ili pred kojom se nalaze) percipira zaposlenje i stambeno osamostaljenje, kod obe ispitaničke grupe vrhunac odraslosti iskazan je kroz kulturnu predstavu o roditeljstvu (mladi i roditelji)¹⁰ ili lično iskustvo roditeljstva (roditelji). Društvena uloga roditelja doživljava se kroz prizmu potpune autonomije i preuzimanja odgovornosti za sebe, kojoj novu dimenziju daje preuzimanje odgovornosti za blagostanje

¹⁰ Niko od mojih ispitanika – mladih koji su učestvovali u ovom istraživanju nije u bračnoj zajednici, niti ima decu. Ipak, neki od ispitanika – roditelja su postali babe i dede, budući da većina njih ima i drugu decu pored one sa kojom sam ja razgovarala.

sopstvenog deteta (videti: Tomanović, Stanojević i Ljubičić 2016).

Kada je reč o pojmu „mladosti“, ona se među ispitanicima percipira kroz predstave o slobodi, revoluciji, traganju, lutanju, pronalaženju sebe, neozbiljnosti, buntu, bahatosti, nemaru, pri čemu se sve predstave doživljavaju kao očekivane i društveno opravdane. Implicitna i direktna veza sa frazom „u skladu sa godinama“ sugerise pretpostavku da se neka ponašanja prerastaju, kao što deca prerastaju odeću, te se u njih ne treba vraćati. Ukoliko se pak u odraslosti pojedinac „vraća“ u prethodna stanja i ponašanja narušava se ideal linearnosti, a dolazi do određenog nesklada koji se percipira kritički ili kroz humor kao „neozbiljno ponašanje“. Za mladost je, s druge strane, neozbiljnost kulturno prihvatljiva, čak, kako deluje, poželjna jer dovodi do samospoznaje. Takođe, kao što je „neozbiljno ponašanje“ neprihvatljivo ili neobično za odraslog čoveka, postoji ideja da previše ozbiljno ponašanje ne priliči mladosti. Pojedinci koji se doživljavaju kao „previše ozbiljni za svoje godine“ označeni su kroz kulturne predstave o „starmalosti“.¹¹ Interesantno je navesti i kulturne predstave o „proživljavanju mladosti“ u čijem je fokusu ideja da se jednom „proživljeno“ ponašanje, koje se uglavnom smatra devijantnim ili nepoželjnim, neće kasnije „vratiti“.

Primeri ovog ponašanja su, na primer, preterivanje u alkoholu, eksperimentisanje sa drogama, česti i dugi izlasci, neobavezan seksualni život i često menjanje partnera. Iako navedena ponašanja nikada nisu kulturno percipirana kao pozitivna i poželjna, ona se doživljavaju kao „normalnija“ i „prihvatljivija“ za mlade

¹¹ Izrazi „starmali“ ili „starmala“ potiču od grčkog naziva „paleofron“ (gr. παλιόφρων) onaj koji (ili ona koja) se ponaša kao star čovek, starmali, starmala (Vujaklija 1961: 668).

nego za odrasle ljude, u čemu dodatnog udela imaju kulturne predstave o značaju „proživljavanja“ i „zasićivanja“. Ispitanici, posebno ispitanici – mladi, pozitivno gledaju na „lutanja“ i „eksperimentisanja“ u mladosti, smatrajući da ih je upravo to naučilo kako da se ponašaju i šta žele u odraslosti.

Idejom da mladost treba iskoristiti može se i dalje tumačiti produžena mladost mojih ispitanika. Naime, kao što su pokazali ovaj i drugi aspekti sprovedenog antropološkog istraživanja, zrelo zajedničko stanovanje postaje racionalan izbor jer podrazumeva nekakvu racionalnu organizaciju i upravljanje vremenom, novcem i životnim planovima (Mitrović 2021a, 2021d). Mladi učesnici u istraživanju žive sa svojim roditeljima, zaposleni su i svoju platu smatraju dobrom za život u Srbiji. Samim tim, oni mogu da se osamostale, ali to ipak ne čine. Uz procenjivanje mogućnosti potrošnje ili štednje u roditeljskom domu, vreme se posmatra i iz ugla „proživljavanja“ mladosti. Naime, ispitanici – mladi smatraju da će jednom kada se presele i „odrastu“ i dobiju svoju porodicu imati manje novca za užitke koje u ovoj situaciji sebi mogu da priušte, od poručivanja hrane, preko izlazaka i kupovine skuplje garderobe, do odlazaka na putovanja koja se smatraju egzotičnim (Mitrović 2021d: 108). Takođe, smatraju da neće moći da štede novac. Samim tim, produžena mladost mojih ispitanika može se analizirati kroz prizmu kulturne predstave da se mladost mora „proživeti“ i da se mora „pametno iskoristiti“ bilo za ličnu satisfakciju izlaženja, putovanja i slično ili kako bi se steklo i uštedelo, te kasnije obezbedio sigurniji život. Pitanje slobodnog vremena takođe se postavlja na tas vage kojom se procenjuju koristi porodične kohabitacije, budući da su ispitanici svesni da bi samostalan život,

osim troškova, podrazumevao i vreme u nabavci, pripremanju hrane, održavanju domaćinstva i slično.

6 ZAKLJUČAK

Fenomenu „produžene mladosti“ pristupila sam sa ciljem da analiziram da li na postojanje ovog fenomena u Srbiji utiču kulturne predstave. Zanimalo me je na koji način shvatanja životnog toka i mladosti dovode do određenih ideja i delanja. Smatram da „produžena mladost“, osim očitim ekonomskim i strukturalnim ograničenjima, jeste uslovljena i kulturnim faktorima, odnosno da se koristi kao strategija, pri čemu je najveća ušteda predstavljena kroz „čekanje“ u roditeljskom domu. Shodno tome, fenomen „produžene mladosti“ može se analizirati i u ključu društveno konstruisane linearnosti koja nije nužna, premda jeste poželjna. Produžena mladost i duža tranzicija u odraslost stoje kao momenat u mladosti na samoj granici odraslosti, u kome se vremenom i finansijama upravlja mudro. „Produžena“ mladost, služeći se odrednicama Arnolda van Genepa, predstavlja produženu liminalnost, u kojoj pojedince odlikuju neki elementi prethodne i sledeće faze. Naime, na primeru mog istraživanja, pojedinci prevazilaze određene prekretnice koje ih čine odraslima: punoletni su, završili su sa svojim obrazovanjem, zaposleni su, imaju sopstvene prihode. Ipak, život sa roditeljima, neravnomerno učešće u troškovima i održavanju domaćinstva, kao i sopstvena porodična tranzicija (sklapanje braka i dobijanje dece) ispitanike dele od potpune autonomije i kulturno doživljene odraslosti. Samim tim, ispitanici orbitiraju u liminalnosti socijalnih i ličnih parametara zrelosti, na momente dalje ili bliže od potpune autonomije i ostvarivanja odnosa sa roditeljima kao jednakima.

Smatram da je „produžena mladost“ značajno modelovana predstavama o vremenu, linearnosti, iskorišćavanju prilika, i utisku da „nema nazad“ i da se svaka faza treba „proživeti“. Produžena mladost kao faza ili međufaza nije percipirana kao negativna, čak je viđena kao „normalan“ deo životnog toka u Srbiji. Ukoliko se posmatra kroz prizmu „ponašanja u skladu sa godinama“, ostanak u

roditeljskom domu u kasnim dvadesetim i ranim tridesetim godinama u Srbiji nije „nenormalan“ ili barem nije neočekivan. „Mladost“, doživljena kroz predstave o slobodi, revoluciji, traganju, lutanju, pronalaženju sebe, neozbiljnosti, buntu, bahatosti, nemaru, percipira se kao o određenoj meri neophodna, a u skladu sa pretpostavkom da se neka iskustva moraju desiti kako bi se „prerasla“.

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Bioethical and social constructions of life extension and longevity

Veselin Mitrović ¹ 

ABSTRACT

This paper explores life span extension and longevity as one aspect of life course, focusing on the bioethical and social implications of the rise of longevity in modern societies. We juxtaposed Potter's categorisation of types of survival with the opposing views about life extension. This ethical and ideological contrast is especially pronounced when it comes to human enhancement, which improves human capacities and functioning above and beyond the statistical norm of human health. In the medium and long term, these interventions would change not only the human species, but also social roles and relationships. The crux of social and bioethical concern could be expressed through the questions: from what age do we start extending human life, and for whom? Does the extension of life lead to the re-establishment of our social roles from youth, or is it just a romantic image of our previous life stage? This study concludes that both paternalistic approaches to life extension and those avoiding modern medical treatments of diseases related to aging are faced with similar epistemological and social reductionism.

KEYWORDS

life-course perspective, bioethics, longevity, elderly, agism, paternalism

¹*Institute of Social Sciences, Belgrade, Serbia*

Correspondence:

Veselin Mitrović,
Institute of Social Sciences,
Kraljice Natalije 45,
11000 Belgrade, Serbia

Email:

vmitrovic@idn.org.rs

1 INTRODUCTION

In modern societies, individual life span is commonly associated with longevity as a desirable and expected feature of the life course. The proportion of people in advanced age has increased in the countries with the highest life expectancy (Vaupel, Villavicencio and Bergeron-Boucher 2021). Extending people's life span beyond the average life expectancy is a trend that raises many social, medical, and bioethical issues. For example, keeping people alive for longer through improvements in medical technology may create some unanticipated consequences, which some have called "the failure of success" (Alwin 2011). In this paper, longevity is understood as a result of life extension prolonged by various biomedical technologies.

Life span may be analysed from the perspective of one person, but it could also be seen in the frame of one group, population, nation, civilisation, or the entire human species. In this paper, we address the main bioethical issues of the artificial changing of longevity and how this enhanced longevity affects one's life course. We aim to explore how this meddling in the longevity of an individual or group influences their social roles and interpersonal and family relationships, which are all parts of the life course (Silverstein and Giarrusso 2011).

Life extension is not such a new idea historically, and we are acculturated to it. However, recent changes in life extension have spurred bioethical debates. There is no obvious moral or ethical dilemma as in other cases such as abortion, suicide, or end-of-life decisions. The reason for this bioethical discussion is the link between human life span, life extension, and the survival of

the human species. Considering this, life extension through human enhancement could be observed via Potter's types of survival of individuals and groups. With this in mind, the question of human survival is raised and may be seen from individual or group perspectives. As individuals, we are aware of our mortality, but at the same time, we know that the generation of humans may prolong civilisation and the life of the human species. "Survival of a civilization is the postponement of an inevitable collapse or crash, with overwhelming decreases in the total number of people. The question is whether a decent civilization could be rebuilt after a crash. The bioethical phrase global survival does not specify what kind of survival is called for" (Potter and Potter 2001). However, survival does not have only these longitudinal and quantitative features, but also a qualitative characteristic. Potter and Potter (2001) suggest five types of survival: "mere," "miserable," "idealistic," "irresponsible," and "acceptable".¹

Based on this model, due to the reduction of natural resources (especially the supply of drinking water), the dramatic extension of human life and the

¹ "Mere survival" is characterised by the ethics of small groups, similar to the ethics of a "hunting and gathering" society. "Miserable survival" could be understood as living in a state of war, disasters, and in general where anticipation of survival is reduced for individuals and groups. "Idealistic survival" is a type of survival freed from the previous risks. However, it is hardly achievable at the global level. "Irresponsible survival" is doing anything that runs counter to the concepts of idealistic and acceptable survival. It is characterised by "overpopulation and overconsumption, and the depletion and degradation of the biosphere". "Acceptable survival" could be presented as the main goal of bioethics. It based on the increased anticipation of present and future risks to the survival of both humans and the biosphere (Potter and Potter 2001).

irresponsible application of biotechnologies may lead to the highly uneven distribution of wellbeing and healthcare, which may result in the extinction of the weaker members of society. The uneven aging of tissues and organs raises the question of what age life extension technology will be applied at and whether it is about extending the maximum or average life span. For this purpose, we will support a relevant analysis of the ideological and theoretical division with the bioethical categorisation of survival types.² Modern, developed, and market-oriented societies, which according to Potter are characterised by a culture of irresponsible survival, dictate the basic pattern of that culture, which is reflected across two levels: the freedom of individuals to choose the best way of life for themselves and their children, and enhancement,³ when people are freed from social responsibility and solidarity (Potter 1988; Parens 1998; Elliott 1998). According to two opposing bioethical streams, such a situation is either justified or absolutely unjustified.

The first account (transhumanist) starts with the ethics of the unrestricted use of human enhancement technology (HET). This new technology combines bioscience, nano-science, technology, and ICT. The effect of HET is not limited only to the environment; it is intended to be used inside or on the human body and mind. According to this school of thought, using new

biotechnology to enhance ourselves and our offspring is our moral obligation (Savulescu 2007; Agar 2002, 2004). The second account (bioconservative) strongly opposes the usage of HET beyond therapy, i.e., medicine and other healthcare procedures, not to enhance typical human capacities and functions. From this perspective, every usage of HET on healthy people, even the genetic screening of heredity malformation, is against human dignity (Kass 2000, 2001; Fukujama 2003).

The approach used in this and our previous papers sits between these two extreme positions. Such an account is represented through constant and singular analysis of every case in which the new technology is used on healthy people. A later account is necessary for analysing real and possible social and medical issues with human enhancement and reviewing the benefits of such interventions. In this regard, as a result of enhancing the quality of life, its extension also occurs as either an unwanted or intended effect. In both cases, such an effect is almost unquestionably taken as a socially valuable goal.

So far, it is evident that both radical approaches lead to vital changes in any kind and importance of social roles. Whether one opts for dramatic improvement of their own or their offspring's capacities, or abstains from possible therapeutic screening, longevity and life course perspective are changed for one's own good. Both of these patronising approaches are motivated by the moral obligation to defend human dignity or choose one's best way of life. Such paternalistic (Dworkin 2020) approaches to choices regarding life course are just one step from authoritarian socialisation and stand against autonomous choices during one's life course.

² A similar methodology is used in: Mitrović (2014).

³ Enhancement is the improvement or extension of some characteristics, capacities or activities of human beings. On the other hand, a certain distinction needs to be made in relation to therapy that corrects certain disorders or deficiencies, i.e. that aims to bring an unhealthy individual to a healthy state. See more in: President Council on Bioethics (2003).

2 BIOETHICAL ISSUES OF LIFE EXTENSION

Using the bioethical framework presented in the last section, I will analyse the main bioethical issues and social concerns regarding altering longevity and life course. From the bioethical standpoint, life course perspective is additionally complicated because improving quality of life is almost unquestionably accepted as a supreme social value. In this regard, the social aspects of enhancement raise certain social concerns, such as: (1) Due to the social acceptance of new enhancement technologies, will there be an extension of life span through genetic intervention that is accessible to everyone (idealistic survival), or will the justification of individual cases lead to a scenario of irresponsible survival for one group and miserable survival for another group of people (Stock and Callahan 2007)? (2) Could the side effects of the use of biotechnologies for life extension put the human species at “risk of extinction” (Bostrom 2002; Sidel, Gould and Cohen 2002)? (3) Due to the dramatic extension of human life and the irresponsible application of biotechnologies, could overpopulation become so great that biologically and morally superior (powerful) groups use the same means (pharmaceutical and bio-medical) for the selective elimination of a lower species, i.e., old, chronically sick, or physically weaker populations? (4) At what age of life will life extension technology be applied, will the aging process of all organs will be uniform, and how long should the life span then become? Is it about extending the maximum or average life span (Stock and Callahan 2007)?

Considering Agar’s (2002: 30) “pragmatic optimism”⁴ as contrasted with Gordijn’s (2005) and Lindsey’s (2005) question about whether something should be considered if, in the foreseeable future, it will not be technologically possible to achieve it, it is necessary to present a framework for possible interventions. Each of the possible technological origins of intervention comes with its own subcategories in bioethical debates on life extension. Those four possibilities can result in: prolonged senescence, reduced mortality (“compressed morbidity”), “decelerated aging” and “arrested aging”. On the one hand, the borders between these bioethical discussions are depicted by the rivalry between political affinities and the rivalry between the aforementioned operational frameworks. On the other hand, those limits represent a guide to other research that can be applied to the enhancement of human beings (Juengst et al. 2003: 24).

For the optimal operationalisation and presentation of our results, the last four goals or framework issues can be summarised by two types of biotechnological interventions. The first frame includes interventions to stop aging by creating eternally young bodies through cloning tissue parts or the entire organism, then transmitting recorded synaptic messages and experiences through future technologies (HET).⁵ According to some authors, such a scenario will never happen because what some call the soul is impossible to transfer (Agar 2002). Therefore, based on pragmatic

⁴ “Pragmatic optimism represents a scenario covering a specific situation with principles and rules, although that technology or intervention may never occur” (Agar 2002: 30).

⁵ Please see more in: Mitrović (2012: 52–53) and at: CLONAIID (2022).

optimism (Agar 2002), it is necessary to consider another framework: the possible impact of technologies in the foreseeable future (Gordijn 2005; Lindsay 2005). In a broader sense, this is about an approach that connects old age with accompanying diseases, thus trying to justify the extension of life by justifying the treatment of those diseases (Post 2007: 304, 312).

Considering the relevant methodology, distinguishing health treatments and enhancing healthy people comes to the fore, steering the analysis of interventions towards biomedical and social norms. With this in mind, the question arises of how to determine the social criteria for treating diseases that occur with aging, knowing that the secondary effects of that treatment will lead to an extension of the length of life. At first glance, extending life represents absolute value and brings with it particular social concerns in the form of creating a new life span limit, which an increasing number of people define as 'sick' or 'inferior'. The situation is even more complex because the public's view of aging through degenerative diseases can be an attractive way to gain public justification for life extension research. The very same argument can be effectively used to "refute the claim that the mission of such research is a human redesign or enhancement" (Juengst et al. 2003: 26–27).

The pathologisation of aging along with discriminatory social norms against the old (agism) could, over time, include "rejuvenation procedures" (anti-aging products) as part of basic healthcare, thus creating a new space for trade-offs in medicine. Whether old age will be seen as a disease is not only a question for biomedicine; many other social factors also influence where the boundary lies between the norms of health and

disease. Similar to the described bioethical divisions in life extension, there are divisions among "apologetics" who consider "aging a natural process" that should be separated from disease states associated with aging. On the contrary, in the transhumanist spirit, "prolongivists" see aging as a disease we must treat (Post 2007: 307–309; Ehni and Marckmann 2008: 965).

In addition to these aspects, the above division into interventions with medical goals and interventions guided by specific social values related to gaining better social status also raises the question of social justice. In order to better understand such a question, it is necessary to recall the "double effect" of medical intervention; treating degenerative diseases associated with aging could lead to a better social position. Authors like Harris (2007) justify such a position as unrestricted freedom of individual choice (including the "freedom to fail"), which must not provide maleficence to others. Given the current socioeconomic divisions, it should be pointed out that such interventions would be accessible only to a minority of the population. At the same time, the effects of maleficence need to be analysed from a more comprehensive social perspective, not just a medical one. However, this case represents the issues of moral equalisation of the same activities (often the same intermediate state)⁶ with different aims.

⁶ Intermediary states of HET often represent a state, feeling, or intermediary health condition in the practical usage of some forms of HET. For example, using synthetic means like human growth hormone (HGH) to enhance a child's capacity to get a scholarship as a future basketball player at college and using the same medicine as pure medical therapy for children with growth hormone deficiency involves the same means (HGH) and the same intermediary states, but the aims are different.

Social justice, in this case, is the source of at least one more issue. This concern is reflected in the idea that the possibility of extending life should be available to everyone. The pursuit of an idealistic type of survival could obscure the voluntary limitation of reproduction, consequently affecting species renewal and the lifecycles of individuals and families, which should be consistent with the rest of our biosphere (Potter and Potter 2001). In this way, prolonging life could in fact have the opposite effect. For these reasons, the analysis of social aspects of enhancement should start with acceptable global survival. Mere and miserable existence derived from unbalanced social distributions is not enough, and irresponsible survival is unacceptable (Potter and Potter 2001:2).

Starting with the global context, efforts to use biotechnologies to influence the process of longevity, and various social and cultural aspects of the life of social communities, some authors raise significant moral questions about the sustainability of global survival. Such an angle of observation could generally be described as a vision of "rational desirability" or of a "good life". The individual level of the relationship between aging and the vision of a good life questions whether aging is intrinsically wrong, that is, whether extending life represents an "intrinsic value" (Post 2007: 318; Ehni and Marckmann 2008: 966). The social aspect of this dilemma relates to the renewal and structure of the population. According to Post (2007), the social aspect reflects the interrogatives of the principle of solidarity and even the wellbeing of the general population in the case of life extension. Technological progress often separates us from developing virtues or even "tempts us

to create a new class of eternally young elite, which would, irreversibly, begin to view other unchanged groups as unfit or inferior" (Post 2007: 312).

Bearing these concerns in mind, specific authors state that the views of "apologetics", like those of bioconservatives, stem from the idea that aging is not something to be avoided. Their social analysis argues that older people should free up living space and social positions for generations to come (Ehni and Marckmann 2008: 967). However, this proposal is generally not supported either in Europe, due to the well-known Nazi eugenics programs, or in the USA due to accusations of agism (Ehni and Marckmann 2008). Contrary to the previous bioconservative views of the apologists, let us now assess the transhumanist perspective of the prolongists, that the extension of life is an "intrinsic value"; that people want to live longer because it is a specific intrinsic good, not a social advantage. Additionally, suppose in the spirit of Agar's "pragmatic optimism" that medicine has the means to make these interventions possible; that the risks of cancer caused by the uncontrolled development of transplanted cellular tissue have been eliminated; that safe organ transplants are possible without immune and infectious risks. In this case, hypothetically, say that legislative obstacles blocking the use of embryos and foetuses at an advanced stage of development were also removed, as were specific interventions in the development of human organs in the bodies of transgenetic organisms (Mitrović 2014:102). This scenario would not start from a utopian model of idealistic survival because of the already existing division in the duration of the average life span at the global level.

As it stands, there are parts of Africa where the average life expectancy is under 50 years, with about 25–26 million people infected with HIV (60% of the total global number).⁷ On the other hand, some rich countries have an average life expectancy of between 70 and 80 years (Pijnenburg and Leget 2006: 585). As such, it is clear that a significant part of the world's population already lives in a miserable survival state. Considering this, the relevant literature emphasises the difficulties in distributing goods to all members of society (Pijnenburg and Leget 2006: 586).

From a transhumanist perspective, the question can then be raised as to whether we should ban life extension interventions for those who can afford them if we cannot make them available to everyone (Harris 2004). In other words, this argument says that interventions should be prohibited if we cannot achieve an idealistic survival model. This situation leads to a few circular explanations. We came across such an example with Harris, when one moves from the category of good social condition, without the obligation to do good and with the obligation not to do evil, to the category of improved (prolonged) life course. Therefore, in such a transhumanist framework, social relations are free from social responsibility and solidarity. Since I have previously commented on such a situation in detail, it could be concluded that the extension of life cannot be an internal good if human life is not extended on a social level. Living longer is not worth it if life is prolonged on an individual level (even then, quality takes priority over quantity

⁷ Most relevant data shows that the prevalence of people infected with HIV has been reduced in this region due to a key population programs for HIV reduction. See more in: Garnett (2021).

of life) but – not broadly within the community (Lin and Day 2014; Pijnenburg and Leget 2006: 586–587).

3 LIFE EXTENSION AND SOCIAL ROLES IN LATER LIFE

Bearing in mind the various interpretations of changing the course of life through life extension leads us to the discussion of restoring the population or creating a significant change in the political and social rights of the community (Shanas and Maddox 1985). The paradox of the bioconservative approach to life extension occurs precisely at this point. Examples such as the “alarming increase” of the elderly population in countries such as China and Japan (Fukujama 2003) do not reveal how to overcome existing divisions in essential medical and social protection, not only in the global disproportion of life expectancy, but also in American society. The contradictory or ambivalent decisions of legislative bodies (Kass 2001) enable the very scenario that transhumanists strive for. In addition, the status and social roles of elderly people vary across different cultures and societies.

Extending an individual's lifespan within a society leads to at least four social problems that are usually related to the relationship between the social structure and the function of the elderly (Rosow 1985: 459). As stated by this author, the essential ambiguities revolve around the concept of the social role of the elderly: (1) the problem of presence: “Is there any role?” Roles are not always sharply demarcated, in the sense that we can't always identify them by type or claim which form of behaviour belongs to that role (Rosow 1985: 459). (2) The problem of the boundary criterion: “What is the role?”

When we establish the presence of a particular role, this does not mean that we have separated the behaviour that goes and does not go with that role; we can't judge what the internal and external properties of the role are, what the specific activities of that role involve, and what is residual or idiosyncratic in that role (Rosow 1985: 459). (3) Interaction problem: "Roles influence each other". This concern could also be called the "substitution problem". The extreme variability of status positions makes this problem more difficult, as different roles change the norms of other roles. In other words, the specific status position of one role influences other individual positions (Rosow 1985: 459). (4) The problem of levels: "The totality of status and roles"; concerns stemming from the previous problem. How does one social actor transform all his social positions and roles into one general level – an abstract social status or role (Rosow 1985: 460)? How does one trade many complex personal roles at the concrete level into roles at the aggregate level? The specific and general levels reflect the prevailing problems of different status patterns and combinations of roles in one's personal life (Rosow 1985: 460). Generally speaking, the tension between social position and informal and formal roles of "less social importance" (the roles that this author usually identifies in early childhood and late old age) determines the overall status that is followed throughout a person's life. With aging, the decline of social functions related to formal and informal roles (mild curvature of the curve) has been recorded, while the status of old people is mainly viewed as having "less social importance" as a result of no longer actively working (Rosow 1985: 474–480).

In this paper, by analysing the possibility of enhancing people's quality of life, I have pointed out real and possible social concerns that are reflected in the change in the status and role of the elderly; with the extension of the life span, it is possible to expect that older people will ask to return to the ideal and not the actual image of the role of youth (Elliott 2002; Juengst et al. 2003).

Such problems of circular or empirically arbitrary explanations lead us to approach the method of analysis that I described at the very beginning of the paper: applying both definitions of enhancement (biomedical and social), and only then using the principles of social justice. Bearing in mind the previously described scenario where some get to live much longer than others and, on the other hand, the requirement for good global survival, it is first of all necessary to establish whether 70–80 years is a desirable and aspirational lifespan for human beings. If the goal is the specified range of life, then in the case of miserable survival, it is necessary to approach the use of biomedicine to the adopted level. In the case of developed societies that are led by irresponsible survival (starting from the mentioned level and moving upwards), it is necessary to strive to control diseases of old age and raise the quality of life in later years, which does not conflict with the initial framework: Potter's acceptable survival for as many people as possible, which would be in harmony with the rest of our biosphere. In this regard, Pijnenburg and Leget (2006) remind us that the pursuit of a better quality and not a longer life is not comprehensive, as improving the quality of life will inevitably produce a double effect that results in a longer life (Stock and Callahan 2007).

However, even if there is a social consensus on the dramatic extension of people's lives, the question of where to stop at the limit of health remains unresolved. Given that we know that organs and tissues do not age equally, when should we intervene in the treatment of diseases of old age? Establishing a limit and putting an exact time on access to improvement interventions is complicated by the described health risks involved in tissue repair research with the help of non-specialised embryonic stem cells. On the other hand, that intervention is complicated by unknowns regarding the duration of the differentiation time of the cells that should be applied to fix the tissue. In addition, the study entitled "Biological Anthropology and Human Aging" (Crews 1993) shows that genetics and aging are related, but that this relationship is highly complex. With this statement, we want to emphasise that it is essentially easier for a specific genetic change to affect the appearance of diseases that shorten life than to prolong life with one convenient genetic change. Numerous changes damage the complex integral system (organism) while repairing only some parts (Crews 1993: 406).

We should also keep in mind that when weighing up such risks and benefits, the decision to test these technologies would prevail despite the risks, as experimentation would obviously take place on older adults who will die in the foreseeable future regardless. In the case of successful interventions, the new image of a long, healthy old age does not have to mean spending free time only on golf, fishing, or tourist trips as predicted by many authors; the benefits are also reflected in the extended working capacity of these individuals (Stock and Callahan 2007: 408–416). Such views are often reduced to contentious debates about

euthanasia, which due to their history can play a crucial role in people refusing to accept this kind of approach that does not take into account the risks posed to elderly people. The public perception of the social role and status of older people is a related problem. Generally speaking, their role would deviate from the norms enjoyed by human subjects in biomedical research and would be based on age discrimination. Conversely, if such interventions manage to bring benefits beyond the enjoyment of free time, there may be a demand for older people to once again take on the social role of youth by embracing such activities as returning to active work or reparenting. Is technology and science ready to give them "enjoyment" in such a social role? The hypothetical answer would be yes, with the help of tissue and organ cloning and changes in the neuro-endocrine system: "egg cell banks", "surrogate mothers", and the like. However, a crucial question then arises: Is society ready to cope with the new offspring of the "rejuvenated" (enhanced) generation? In that case, not only would there be a problem between the enhanced and the "normal", but there would also be intermediate layers that complicate an already complex situation. Grandchildren and great-grandchildren would practically collide in time and space with the new children of the rejuvenated, which would lead to a paradox of generations and, more precisely, a paradox of status and roles; the second generation of children would discriminate against the first generation descendants of enhanced individuals and the like. In that case, the more powerful groups that taught the ethics of applying biotechnology to the elderly could use other unenhanced social groups as samples for testing new technologies. Bringing life extension interventions to

an acceptable level of success would increase the risk of overpopulation, which could be addressed by the well-known but now scientifically based selection of enhanced and long-lived groups.

The question immediately arises as to whether medical treatments in later years (from 80 to 100) are justified, given that families and the wider community would be less able to take care of the elderly. Such a situation could lead to increased agism (Post 2007; Ehni and Marckmann 2008: 967). To an extent, this became clear during the COVID-19 pandemic, when elderly and unwell people were endangered in multiple ways. They might already suffer from health issues related to old age, but living in care homes and loneliness are the most relevant yet invisible risks of additional marginalisation for elderly people. During COVID-19, such circumstances led to higher mortality. At the same time, elderly people were dying alone due to pandemic isolation rules, with concern about the destiny of their descendants dominating. Moreover, during COVID-19 it was clear that life-saving procedures were afforded to people on the basis of factors like age, intensifying the agism that elderly people already experience (Jecker 2022).

4 CONCLUSION

Unlike previous social inequalities, this division between forever young and “normal aging” would be scientifically based and justified, making it potentially even dangerous for the survival of weaker social groups and communities. In addition, the very process of social-biological differentiation would change the life course, including longevity and related social roles. Numerous morally questionable kinds of research would

accompany it, and the subjects of those studies would be the last to feel their unwanted effects. With that in mind, some authors (Elliott 2007) have questioned the current social role of bioethicists. Does that group of scientists have the power to prevent the existential risks of certain social strata, or are they under the influence of the biotechnology industry? In this regard, the question arises not only of the survival of bioethics (defined by Potter (1971) “as a bridge to the future”), but also of the diversity of the human species and the entire biosphere. With the positive results of current technological achievements and scientific knowledge in prolonging the life of some animal species (Tian, Seluanov and Gorbunova 2017; Omotoso, Gladyshev and Zhou 2001), it is to be expected that research efforts, under the justification of disease control in old age, will continue, resulting in this knowledge being applied to humans. There are two fundamental approaches that can predict in which direction this research will go. The first includes a scenario that seems unlikely from today’s perspective and involves interventions to stop aging by creating eternally young bodies through the cloning of tissue parts or the entire organism and the transmission of recorded synaptic messages and experiences. The second direction represents, for now, a more realistic trajectory of scientific progress in extending people’s lives and, in a more general sense, implies an approach that connects old age with accompanying diseases, thus trying to justify the extension of life through the treatment of those diseases.

However, the question immediately arises of how to determine the social criteria for treating diseases that occur with aging, knowing that the secondary effects of that treatment will lead to an

increase in the length of life. Starting from the framework of transhumanism, a particular stream of experts (prolongists) advocate a certain pathologisation of aging; they see aging as a disease we must treat. In contrast to them, bioconservatives (apologetics) see old age as a natural part of human life. This second framework, which opposes life-prolonging interventions, warns that the pathologisation of aging and existing discrimination against the elderly (agism) could be used to justify the reconstruction of the human species. Both streams argue about problems related to such interventions' positive or negative impacts on human health. In addition to this significant issue, the problem has much more profound social consequences. Regardless of whether or not we start from an idealistic type of survival in which such interventions are available to everyone, the question of the limit of longevity would be raised, bearing in mind the current difference in average life expectancy not only globally, but also in particular regions of the same countries. Therefore, neither option considers the current state that one part of the population, choosing irresponsible survival, deepens or pushes another part of the population from mere to miserable survival. It is also necessary that any acceptance of the benefit that the extension of life brings with it must take into

account not only the risks to the health of the individual, but also the question of what age of life we start from and what limit of longevity we strive for.

Even if a consensus on idealistic survival were to be reached and the side effects were removed, the question that we warned about would be raised: the overpopulation of the planet and the demand for a renewed identity from youth. In that case, society would face the problem of a job shortage caused by the dramatic increase in the age until which people can work, as well as the paradox of generations, i.e., social roles. According to some, the success of life extension would enable not only the enjoyment of the roles of "little social importance", which typically entail spending free time on various hobbies and vacations, but rather the extension of people's active working lives and participation in all formal and informal roles associated with younger people. A renewed but inauthentic image of youth could also require reparenting (due to the removal of biological risks, legislative obstacles would also be removed), which would lead not only to discrimination between two generations (parent-children), but a multi-layered generational gap. This would open up the possibility of conflicting social roles and functions at each of the resulting social levels.

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Bioetička i društvena konstrukcija produženja života i dugovečnosti

PROŠIRENI SAŽETAK

Perspektiva životnog toka i bioetika dele neke od vitalnih tema koje su predmet različitih nauka i disciplina. Neke od njih su vitalna pitanja iz oblasti biologije, demografije, antropologije, sociologije i drugih društvenih nauka. U oba slučaja, jedno od najvažnijih pitanja je dugovečnost i s njom povezane društvene funkcije i uloge pojedinaca i grupa. U ovom radu smo pristupili ovim temama iz ugla bioetičke metodologije, odnosno koristili smo Poterovu kategorizaciju tipova preživljavanja i suprotnih stavova u debatama o produženju života. Ova etička i ideološka suprotnost posebno dolazi do izražaja kada se radi o poboljšanju ljudske vrste. Poboljšanje je definisano kao podizanje ljudskih kapaciteta i funkcionisanja izvan i iznad statističke norme ljudskog zdravlja. Iz bioetičkog ugla posmatranja, perspektiva životnog toka je dodatno komplikovana jer poboljšanje kvaliteta života gotovo nesumnjivo dovodi do njegovog produženja, a samim tim postaje prihvaćeno kao jedna od najviših društvenih vrednosti. Međutim, ovakvo bezuslovno prihvatanje akcija srednjoročno i dugoročno vode u menjanje ne samo ljudske vrste nego i u etički upitne promene društvenih uloga i odnosa. Polazeći od relevantne metodologije, društveni aspekti poboljšanja u okviru životne perspektive mogu se posmatrati kroz društvene brige i pitanja, kao što su: da li će usled društvenog prihvatanja novih tehnologija poboljšanja doći do produženja životnog veka genetskom intervencijom, dostupnom svima (idealistički opstanak), ili će opravdanje pojedinačnih slučajeva dovesti do scenarija neodgovornog opstanka jedne i mizernog opstanka drugih društvenih grupa? Da li bi neželjeni efekti upotrebe biotehnologije za produženje života mogli da dovedu ljudsku vrstu u opasnost od izumiranja? Usled dramatičnog produženja životnog veka i neodgovorne primene biotehnologija, prenaseljenost bi mogla (objektivno ili subjektivno iz perspektive „poboljšanih“) da postane tolika da biološki i moralno superiorne (moćne) grupe pristupaju upotrebi istih sredstava (farmaceutskih i biomedicinskih) za selektivno eliminisanje niže vrste, odnosno svih onih koji su stari, hronično bolesni i društveno slabi i ranjivi. Zatim su tu pitanja koja pored društvenih imaju i biološku pozadinu, poput onih: u kom životnom dobu će se primenjivati tehnologija za produženje života; da li će proces starenja svih organa biti ujednačen i koliko životni vek treba da traje? Da li se radi o produženju maksimalnog ili prosečnog životnog veka? Sva ova bioetička pitanja i brige se odražavaju u perspektivi životnog toka, menjajući društvene uloge i funkcije potencijalno podmlađenih grupa. Međutim, ukoliko sva ova pitanja sažmemo u osnovnu društvenu i bioetičku zabrinutost, ona bi mogla da se izrazi kroz pitanja: od kog životnog veka počinjemo da produžavamo ljudski život i kome? Da li produžavanje života vodi ponovnom uspostavljanju naših društvenih uloga iz mladosti ili je to samo romantična slika našeg prethodnog života? Ova studija zaključuje da se paternalistički vođeni pristupi produženju života ili, u suprotnom slučaju, izbegavanju moderne medicine u otklanjanju bolesti koje se javljaju sa starenjem susreću sa sličnim epistemološkim i društvenim redukcijama u oblasti perspektive životnog toka.

KLJUČNE REČI

perspektiva životnog toka, bioetika, dugovečnost, starije osobe, ejdžizam, paternalizam



Planned behaviour, gender, and attitudes towards entrepreneurship among business economics and electrical engineering students

Kosovka Ognjenović¹ 

ABSTRACT

This paper examines entrepreneurial intentions in the context of life course transitions among undergraduate students enrolled in the economics and electrical engineering faculties of the University of Belgrade. The entrepreneurial intention model is built upon the theory of planned behaviour, examining the associations between students' willingness to become an entrepreneur, their attitudes and perceptions about the importance of subjective norms, and perceived behavioural control variables. The data comes from a self-administered survey. The results show that attitudes towards entrepreneurship and behavioural control factors form positive and statistically significant associations with students' future entrepreneurial orientation, while subjective norms and risk-willingness add a little explanatory power to the initial regression models. In order to better understand the initial stage of life course transitions among the students, single regressions are estimated. All the factors appear as statistically significant with meaningful coefficient values, further showing that entrepreneurial prediction is highly gendered and depends on what faculty the student attends. This paper reveals for policy practitioners the main characteristics of young entrepreneurs-to-be and their understanding of the process of creating a business venture.

KEYWORDS

entrepreneurial intention, gender, life course, planned behaviour, students

¹Institute of Economic Sciences, Belgrade, Serbia

Correspondence:

Kosovka Ognjenović,
Institute of Economic Sciences, 12 Zmaj Jovina, Belgrade, Serbia

Email:

kosovka.ognjenovic@ien.bg.ac.rs

1 INTRODUCTION

This paper builds conceptually on life course theory by studying the initial anticipatory phase of life course (Elder 1994), which is limited to the 18–29 age group (Becker and Moen 1999). At the same time, the paper empirically focuses on the entrepreneurial orientation of students and the possible transition from graduation to the choice of the entrepreneurial career as an initial work path (Burton et al. 2016; Shen et al. 2017; Laguía et al. 2019; Matysiak and Mynarska 2020; Wach et al. 2021; Maheshwari et al. 2022). This part of the paper is also conceptually developed around the theory of planned behaviour (Ajzen 1991). This theory is based on the assumption that intentions are an immediate predictor of one's actual behaviour. Many empirical studies use this theory to explain the process of realising entrepreneurial intention. These papers are based on the idea that theoretical antecedents, embodied in attitudes towards entrepreneurship, subjective norms, and perceived behavioural control form a statistically significant causal relationship with entrepreneurial intent (Lüthje and Franke 2003; van Gelderen et al. 2008; Liñán and Fayolle 2015; Shinnar et al. 2018). The main goal of this paper is to link the theories of life course and planned behaviour and to show how reliable these theoretical predecessors are as predictors of future entry into entrepreneurship for students in Serbia. The paper looks into how male and female students from two faculties perceive entrepreneurship as a possible career choice at some point in their lives after graduation.

Life course theory as an interdisciplinary paradigm focuses on the main changes (transitions) that characterise

people's lives, starting from the anticipatory phase, moving through the launching and establishment phases, then ending with the shifting gear phase (Elder 1994; Mitchel 2003). This approach to primary life transitions is mostly investigated in age studies (Benson and Furstenberg 2006; Andres and Adamuti-Trache 2008; Pesando et al. 2021; Turek and Henkens 2021). Close to the topic dealt with in this paper and built on the theoretical framework of life course are studies that focus on other aspects of life planning. These include choice of partner and family planning, housing and leaving the parental home, work paths, and learning after completing formal education (Benson and Furstenberg 2006; Schwanitz 2017; Schafer and Andersson 2020; Pesando et al. 2021; Atalay et al. 2022; Mooyaart et al. 2022).

Relevant empirical studies on planning in the context of life course transitions mostly use the timeline technique as a methodological framework (Cheraghi et al. 2019). In this paper, the self-administered survey method among university students is applied. The regression analysis is used to associate the key explanatory factors (attitudes, perceived behavioural control, subjective norms, and risk-willingness) with the entrepreneurial prediction variable. If regression models with all four explanatory factors are estimated at the level of each faculty and gender, attitudes and perceived behavioural control over the process of creating a firm have a positive and statistically significant impact on entrepreneurial intention. However, all four explanatory factors are statistically significant if single regressions are estimated. This estimation strategy was applied to test whether there are differences in planning when the effects of individual explanatory factors on

entrepreneurial intentions are examined, as well as their joint impacts on the risk-willingness variable. In this way, gender differences that affect perceptions of opportunities and constraints were added to the analysis.

The rest of the paper is divided into the following sections. The second section reviews the relevant literature and provides theoretical conceptualisation for the main research hypotheses. The third section describes the methods used to analyse entrepreneurial prediction and provides some descriptive statistics based on real-time data. The fourth section focuses on the key findings derived by applying the initial statistical analysis and advanced regression methods, while the fifth section discusses the main findings. The last section presents the general conclusion of the paper.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 RELEVANT LITERATURE REVIEW

Recent literature relevant to the topic of this paper can be clustered into several related areas. One strand of literature focuses on life course transitions and gender, adding to the research on the mediating role of gender, especially when its influence on entrepreneurial intention is examined (Andres and Adamuti-Trache 2008; Camelo-Ordaz et al. 2016; Cheraghi et al. 2019). Cheraghi et al. (2019) tested the model built upon the life course theory and combined two sets of data applying a cross-country approach. They show that societies with less gender equality lose a certain entrepreneurial potential, since the gender gap in participation in entrepreneurship increases due to a decrease in

the participation of men, which coincides with the launching phase of the life course. Camelo-Ordaz et al. (2016) examined the mediating impact of behavioural perception factors, such as self-efficacy, while studying the causal links between gender and entrepreneurial intent on a sample of entrepreneurs and non-entrepreneurs. They found that self-efficacy plays a mediating role when the association between gender and entrepreneurial intent is established in a sample of non-entrepreneurs. However, that impact weakens for entrepreneurs. Similarly, examining a sample of young adults over a period of 15 years, Andres and Adamuti-Trache (2008) showed that their life course transitions are largely determined by external factors and socioeconomic background. These differ significantly between men and women.

All these studies connect the main concepts of life course and planned behaviour theories, taking the variables from theories and including them in empirical models to explain the differences between the entrepreneurial intentions of men and women. In this respect, several additional papers focus on entrepreneurial career choice and life course transitions (Aldrich and Kim 2007; Burton et al. 2016). In their review of the research directions that connect life course trajectories and transitions to entrepreneurship, Burton et al. (2016) envisage the importance of different phases of the life course, especially the launching and shifting gear phases. Focusing on other studies and examining which factors influence the work path dynamic, they conclude that work experience and organisational context affect career changes and work transitions. These studies therefore focus on adults. On the other hand, Aldrich and Kim (2007) studied the influence

of parents' occupational choice as entrepreneurs on children's entry into entrepreneurship across different life course phases. The authors isolated a larger effect during childhood, which gradually decreases and produces a smaller impact in adulthood.¹

When it comes to focusing on the business path, relevant recent papers can be classified into those dealing with entrepreneurship as a future career choice (Aldrich and Kim 2007; Burton et al. 2016), life course and entrepreneurial motivation (Jayawarna et al. 2013; Jayawarna et al. 2014; Alam et al. 2019), prediction of entrepreneurial orientation among students (Shen et al. 2017; Laguía et al. 2019; Zisser et al. 2019; Wach et al. 2021; Maheshwari et al. 2022), and the life course of entrepreneurs (Davis and Shaver 2012; Zampetakis et al. 2016; Jayawarna et al. 2021; Zhao and Yang 2021).

Studies that have so far dealt with entrepreneurial prediction among students in Serbia in comparison with selected countries in the region include Pejić Bach et al. (2018), Rajh et al. (2018), Turuk et al. (2020), Jovičić Vuković et al. (2020), and Ognjenović (2022). Those studies use antecedents from the theory of

planned behaviour to explain students' future entry into entrepreneurship. Attitudes towards entrepreneurship can be developed through entrepreneurial education, which is assumed to have a positive impact on students' future entrepreneurial orientation (Barba-Sánchez and Atienza-Sahuquillo 2018), through an apprenticeship in an environment that nurtures an entrepreneurial culture, or the role that self-employed parents can pass on to their children (van Gelderen et al. 2008; Franco et al. 2010; Meliou and Edwards 2018). Subjective norms are embodied in the importance given to significant others who support those who try to realise their entrepreneurial venture. This does not only have to be the closest family members or friends; an entrepreneurial idea can also be realised through institutional support or project financing (Law and Breznik 2017). All these factors have a positive impact on future entry into entrepreneurship and career planning at some stage of life course. Perceived behavioural control, on the other hand, reflects the extent to which future events related to the realisation of entrepreneurial intention can be controlled (Liñán and Fayolle 2015; Laguía et al. 2019).

2.2 CONCEPT AND RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

In comparison to other research that has been done for Serbia (Rajh et al. 2018; Jovičić Vuković et al. 2020; Ognjenović 2022), the added value of this paper is that it focuses on two groups of students – economics and engineering – as well as students' business path and entrepreneurial intentions within the framework of life course. Thus, this paper based on life course theory draws conclusions on how male and

¹ It is worth mentioning that the important aspects of life course theory are embodied in key life events regarding family, housing, and additional education sphere. These topics will not be empirically studied in this paper due to the exclusive use of data for business path studies. Relevant recent studies have researched family formation in the context of the transition to adulthood, changes of socioeconomic background, and cross-country perspectives (Benson and Furstenberg 2006; Schwanitz 2017; Pesando et al. 2021; Mooyaart et al. 2022). Housing decisions as an important life course transition are also studied in the context of separation from family, living together with a partner, marriage, and the decision to have children (Schafer and Andersson 2020; Atalay et al. 2022).

female students in Serbia with different entrepreneurial backgrounds are thinking about choosing entrepreneurship as their business path after graduating from university. A theoretical background for research hypotheses (Ajzen 1991; Elder 1994; Becker and Moen 1999) and empirical foundations (Lüthje and Franke 2003; van Gelderen et al. 2008; Liñán and Fayolle 2015; Shen et al. 2017; Shinnar et al. 2018; Laguía et al. 2019; Zisser et al. 2019; Wach et al. 2021; Maheshwari et al. 2022) is taken from the literature quoted in the previous sections of this paper.

The conceptualisation of the research hypotheses is based on theoretical foundations of planned behaviour (Ajzen 1991). Applying this theory to researching the entrepreneurial intentions of students, one can assume that the key theoretical antecedents may be used to test empirically causal links between them. The research model encompasses the initial concept built upon attitudes, norms and behavioural control, and an extended version with risk-taking propensity. Gender is considered a moderating factor of the relationships between

entrepreneurial intention and explaining factors (see Figure 1). These relationships are tested empirically on a combined sample, as well as on the samples of each group of students. This model can be used to predict the business path of students in young adulthood, providing relevant conclusions for the initial stage of life course transitions and the promotion of entrepreneurship.

Attitudes towards entrepreneurship, subjective norms, and perceived behavioural control are the most frequently investigated factors regarding the future vocation of an entrepreneur (Aldrich and Kim 2007; Burton et al. 2016). Positive attitudes towards entrepreneurship, significant others, and role models, as well as perceptions of behavioural control are all found to be potentially significant contributors towards the realization of entrepreneurial ventures (van Gelderen et al. 2008; Liñán and Fayolle 2015; Shinnar et al. 2018; Laguía et al. 2019, etc.). The willingness to take risks embodied in the recognition of opportunities and limitations may be perceived differently by men and women (Cheraghi et al. 2019);

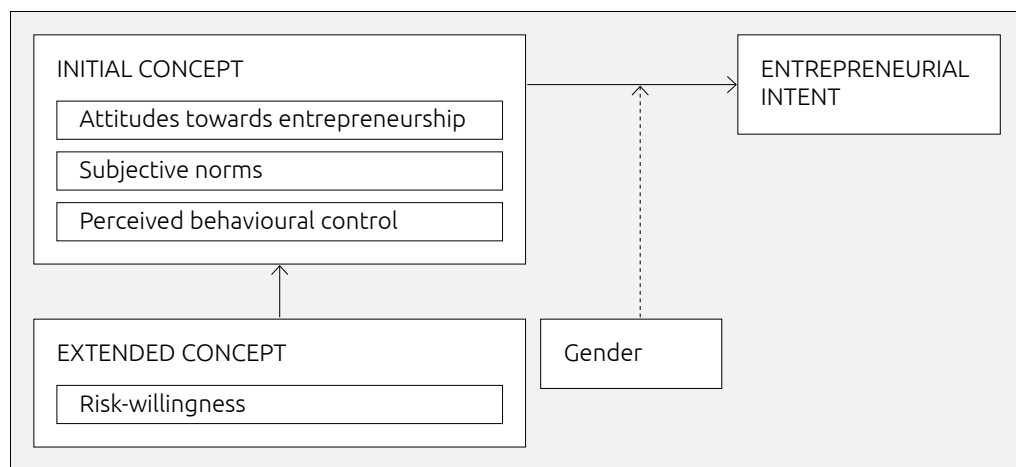


Figure 1. Research model of entrepreneurial prediction with moderated impact of gender

it is empirically confirmed that men are more willing to take risks than women (Camelo-Ordaz et al. 2016). However, it is possible to find studies that show that male participation in entrepreneurship decreases in societies with low gender equity, especially in the launching phase of the life course (Cheraghi et al. 2019).

Derived from previous findings, the following research hypotheses are investigated in this paper.

Hypothesis 1: Attitudes towards entrepreneurship, subjective norms, and perceived behavioural control factors are positive predictors of entrepreneurial intent.

Hypothesis 2: Risk-taking propensity positively affects entrepreneurial intention.

Life with a partner, family planning, and the understanding of women's traditional role in society influence women, on average, to opt for a less risky career at the beginning of their business path. In numerous studies it has been shown that gender has a moderating role in explaining the relationships between entrepreneurial intention and its antecedents (Andres and Adamuti-Trache 2008; Camelo-Ordaz et al. 2016; Pejić Bach et al. 2018; Cheraghi et al. 2019; Turuk et al. 2020).

Hypothesis 3: In the anticipatory phase of the life course, female students are less likely to take a risk and choose an entrepreneurial career than their male counterparts.

Students of economics and engineering may have dissimilar propensities towards entrepreneurship derived from differences in the key factors that influence the realisation of their entrepreneurial intentions. Some studies have shown that entrepreneurial education has a positive impact on entrepreneurial orientation and future career planning

(Burton et al. 2016; Shen et al. 2017; Barba-Sánchez and Atienza-Sahuquillo 2018; Laguía et al. 2019; Matysiak and Mynarska 2020; Wach et al. 2021; Maheshwari et al. 2022). Based on these constructs, a research hypothesis may be derived.

Hypothesis 4: Economics students are significantly more inclined towards entrepreneurship than electrical engineering students.

These hypotheses are tested in the fourth section. The effects of individual variables on entrepreneurial intentions are estimated using the conceptual research model (Figure 1) and their statistical significance, as well as the direction of the relationship, is further examined.

3 DATA AND METHOD

3.1 DATA COLLECTION AND INSTRUMENTS

The research design and data collection process used in this paper were developed in work published by Rajh et al. (2018). The extended data set, collected on a sample of Serbian students, is further examined in Ognjenović (2022). The survey questionnaire contains questions based on the theoretical concepts that help predict the entrepreneurial orientation of students from two faculties. The questionnaire was also designed to collect data on students' attitudes toward entrepreneurship and an entrepreneur's possible choice of career based on their understanding of the impact of social norms, accompanying risks, and their ability to control the future through the process of forming and running their own business. Thus, only students from two faculties of the University of Belgrade participated in this research: the Faculty of Economics (FE) and the Faculty of Electrical Engineering (FEE). This may be

considered a limitation of this research, as the survey was conducted only in the most developed part of the country, the Belgrade region, and only students from the state university participated.

The students were invited to take part in this research. The data collection method included pen-and-paper personal interviews (PAPI) while students attended classes. Usually, the questionnaires were filled out at the beginning of the course after a short introduction from the person who collected the completed questionnaires. The survey was conducted during the 2016/2017 schooling year at the beginning of the winter and summer semesters. The survey was first organised at the FE, then extended to the students of the FEE. At both faculties, the data collection process was finalised within one week. The sampling frame consisted of all full-time students from the second to the fourth year of study. At the FE, the sample consisted of students who opted for business majors, while at the FEE, students of management majors were selected. The initial idea was to include information about the level of entrepreneurial skills among students in the sample, especially considering that students of technical faculties do not necessarily focus on entrepreneurship during their education. According to the weekly schedule, all students who attended a class on a specific day were given a chance to fill out the questionnaire. Since the students knew about the survey in advance, only those who wanted to fill out the questionnaires responded. Instead of asking students to fill out the questionnaire online, this method was used to get as many students as possible to respond. The final sample contains 309 and 307 completed questionnaires among the FE and FEE students respectively.

This analysis is based on real-time survey data collected from a sample of undergraduate students. The data presents students' views about a specific topic. Consequently, this data set is restricted to the student population only. This research cannot be repeated on the same (or a similar) sample of former students, which means that further conclusions about their planning for the future or realisation of their entrepreneurial intent cannot be drawn. However, this data set contains students' answers regarding the topics of interest for the assessment of entrepreneurial prediction among young educated people. Despite these limitations, it provides a basis for drawing reliable conclusions based on differences between the faculties, students' gender, year of study, and age. Socioeconomic characteristics, including sources of income, housing, partner, and professional status of parents were not included in the survey questions.

3.2 VARIABLES AND METHOD

Table 1 presents some descriptive statistics of the sample of students. The students of the two faculties differ by gender; the distribution of students of economics is skewed towards young women, while young men constitute the majority of the sample of electrical engineering students. Students do not differ by average age; however, the maximum age of the FEE students is three years higher than in the sample of FE students. The most considerable difference between the samples is noticeable when the year of study is observed. There is a similar share of third-year students in both samples; however, the percentage of second- and fourth-year students differs substantially between the samples.

Table 1. Socio-demographic characteristics of students

Variable/statistics	Faculty/students	
	Economics	Electrical engineering
Gender (%)		
Women	76.7	36.2
Men	23.3	63.8
Age (years)		
Mean	21.6	21.9
Standard deviation	1.2	1.2
Minimum	19	20
Maximum	27	30
Study year (%)		
First	0.3	0.0
Second	33.0	7.5
Third	47.3	46.9
Forth	19.4	45.6
Observations	309	307

Source: Self-administered survey.

In addition to variables that describe the main characteristics of students from the two selected faculties, such as gender, age, and year of study, four (theoretical) explanatory variables are included in the analysis of students' entrepreneurial intentions in the context of life course transitions. Each of these four variables is derived from a set of questions (see Table 3). Two variables – 'attitudes towards entrepreneurship' and 'perceived control factors' – consist of four items, while the variables 'subjective norms' and 'risk-taking propensity' have three items. Entrepreneurial prediction is a dependent variable derived from six questions (see Table 4). Van Gelderen et al. (2008) have used similar variables in the analysis of entrepreneurial intentions, as have other authors, including Lüthje and Franke (2003) and Shinnar et al. (2018).

In this paper, theoretical variables are measured on a five-point Likert scale, where 1 stands for strongly disagree,

3 expresses indifference, and 5 means the respondent strongly agrees with the assertion. Other authors have used similar measurement scale. For example, Lüthje and Franke (2003) first tried a five-point scale, but then decided that a four-point scale was more reliable. This paper follows research previously conducted by Rajh et al. (2018), which uses a five-point scale. Pejić Bach et al. (2018), for example, used a seven-point scale in an extended application of planned behaviour theory while researching students' entrepreneurial intentions. A similar approach has been used in other studies, as shown by Liñán and Fayolle (2015).

A qualitative analysis of selected variables is provided in the following section. The indicator values signify the high internal reliability of the variables used in the analysis. The multivariate factor analysis was applied as one of the most used techniques for extracting common factors from a set of related questions.

Table 2. Correlation coefficients

Item	Dep.		Explanatory variables				Age			Year of study				Sex
	El	Attit.	Cont.	Norm	Risk	≤21	22–23	24+	1 st	2 nd	3 rd	4 th	Fem.	
Combined sample of students														
El	1													
Attit.	.72	1												
Cont.	.61	.48	1											
Norm	.27	.31	.30	1										
Risk	.19	.18	.25	.09	1									
≤ 21	-.03	-.01	.02	.04	.05	1								
22–23	-.02	-.00	-.07	-.04	-.06	-.90	1							
24+	.12	.03	.11	.00	.01	-.20	-.23	1						
1 st	-.03	-.02	-.02	-.01	.07	.05	-.04	-.01	1					
2 nd	.06	.07	.10	.07	.09	.52	-.47	-.11	-.02	1				
3 rd	-.09	-.04	-.09	-.10	-.09	.14	-.09	-.11	-.04	-.48	1			
4 th	.05	-.01	.01	.05	.02	-.60	.50	.21	-.03	-.35	-.65	1		
Fem.	-.08	-.03	-.03	.00	-.07	.04	-.02	-.06	.03	.08	.03	-.11	1	
Students of economics														
El	1													
Attit.	.70	1												
Cont.	.56	.43	1											
Norm	.24	.29	.28	1										
Risk	.19	.18	.25	.05	1									
<= 21	.04	.06	.06	.15	.15	1								
22–23	-.10	-.07	-.10	-.15	-.13	-.91	1							
24+	.12	.01	.07	.00	-.04	-.23	-.20	1						
1 st	-.05	-.03	-.03	-.01	.10	.06	-.05	-.01	1					
2 nd	.10	.07	.16	.13	.15	.63	-.56	-.16	-.04	1				
3 rd	-.16	-.07	-.18	-.10	-.09	-.21	.25	-.09	-.05	-.66	1			
4 th	.08	.00	.05	-.03	-.08	-.49	.36	.31	-.03	-.34	-.46	1		
Fem.	-.10	-.01	-.02	.08	-.16	-.06	.08	-.05	.03	-.10	.09	-.00	1	
Students of electrical engineering														
El	1													
Attit.	.74	1												
Cont.	.63	.49	1											
Norm	.30	.33	.34	1										
Risk	.20	.18	.25	.14	1									
<=21	-.13	-.11	-.04	-.08	-.04	1								
22–23	.07	.08	-.02	.08	.01	-.90	1							
24+	.12	.05	.15	.00	.07	-.17	-.26	1						
1 st	1					
2 nd	-.11	-.03	-.10	-.01	.00	.34	-.31	-.06	.	1				
3 rd	-.02	-.02	-.01	-.11	-.10	.50	-.44	-.12	.	-.27	1			
4 th	.08	.03	.06	.11	.10	-.68	.60	.16	.	-.26	-.86	1		
Fem.	-.17	-.14	-.14	-.04	.00	.03	.00	-.08	.	.02	-.03	.02	1	

Note: El, Attit., Cont., Norm, and Risk stand for entrepreneurial intention, attitudes, behavioural control, subjective norms, and risk-taking propensity.

Source: Self-administered survey.

The analysis of students' entrepreneurial orientation was conducted using linear regression methods. Before the linear regression models were estimated, some descriptive statistics were calculated in order to reveal preliminary associations between the selected variables. Also, the differences among students were analysed both between the two faculties and according to gender.

4 RESULTS

This section presents the main finding of the research and is divided into several consecutive subsections. Firstly, descriptive statistical analysis is used to reveal the differences in mean answers between genders and faculties. Internal reliability tests of multiple answers associated with the key explanatory variables are also performed. Before the linear regression models are estimated, multivariate factor analysis is performed to re-express the set of variables in the form of a few common factors. Finally, linear regression analysis is used with entrepreneurial prediction as a dependent variable. The regression models are estimated separately for each faculty and by gender, assuming that the decision to choose an entrepreneurial career is gendered (see, for example, Andres and Adamuti-Trache 2008; Camelo-Ordaz et al. 2016; Cheraghi et al. 2019).

4.1 DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

Correlation analysis of the selected set of variables reveals that the dependent variable 'entrepreneurial intention of students' indicates strong positive correlations with attitudes towards entrepreneurship and perceived behavioural control variables (Table 2).

These associations are stronger among electrical engineering students. On the other hand, the variables of subjective norms and risk-taking propensity form a low but positive association with the dependent variable. Bearing in mind that the research included a small number of control variables (see Table 1), all of them were included in the analysis of entrepreneurial prediction. Although it was assumed that there is a correlation between the age of students and the year of study, the correlation analysis revealed that the estimated correlation coefficients show only a moderate correlation ($r \leq 0.6$). The correlation is more pronounced between students under 21 years of age and the second year of study; however, this variable is the reference category for age. Considering that the sample is large ($n > 30$) and that the age interval in the samples of economics (19 vs. 27) and electrical engineering (20 vs. 30) students is wide, both categorical variables were retained in the regression analysis. In addition, after estimating the regression models, appropriate statistical tests were performed to examine the presence of multicollinearity.

The differences in key explanatory factors chosen to explain the potential entrepreneurial behaviour of undergraduate students are presented in Table 3.

Regarding the attitudes towards entrepreneurship, perceived control of the process of creating an enterprise, and relevant others embodied in subjective norms, there are slight gender differences among the FE students. The only statistically significant difference is revealed in the subjective norm variable. However, when the students of FEE are observed, statistically significant differences are confirmed among attitudes towards entrepreneurship and perceived behavioural control factors. Since all

Table 3. Differences in key explanatory factors by gender and faculty

Question/item	Economics			Electrical engineering		
	Mean		Diff.	Mean		Diff.
	Male	Female		Male	Female	
Attitude (scale 1–5)						
Entrepreneurship implies more advantages than disadvantages	3.74	3.84	-0.11	3.75	3.59	0.15
Entrepreneurship is attractive as a career	3.67	3.63	0.03	3.46	3.08	0.38***
Opportunities and resources are required for starting a firm	4.10	3.99	0.11	4.03	3.65	0.38***
Being an entrepreneur entails great satisfaction	3.81	3.73	0.08	3.49	3.25	0.24*
<i>Cronbach's a</i>		0.89			0.91	
Control (scale 1–5)						
Know how to control the creation process of a firm	3.22	3.07	0.15	3.12	2.85	0.27**
Know the practical details to start a firm	2.57	2.64	-0.07	2.35	2.13	0.22*
Familiar with project development	2.76	2.74	0.02	2.49	2.22	0.28**
Expected to have a high probability of success	3.38	3.32	0.05	3.34	3.13	0.21*
<i>Cronbach's a</i>		0.79			0.81	
Subjective norm (scale 1–5)						
Family would approve of starting a firm	4.14	4.16	-0.02	4.20	4.14	0.06
Friends would approve of starting a firm	3.97	4.18	-0.21*	4.19	4.17	0.02
Colleagues would approve of starting a firm	3.76	3.99	-0.23*	4.06	3.95	0.11
<i>Cronbach's a</i>		0.86			0.84	

Note: (***), (**), (*) stand for statistical significance at 1%, 5%, and 10% respectively. Two-tailed tests are performed.

Source: Self-administered survey.

values of *Cronbach's a* are greater than 0.7, the high internal reliability of explanatory variables is confirmed (Table 3).

Similarly, gender differences in the prediction of entrepreneurial behaviour are more pronounced among the students of FEE (Table 4). Differences between young male and female electrical engineering students are confirmed as statistically significant. In contrast, statistically significant gender differences among the students of FE are only confirmed for three items, expressing their potential determination, serious thought, and firm intention to start their own business sometime in the future (Table 4). The values of *Cronbach's a* point to the high internal consistency of

the students' answers for the entrepreneurial intention variable.

For the most part, students of the two faculties expressed differences in their attitudes toward entrepreneurship and the perception of control over establishing and running a business. Those differences are statistically confirmed (Table 5). The students of EF rated the attractiveness of the entrepreneurial profession and the potential satisfaction of that career choice with a higher score. This made the differences in their answers statistically significant. Students of the same faculty also believe they can easily master the practical details if they have the opportunity to engage in entrepreneurship and develop their own project.

Table 4. Differences in entrepreneurial prediction by gender and faculty

Question/item	Economics			Electrical engineering		
	Mean		Diff.	Mean		Diff.
	Male	Female		Male	Female	
Entrepreneurial intention (scale 1–5)						
Ready to do anything to be an entrepreneur	3.02	2.81	0.21	2.70	2.33	0.37***
Professional goal to become an entrepreneur	2.97	2.87	0.10	2.73	2.40	0.34**
Make an effort to start own firm	3.01	2.83	0.17	2.56	2.32	0.24*
Determined to create a firm in the future	3.19	2.94	0.25*	3.02	2.57	0.45***
Have serious thought of starting a firm	3.14	2.83	0.30*	2.94	2.42	0.52***
Have a solid intention to start a firm	3.26	2.92	0.35**	2.99	2.54	0.45***
<i>Cronbach's a</i>	0.95			0.96		

Note: (***), (**), (*) stand for statistical significance at 1%, 5%, and 10% respectively. Two-tailed tests are performed.

Source: Self-administered survey.

Differences in students' sentiments about significant others who would support their plans were not identified as statistically significant. However, entrepreneurial orientation expressed through readiness to become entrepreneurs, professional goals, or an effort to start their own business was more pronounced among the students of EF, which distinguished them from electrical engineering students. Although the answers related to the relevance of social norms were assigned the highest marks, the students of the two faculties were similar in their answers. They would rely more on the support of family and friends than colleagues if they planned to start an entrepreneurial project.

In order to combine multiple answers, multivariate factor analysis was employed. Both measures performed to confirm the relevance of the factor analysis method for the data used show meaningful values (Table 6). All the factor models passed Bartlett's test for sphericity. At the same time, the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure of sampling adequacy confirms that the factor analysis can be used as an initial method

for data calibration. The estimates of factor analysis models are produced by using the maximum likelihood (ML) method.

The values of the likelihood ratio (LR) test used for testing the independent against the saturated number of factors hypothesis in the factor analysis model are as follows: in the entrepreneurial intention model (which includes six variables), the LR result is 4,024.03 ($p = 0.00$), while in the attitudes towards entrepreneurship model (four variables), the LR result is 1,766.07 ($p = 0.00$). In the perceived behavioural control model (four variables), the relevant test result is 868.70 ($p = 0.00$), in the subjective norm model (three variables) 884.58 ($p = 0.00$), and in the risk-taking propensity model (three variables) 159.58 ($p = 0.00$). The condition that at least three variables must be included in the factor analysis to extract one common factor is satisfied. Based on the results of performed statistical tests, one common factor is retained per model. Variables used in the regression analysis are formed as a combination of related items assuming equal weights.

Table 5. Differences in key explanatory factors between faculties

Question/item	Economics	Electrical engineering	Diff.
	Mean		
Attitude (scale 1–5)			
Entrepreneurship implies more advantages than disadvantageous	3.82	3.69	0.15*
Entrepreneurship is attractive as a career	3.64	3.32	0.32***
Opportunities and resources are required for starting a firm	4.02	3.88	0.13
Being an entrepreneur entails great satisfaction	3.74	3.41	0.34***
<i>Cronbach's a</i>		0.90	
Control (scale 1–5)			
Know how to control the creation process of a firm	3.10	3.01	0.08
Know the practical details to start a firm	2.63	2.27	0.36***
Familiar with project development	2.74	2.39	0.35***
Expected to have a high probability of success	3.34	3.27	0.07
<i>Cronbach's a</i>		0.80	
Subjective norm (scale 1–5)			
Family would approve of starting a firm	4.15	4.18	-0.03
Friends would approve of starting a firm	4.13	4.18	-0.05
Colleagues would approve of starting a firm	3.94	4.02	-0.08
<i>Cronbach's a</i>		0.85	
Entrepreneurial intention (scale 1–5)			
Ready to do anything to be an entrepreneur	2.86	2.57	0.29***
Professional goal to become an entrepreneur	2.89	2.61	0.28***
Make an effort to start own firm	2.88	2.47	0.40***
Determined to create a firm in the future	3.00	2.86	0.14
Have serious thought of starting a firm	2.91	2.76	0.15
Have a solid intention to start a firm	2.99	2.83	0.17*
<i>Cronbach's a</i>		0.95	

Note: (***), (**), (*) stand for statistical significance at 1%, 5%, and 10% respectively. Two-tailed tests are performed.

Source: Self-administered survey.

4.2 LINEAR REGRESSION ANALYSIS

Linear regression models are estimated separately at the level of each faculty, on a whole sample, and subsamples of male and female students. The results of the estimation are presented in Table 7. The effects of four explanatory variables on the entrepreneurial intention variable are estimated. In addition, four control variables are included in regression models. They represent third- and fourth-

year students (first- and second-year students were excluded), as well as the age categories of 22–23 and 24 years and over (while those 21 and younger were excluded). A dichotomous variable that represents female students was added to the models estimated on a combined sample.

The standardised beta coefficients are presented for a more straightforward interpretation of regression coefficients expressed on different meas-

Table 6. Tests performed before the factor analysis

Test	H ₀	Entrepreneurial intention	Attitude	Control	Subjective norm	Risk
Bartlett's test for sphericity	No intercorrelation between items	4,017.463 (0.00)	1,763.195 (0.00)	867.283 (0.00)	883.138 (0.00)	159.317 (0.00)
KMO measure of sampling adequacy	> 0.50	0.924	0.815	0.725	0.676	0.567

Source: Self-administered survey.

urement scales (see Tables 7 and 8). Dependent and independent variables are defined in average values from a five-point Likert scale, while control (dichotomous) variables are expressed on a scale from 0 to 1 as dummies.

The regression model estimates indicate that entrepreneurial prediction is positively and statistically significantly associated with attitudes towards entrepreneurship and perceived behavioural control factors, while subjective norms and risk-taking propensity are not estimated with high statistical precision. Similar results are obtained for all estimated regression models (Table 7). The risk-willingness variable is an important predictor of future behaviour, but it is not statistically significant in estimated regression models. The importance of this variable relies on the different perceptions of men and women regarding opportunities and constraints over their life course (Elder 1994). This variable is measured through three questions: propensity to use new routes, propensity to try new things, and finding out whether students have recently taken any risks. As expected, male students were more prone to risky behaviour in the previous period. However, the only statistically significant difference between male and female students was found in the variable describing their risk-taking propensity over the previous six months.

Bearing in mind the limitation of the sample to the student population, this

paper focuses mainly on the explanation of the first anticipatory stage of the life course that, according to age studies, encompasses those aged 18–29 years (Becker and Moen 1999). A set of control variables is included in the regression models, but they do not form statistically significant relationships with the entrepreneurial prediction variable. More precisely, only the answers from students aged 24 years and older are positively and statistically significantly associated with predicting future entrepreneurial behaviour. In the same way, gender plays an essential role in the entrepreneurial orientation of students (Camelo-Ordaz et al. 2016; Zisser et al. 2019). An estimate of the female dummy variable suggests that women are less interested in entrepreneurial career planning. However, this variable is a statistically significant predictor of future entrepreneurial behaviour only for the students of FE. In order to determine whether there are gender differences in the structure of estimated entrepreneurial prediction models, the Chow test was conducted. The results confirm that only statistically significant differences exist in the answers of male and female students of FE, while the students of FEE do not differ in their views regarding the predictors of entrepreneurial behaviour.

The measures of model fit, adjusted R-squared and F-statistics exhibit reliable and statistically significant values. The mean values of the variance inflation

Table 7. Regression analyses by faculty and gender (dependent variable entrepreneurial prediction)

Variable	Economics			Electrical engineering		
	All	Male	Female	All	Male	Female
	Standardised β (std. err.)	Standardised β (std. err.)	Standardised β (std. err.)	Standardised β (std. err.)	Standardised β (std. err.)	Standardised β (std. err.)
Attitude	0.57*** (0,04)	0.43*** (0.10)	0.60*** (0.05)	0.56*** (0.04)	0.59*** (0.06)	0.47*** (0.07)
Control	0.30*** (0,05)	0.46*** (0.10)	0.26*** (0.05)	0.34*** (0.04)	0.34*** (0.06)	0.38*** (0.08)
Subjective norm	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.11 (0.09)	0.02 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.05)	-0.03 (0.06)	0.03 (0.06)
Risk	0.002 (0.04)	0.02 (0.09)	0.01 (0.05)	0.01 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.05)	0.04 (0.06)
Age						
Age 18–21 (ref.)						
Age 22–23	-0.02 (0.06)	-0.09 (0.12)	-0.003 (0.06)	0.02 (0.06)	0.05 (0.07)	-0.06 (0.10)
Age 24+	0.07* (0.04)	0.09 (0.08)	0.06 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)	0.06 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.06)
Year of study						
1 st and 2 nd (ref.)						
3 rd year of study	-0.02 (0.06)	0.03 (0.12)	-0.05 (0.06)	0.08 (0.07)	0.11 (0.08)	0.03 (0.10)
4 th year of study	0.04 (0.06)	0.14 (0.11)	0.004 (0.07)	0.10 (0.08)	0.10 (0.11)	0.11 (0.13)
Gender						
Female	-0,07** (0.04)			-0.05 (0.04)		
Observations	309	72	237	307	196	111
Adj. R^2	0.586	0.632	0.582	0.648	0.655	0.618
F-statistic (p -value)	57.44 (0.00)	25.40 (0.00)	49.31 (0.00)	76.89 (0.00)	51.47 (0.00)	27.79 (0.00)
Mean VIF	1.54	1.75	1.61	2.19	2.41	2.31
Chow test (p -value)		1.78 (0.07)			0.60 (0.79)	

Note: (***), (**), (*) stand for statistical significance at 1%, 5%, and 10% respectively. Two-tailed tests are performed.

Source: Self-administered survey.

factor (VIF) are far below the standard threshold of 10, indicating the absence of multicollinearity among the variables included in the regression models. In the regression models estimated on a subsample of EF students, the VIF values range from 1.54 to 1.75, while the same regressions estimated on a subsample of FEE students produce VIF values ranging from 2.19 to 2.41.

Attitudes towards entrepreneurship and perceived behavioural control are good predictors of entrepreneurial behaviour, while subjective norms and risk-taking propensity have little power to predict future behaviour (Table 8). The regression models with the latter two explanatory variables produced the lowest adjusted R-square statistics. These results are derived from the regressions,

Table 8. Repeated regression analysis (dependent variable entrepreneurial prediction)

Variable	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Standard- ised β (std. err.)	Standard- ised β (std. err.)	Standard- ised β (std. err.)	Standard- ised β (std. err.)	Standard- ised β (std. err.)	Standard- ised β (std. err.)	Standard- ised β (std. err.)
Attitude	0.71*** (0.03)				0.70*** (0.03)		
Control		0.59*** (0.03)				0.58*** (0.04)	
Subjective norm			0.27*** (0.03)				0.25*** (0.04)
Risk				0.18*** (0.04)	0.06** (0.03)	0.04 (0.04)	0.15*** (0.04)
Age							
Age < 24 (ref.)							
Age 24+	0.08*** (0.02)	0.04 (0.04)	0.10** (0.04)	0.10** (0.04)	0.08*** (0.02)	0.04 (0.04)	0.10** (0.04)
Year of study							
1 st to 3 rd (ref.)							
4 th year of study	0.05* (0.02)	0.05 (0.04)	0.05 (0.04)	0.06 (0.05)	0.05* (0.02)	0.05 (0.04)	0.05 (0.04)
Gender							
Female	-0.08*** (0.03)	-0.09*** (0.03)	-0.15*** (0.04)	-0.13*** (0.04)	-0.08** (0.03)	-0.09*** (0.03)	-0.14*** (0.04)
Faculty							
Electrical engineering (ref.)							
Economics	0.08** (0.05)	0.09** (0.04)	0.20*** (0.04)	0.18*** (0.04)	0.08** (0.03)	0.09** (0.04)	0.19*** (0.04)
Observations	616	616	616	616	616	616	616
Adj. R^2	0.542	0.380	0.120	0.080	0.545	0.381	0.143
F-statistic (p -value)	169.55 (0.00)	74.10 (0.00)	19.21 (0.00)	11.55 (0.00)	141.88 (0.00)	62.00 (0.00)	18.49 (0.00)
Mean VIF	1.15	1.16	1.14	1.14	1.14	1.16	1.12

Note: (***), (**), (*) stand for statistical significance at 1%, 5%, and 10% respectively. Two-tailed tests are performed.

Source: Self-administered survey.

which include single explanatory variables combined with the effects of control variables. Model fit increased slightly in the models where the three theoretical variables of planned behaviour are combined with a risk-willingness variable. Table 8 depicts the results of the estimation of the seven regression models.

Students aged 24 years and over have a positive and statistically significant

perception of becoming entrepreneurs in the future. A similar relationship with the dependent variable forms a dummy variable that refers to students in their final year of study. From the perspective of planning, fourth-year students are the closest to deciding to choose an entrepreneurial career after transitioning from school to work. Female students form a statistically significant

but negative relationship with entrepreneurial intention. Entrepreneurial intention also differs by faculty. Students of economics are more inclined to start a firm than students of electrical engineering. Regression models' goodness-of-fit statistics provide information about the prediction power of independent variables and the overall significance of regressors. The values of these statistics vary through the estimated regression models and indicate that the regression analysis is meaningful. Also, low values of the VIF measure (ranging from 1.12 to 1.16) signify that there is no multicollinearity in the regression models.

5 DISCUSSION

Four main hypotheses are tested by employing the regression analysis. The first hypothesis assumes positive associations between theoretical variables of planned behaviour and entrepreneurial intentions. When estimating individual regressions on combined samples at the level of each faculty separately, as well as according to gender, only attitudes and perceived behavioural control factors form a statistically significant causal relationship with entrepreneurial intention. In the sample of female students of the EF, attitudes towards entrepreneurship significantly affect entrepreneurial intentions. In the case of the EEF, it is male students who are more prone to becoming entrepreneurs in the anticipatory phase of their life course. The increase in one standard deviation in EF female students' attitudes towards entrepreneurship raises their entrepreneurial intentions by 0.60 standard deviations. Similarly, the effect of attitudes on FEE male students' entrepreneurial intentions is an increase of 0.59 standard deviations.

The effects of perceived behavioural control factors are lower among the students of both faculties than the impact of the attitudes. This variable increases the entrepreneurial intentions of FE male students by 0.46 standard deviations, almost twice as much as in the sample of female students. The differences in the estimated effects are lower in the sample of male (0.34 standard deviations) and female (0.38 standard deviations) FEE students. The variables of behavioural control and subjective norm perceptions do not have (significant) explanatory power in the entrepreneurial intention models. However, when individual regressions were estimated on a combined sample, all three explanatory variables had the theoretically expected positive and statistically significant influence on students' entrepreneurial intentions, confirming the first hypothesis.

Rajh et al. (2018) found similar results for students of economics in Serbia. Significant others are important drivers of entrepreneurial intentions, but only for students in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia. Using the same data, Ognjenović (2022) found that subjective norms are positively and statistically significantly correlated with the entrepreneurial intention variable. International comparisons also match the findings for Serbia. On a sample of Slovenian business students, Pejić Bach et al. (2018) confirmed empirical associations between planned behaviour theoretical variables and entrepreneurial intentions, while also pointing to the importance of innovative cognitive styles for the success of business ventures. Shen et al. (2017) found that the perceived family support variable positively and statistically significantly affects the entrepreneurial intention of undergraduate students in the USA.

van Gelderen et al. (2008) investigated the impact of variables derived from the theory of planned behaviour on the entrepreneurial intentions of Dutch business students. However, when planning their entrepreneurial career, students are most concerned about the possibility of falling into financial difficulties and financial uncertainty. Law and Breznik (2017) found attitudes and self-efficacy to be critical factors that positively determine the entrepreneurial intention of engineering students in Hong Kong.

Risk-taking propensity statistically significantly positively correlates with students' entrepreneurial intentions in the regression models that estimating individual effects (allowing for control variables). This implies that the second research hypothesis is empirically confirmed. In general, when the effects of individual predictors of entrepreneurial intentions were estimated on repeated regressions, the precision of coefficients significantly increased ($p < 0.05$). Both remaining research hypotheses were statistically confirmed, the first referring to gender-based differences in the entrepreneurial intentions of students and the second indicating differences between students of the two faculties.

Being an FE student aged 24 years or older increases entrepreneurial intent by barely 0.07 standard deviations, while being a female student at the same faculty decreases entrepreneurial intent by the same degree. Examining entrepreneurial intentions among tourism students in Serbia, Jovičić Vuković et al. (2020) concluded that gender, year of study, and previous experience significantly determine their entrepreneurial intentions. Specific skills and knowledge may also increase students' entrepreneurial aspirations (Simović 2020). It is well established in empirical

studies that entrepreneurial intentions are gendered. Young women are more risk-averse because the anticipatory phase of their life course transitions is determined by family formation plans that include marriage and the decision to have children (Mooyaart et al. 2022). Men and women do not perceive opportunities and constraints equally, implying gender differences in risk-taking tendencies. Empirical research has found that men are less risk-averse than women on average (Camelo-Ordaz et al. 2016). However, some deviations may occur depending on the life course transition phase and the level of gender equality in society, which is reflected in the changing shares of male and female participation in entrepreneurship in the later stages of their lives (Cheraghi et al. 2019).

6 CONCLUSION

In this paper, only the prediction of the business path of undergraduate students in Serbia is studied in the context of realising future goals connected to becoming an entrepreneur. Related aspects of their lives and the transition to adulthood, such as family planning and parenthood, leaving the parental home and housing, work path, and pursuing further education embodied in life course theory are exempt from this analysis due to data limitations. In addition, this paper focuses only on the initial anticipatory phase of the life course (Elder 1994; Becker and Moen 1999), while other stages of the life course (Mitchell 2003) are beyond the scope of this analysis and require further research.

The research model is built using the variables taken from the planned behaviour theory (Ajzen 1991), examining the answers of young adults (students)

associated with their perceptions of the possible development of their entrepreneurial career. The variables that reflect positive attitudes towards entrepreneurship, significant others embodied in subjective norms, behavioural control perceptions, and risk-taking propensity are examined through associations with the entrepreneurial intention variable. The primary research hypotheses are empirically investigated based on these theoretical relationships. The age of students, year of study, gender, and faculty were also included in the research model through the control variables. The findings of the conducted research confirmed empirically the significance of the relationships between the immediate predecessors of planned behaviour and the entrepreneurial intentions of students in Serbia. However, as hypothesized, these relationships differ by gender and faculty (economics vs. electrical engineering). This research model can be used for the prediction of the business

path of young adults, providing relevant conclusions for the initial stage of life course transitions and promotion of entrepreneurship.

Positive attitudes towards entrepreneurship, the significant others and role models of entrepreneurs, as well as behavioural control perceptions have all been found to be potentially significant contributors to becoming an entrepreneur (van Gelderen et al. 2008; Liñán and Fayolle 2015; Shinnar et al. 2018; Laguía et al. 2019). The willingness to take risks embodied in the recognition of opportunities and limitations may be perceived differently by men and women (Cheraghi et al. 2019). Besides, it is empirically confirmed that men are more willing to take risks than women (Camelo-Ordaz et al. 2016). However, it is possible to find studies that show that male participation in entrepreneurship decreases in societies with low gender equity, especially in the launching phase of the life course (Cheraghi et al. 2019).

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Planirano ponašanje i rodne razlike u stavovima prema preduzetništvu među studentima poslovne ekonomije i elektrotehnike

PROŠIRENI APSTRAKT

Ovaj rad se bavi izučavanjem preduzetničkih namera među studentima ekonomije i elektrotehnike na Univerzitetu u Beogradu, u teorijskom okviru koji objašnjava tranzicije u okviru životnog toka. Nakon upisa fakulteta, afinitet prema preduzetništvu može da se smatra jednom od tranzicija u njihovom životu, najmanje iz perspektive planiranja radne putanje. Model preduzetničkih namera je konstruisan na temeljima teorije planiranog ponašanja, posmatrajući uzročnu povezanost između namere studenata da postanu preduzetnici i njihovih stavova o preduzetništvu, subjektivnih normi i percepcije o kontroli procesa koji vode ka preduzetništvu. Pri tome, subjektivne norme su otelovljene u razumevanju značajnosti drugih koji bi ih podržali u preduzetničkom poduhvatu, dok percipirana kontrola ponašanja reflektuje njihovo poimanje o tome koliko će budući događaji vezani za taj poduhvat bili pod njihovom kontrolom. Poseban naglasak je stavljen na varijablu koja meri sklonost ka preuzimanju rizika, imajući u vidu da muškarci i žene ne percipiraju mogućnosti i ograničenja na isti način. Informacionu osnovu za ovu analizu čine podaci ankete koja je sprovedena među studentima ova dva fakulteta. U fokusu su dve osnovne istraživačke hipoteze. Prva, koja polazi od rodnih razlika, u smislu sklonosti ka riziku i budućem izboru karijere preduzetnika, bazira se samo na anticipatornoj fazi životnog toka. Druga hipoteza polazi od pretpostavke da se preduzetničke namere studenata ova dva fakulteta razlikuju. Modeli preduzetničkih namera ocenjeni su u formi linearnih regresionih modela koji su izvedeni nakon inicijalno sprovedene multivarijacione statističke analize. Inicijalnom regresionom analizom je utvrđena samo statistički značajna veza između preduzetničkih namera i sklonosti ka preduzetništvu, te spoznaje o kontroli ponašanja. U cilju boljeg razumevanja početne faze životnog toka kod studenata, ocenjene su dodatne regresije na bazi kojih je ispitivan uticaj pojedinačnih nezavisnih varijabli na preduzetničke namere. Ocene regresora su statistički značajne, ukazujući na to da je predikcija preduzetničkog ponašanja uslovljena rodnim razlikama, kao i da zavisi od fakulteta. Osim toga, ovaj rad je namenjen i donosiocima odluka, budući da izlaže detaljnu analizu karakteristika budućih preduzetnika, kao i njihovo razumevanje procesa pokretanja poslovnih poduhvata.

KLJUČNE REČI

rod, planirano ponašanje, preduzetničke namere, studenti, životni tok

Osvrti i komentari

Reviews and reflections

Smiljka Tomanović

Na svom putu: longitudinalno kvalitativno istraživanje socijalnih biografija mladih

Univerzitet u Beogradu – Filozofski fakultet,
Institut za sociološka istraživanja, Beograd, 2021, 182 str.

On their own path: a qualitative study of young people's social biographies

University of Belgrade – Faculty of Philosophy,
Institute for Sociological Research, Belgrade, 2021, 182 p.

Knjiga predstavlja rezultate poslednje faze longitudinalnog istraživanja socijalnih biografija, koje je trajalo više od dvadeset godina. Započinjući istraživanje 1993. godine sa namerom da ispita povezanost porodičnog habitusa i socijalne reprodukcije na uzorku dece starosti od 4 do 7 godina u dva beogradska naselja, kontrastirajući porodice radnika i stručnjaka, autorka je nastavila da prati njihove socijalne biografije sve do 2014. godine. Intervjui sa ispitanicima sprovedeni su u četiri talasa (1993, 2000, 2007, 2014). Kao rezultat ovog izuzetnog istraživačkog poduhvata nastale su knjige „Detinjstvo u Rakovici“ (prvi talas), „Odrastanje u Beogradu“ (drugi i treći talas) i „Na svom putu“ (četvrti talas). Knjigu „Na svom putu“ možemo posmatrati u sklopu autorkine trilogije, ali takođe i kao monografiju koja ima svoj poseban doprinos.

Struktura knjige je dobro uravnotežena kombinacijom apstraktnih teorijskih delova i empirijskog materijala. U prvom

delu knjige („Okviri“) predstavljena je teorijska matrica koju čine četiri dimenzije: strukturalnost, dejstvenost, identitet i temporalnost. Ovde je definisan metodološki i interpretativni okvir za tumačenje rezultata, a takođe je objašnjen proces prikupljanja empirijskog materijala i njegovog tumačenja u longitudinalnom istraživačkom nacrtu. Drugi deo knjige („Biografije“) obuhvata studije slučaja šestoro ispitanika (tri devojke i tri mladića), čije socijalne biografije su izabrane kao posebno upečatljivi sklopovi klasnih, rodnih i psiholoških razlika. Treći deo knjige („Sinteze“) predstavlja zaokruženu diskusiju koja povezuje teorijska pitanja i empirijski materijal na jednom višem nivou apstrakcije, donoseći uvide o društvenim procesima koji prevazilaze okvir istraživanih socijalnih biografija.

Četvrti talas istraživanja (završen 2014. godine) obuhvatio je osamnaestoro mladih starosti od 24 do 28 godina. Dugogodišnje iskustvo u praćenju grupe mladih, tokom odrastanja, adolescencije

i kasnih dvadesetih godina, vidi se u dobrom izboru pojedinačnih biografija koje su predstavljene kao studije slučaja (što je primenjeno takođe u prethodnim studijama). Rodni i klasni identitet su korišćeni kao osnovna matrica za kontrastiranje osam biografija. U toj kombinaciji ključnih identitetskih odrednica, autorka je predstavila biografije mladih momaka i devojaka iz dva društvena sloja, radničkog i srednjeklasnog. Ove socijalne biografije nisu odabrane samo zbog njihove idiosinkratičnosti, već i sociološke pregnantnosti. Kroz njih vidimo sve nijanse strukturalnih, agensnih, identitetskih i temporalnih faktora u formiranju socijalnih biografija.

Teorijska pozicija autorke se menjala tokom nekoliko istraživačkih talasa, u skladu sa promenama samog istraživanja, životnih faza ispitanika i uvidima iz prethodnih talasa. Na samom početku (1993), polazna osnova je bila Burdijeva teorija socijalne reprodukcije, uklopljena u perspektivu sociologije svakodnevnog života i sociologije detinjstva. U poslednjoj studiji, klasna dimenzija je zadržala analitički kapacitet, ali pristup se pomera ka okviru koji čine pojmovi strukture, identiteta i dejstvenosti kroz temporalnu dinamiku individualnog života i društvenog vremena: „Kako se istraživanje razvijalo, tako se i njegov teorijski fokus pomerao s odnosa svakodnevnog života i porodičnog habitusa (...), preko teorije strukturacije, odnosno međudejstva struktura (kapitala i habitusa) i delanja (...), do pristupa socijalne biografije“ (str. 10). U ovoj studiji, metodološki i teorijski fokus je stavljen na rekonstrukciju socijalnih biografija „kroz pristup promišljenog (refleksivnog) upravljanja životom, a fokus analiza i interpretacija je na dinamičkom konceptu dejstvenosti“ (str. 10).

Pristup **socijalne biografije** označava kombinaciju najplodnijih elemenata kva-

litativnih studija „životnog toka“, sociološkog biografskog metoda i pristupa koji se oslanjaju na životne priče i narative. Socijalna biografija uspeva da prevaziđe nedostatke ovih metoda: normativnost studija životnog toka, nedovoljnu refleksivnost klasičnog biografskog pristupa, ali i konstruktivističku labavost narativnih pristupa. Ključni doprinos modela socijalne biografije jeste to što uspeva da prevaziđe dileme subjektivno-objektivno u empirijskoj primeni. Socijalna biografija kao metod i teorijski okvir uspela je zadržati holističku dimenziju u sociološkoj perspektivi kroz istraživanje individualnih biografija, što predstavlja posebnu vrednost koju čak i kvalitativna istraživanja retko ostvaruju.

Longitudinalni nacrt je omogućio specifičnu **temporalnu triangulaciju**, polazeći od sadašnjosti u kojoj se ispitanici nalaze, ali takođe zahvatajući prospektivnu i retrospektivnu dimenziju. Autorka je uključila neke inovativne istraživačke tehnike, koje su omogućile refleksivno kretanje ispitanika (i istraživača) duž vremenskih koordinata na liniji prošlost-sadašnjost-budućnost. Razgovori sa ispitanicima su se ponavljali u određenim vremenskim intervalima od nekoliko godina, što je donelo nekoliko metodoloških prednosti. U svakoj fazi se odvija proces konstrukcije i rekonstrukcije biografija kroz „pregovaranje“ življenih i ispričanih života. Istraživanje otkriva nijanse u socijalnim biografijama, koje ne mogu da objasne teorije koje se oslanjaju pretežno na strukturnu/klasnu ili rodnu determinisanost. Na primer, ispitanik iz srednje klase ne uspeva da isprati svoj „zacrtni“ obrazovno-karijerni put, dok ispitanica iz radničke klase pokušava da koristi obrazovni kanal za društvenu pokretljivost. Tek kada se posmatraju drugi činoci (socijalni kapital, rodna dimenzija) dobijamo celovitu sliku meandriranja „klasnog habitusa“.

Pored agensnosti i strukturalnosti, kao dominantnih socioloških alata, socijalna biografija uključuje **refleksivnost**: „... (dejstvenost podrazumeva) refleksivnost – sposobnost ljudi da promišljaju o sebi uzimajući u obzir okolnosti u kojima se nalaze. Refleksivnost predstavlja lični i subjektivni mentalni proces koji uključuje i sadrži odnos pojedinca s društvenim kontekstima“ (str. 29). Iako to nije njen glavni predmet istraživanja, studija daje mnogo značajnih socioloških uvida o refleksivnosti. Odnos autorke prema refleksivnosti menjao se tokom dvadeset godina. Bez sumnje, refleksivnost je postala važna sociološka tema (Gidens, Bek) i pojam koji se koristi za objašnjenje društvenih promena poslednjih decenija. Autorka u kasnijim talasima istraživanja sve više uključuje refleksivnost u razumevanje socijalnih biografija, odstupajući od Burdijeovog pojma refleksivnosti ograničene klasnim habitusom. Poslednja faza istraživanja otkriva da refleksivnost ne treba posmatrati isključivo kroz klasni habitus. Nijansirana analiza potvrđuje da refleksivnost kao kulturni kapital ne implicira uspešniji *life management*. Osim toga, u iskazima ispitanika vidimo razlike između generacija, različite refleksivne obrade svoje dejstvenosti u odnosu na kontekst (situacioni i strukturalni). Istraživanje pokazuje da je refleksivnost društveni fenomen koji se mora posmatrati sveobuhvatno, kroz kognitivne, situacione i društvene dimenzije. Takođe, postupci intervjuisanja otkrivaju refleksivnost kao društveni proces, najpre kao deo interakcije istraživač-ispitanik, ali i kao deo interakcije ispitanika sa drugim relevantnim akterima iz porodice i okruženja. U ovim nijansiranim prikazima vidi se kako refleksivnost funkcioniše kroz socijalnu interakciju (ekspresivno, konfliktno, itd.). Emocije su često dobar trag

za interpretaciju refleksivnih procesa, kao dimenzija koja upućuje na procese dejstvenosti u kontekstu.

Refleksivnost je metodološki instrument primenjen u radu sa ispitanicima, ali i deo autorkine autorefleksije tokom dugotrajnog istraživanja. Situaciono indukovana refleksivnost kroz intervju pokreće metarefleksivni proces, koji je posebno koristan da se razume socijalna biografija retrospektivno, jer daje nove uvide o ispitaniku u prethodnom momentu životnog toka, ali ujedno i samom ispitaniku otkriva aspekte koji nisu bili ranije osvešćeni. Zanimljivo je da na nekoliko mesta nalazimo refleksivnost ispitanika uhvaćenu u procesu, kao *internal talk* koji se artikulisao kroz intervju, kao reminiscenciju na prošle refleksivne procese. Ovde se javlja i jedno metodološko pitanje mogućem uticaju refleksivnosti na istraživački proces. Da li je kod ispitanika koji su ostali do kraja istraživanja, tj. poslednjeg talasa, prisutna specifična refleksivna praksa (u smislu kapaciteta, vrednovanja, bolje situacione manifestacije), tj. da li postoji svojevrsni *self-selection bias* ispitanika koji su voljno istrajali do kraja istraživanja?

Rodna dimenzija prožima celu studiju, iako istraživanje nije fokusirano na ovu oblast. Ipak, istraživanje je dalo značajan doprinos u razumevanju nijansi u izgradnji rodnih aspekata biografije. Naime, konstituisanje rodnog identiteta kroz socijalnu biografiju ne može se objasniti rodnim strukturacijama i rodnim režimima. Naprotiv, ono je lokalizovano, specifično i dinamično, ne samo kada se poredi mladići ili devojke iz različitih klasnih okvira, već i duž svake individualne životne putanje. Studija upečatljivo pokazuje koliko je važan „rad identiteta“ kojim se elementi rodnog identiteta usaglašavaju na nivou subjektiviteta. To postaje vidljivo i intenzivno kod rodno

bremenitih životnih momenata (npr. kroz majčinstvo u ranoj fazi života). Takođe studija pokazuje razlike u rodnosti po životnim fazama. Čini se da je lakši proces usaglašavanja rodnog subjektiviteta u životnoj fazi dvadesetih za žene nego za muškarce, jer mogu da prebace fokus na drugi domen života, sa neuspešnog poslovnog na porodični život. Postavlja se pitanje da li se ova prednost ženskog normativnog izbora preokreće kasnije kada većina njih dobije porodicu (u postojećem talasu, samo jedna ispitanica je majka). U tom ključu bi se mogao preispitati životni put ispitanice čije „promišljanja i refleksivnost jesu u tom smislu klasno, ali nisu rodno određeni jer ona ne prihvata tipičan feminin identitet“ (s. 114). Ali rodnost je „ugrađena“ u socijalnu biografiju, pa u nekoj kasnijoj fazi može doći do nekoherentnosti i eventualno krize (npr. alijenacije u majčinskom identitetu).

Rodnost se posebno dobro čita kroz hrononormativnost. U iskazima o optimalnoj poželjnoj budućnosti, kroz tehniku *life timeline*, ispitanici navode slične starosne norme za brak i roditeljstvo (obično se navodi 30), iako u praksi njihove realizovane „tranzicije“ ne konvergiraju (jedna ispitanica je majka, a druga ima maglovit plan o roditeljstvu). U tom smislu je studija inspirativna za neka buduća istraživanja. Pošto se često poželjne društvene starosne norme javljaju kao prekursor realnog trenda, pitanje je da li će se norme optimalne starosti za roditeljstvo pomerati naviše, da li će konvergirati za žene i muškarce, da li će optimalne starosne norme biti fleksibilnije?

Takođe treba ukazati na jednu nedovoljno ekspliciranu, ali upečatljivu dimenziju ove studije. Istraživanje je otkrilo značaj **psiholoških dimenzija** za razumevanje nekih delova socijalne biografije, posebno stanja liminalnosti ili „zakočenosti“. Razumevanje **dejstve-**

nosti često zahteva komplementaran psihološki pojam samoefikasnosti, jer akterovo delanje zavisi i od toga kako opaža sopstvenu kontrolu nad okolnostima, kako planira i sprovodi planove. U nekim slučajevima je potrebna elaboracija unutarporodične dinamike ili bitnih dimenzija ličnosti u psihološkom (čak kliničkom) okviru, kako bi se razumele akcije ispitanika.

Na kraju treba reći da dvadesetogodišnji proces istraživanja čini ovu knjigu dragocenim sociološkim materijalom koji daje korisne smernice za kvalitativna istraživanja sa longitudinalnim nacrtom. Knjiga pokazuje značaj veštine interpersonalne komunikacije i istraživačke imaginacije u rešavanju metodoloških dilema u procesu prikupljanja podataka, kao i traganju za inovativnim pristupima u analizi materijala. Studija je započela kao kros-sekcionalno istraživanje porodičnog habitusa, a zatim razvijena kao kompleksno longitudinalno istraživanje. Tako se, paralelno sa životnim tokom ispitanika, može pratiti razvoj istraživanja kao žive, sociološke prakse, kao i formiranje zaokruženog, originalnog sociološkog pristupa autorke. Zbog toga možemo reći da knjiga „Na svom putu“ predstavlja dobar model za sve koji nameravaju da sprovedu slična istraživanja, pa će sigurno biti korišćena kao udžbenički materijal za mnoge buduće generacije sociologa.

Suzana Ignjatović 

*Centre for Sociological and Anthropological Research,
Institute of Social Sciences, Belgrade, Serbia*

Correspondence:

Suzana Ignjatović, Institute of Social Sciences,
Kraljice Natalije 45, Belgrade, Serbia

Email:

signjatovic@idn.org.rs

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Fragile Pronatalism? Barriers to Parenthood, One-Child Families, and Childlessness in European Post-Socialist Countries

Editors: Ivett Szalma, Hana Hašková i Judit Takács

Pronatalitetne politike i reproduktivna budućnost u kontekstualnim specifičnostima bivših socijalističkih država

Pronatal policies and the future of reproduction in the specific context of former socialist states

Ovako formulisan naslov ne odražava samo suštinu uvodnog teksta, već svih priloga objavljenih u avgustovskom broju časopisa *Social Inclusion* u 2022. godini. Taj tematski blok posvećen je rasvetljavanju niskog fertiliteta nekoliko evropskih država koje su tokom poslednje decenije 20. veka prolazile kroz transformaciju iz socijalističkog u kapitalističko društveno uređenje. Istraživači okupljeni oko ideje da se razmotri „moć“ pronatalitenih politika bivših socijalističkih država rasvetljavaju aktuelne trendove reproduktivnog ponašanja – rađanje jednog deteta i dobrovoljno odustajanje od roditeljstva unutar društvenog, političkog i ekonomskog konteksta koji su drugačiji od razvijenih evropskih država (Szalma i dr. 2022). Istraživanjem prepreka koje utiču na odluke o rađanju i oblikuju obrasce reproduktivnog modela ponašanja u ovim društvima, teži se pronalaženju odgovora u vezi sa „snagom“ pronatalitetnih politika u bivšim socijalističkim državama. On nije kvantitativne prirode,

već reflektuje spoznaju raznovrsnih pitanja, važnih sa stanovišta definisanja političkih odgovora na nizak fertilitet.

U duhu teorije druge demografske tranzicije, prihvatanje i širenje postmaterijalističkog vrednosnog sistema donosi niz promena u ponašanju i stavovima koji se tiču braka, porodice i roditeljstva, a koji se reflektuju na odluke o rađanju (Lesthaeghe i Neels 2002; Surkyn i Lesthaeghe 2004; Lesthaeghe 2010). U složenom spletu determinističkih uticaja na reproduktivno ponašanje, pojačava se važnost uticaja vrednosti kojima se pojedinci rukovode u definisanju životnih prioriteta i prihvatanja životnih stilova. Bitni aspekti postaju partnerstvo, rodni obrasci ponašanja, položaj žena i u javnoj i u privatnoj sferi, rodna ravnopravnost. Otuda potreba da se njihov uticaj rasvetli u kontekstu društvenih i demografskih specifičnosti bivših socijalističkih država kako bi se produkovala znanja potrebna radi definisanja što adekvatnijih i efikasnijih politika prema niskom fertilitetu.

Billingsley i Oláh (2022) posmatraju šta se može reći o *savremenim tendencijama u sferi partnerstva i o njihovom uticaju na fertilitet*, na temelju istraživanja u 12 država. Obuhvaćene su države centralne i jugoistočne Evrope (Bugarska, Republika Češka, Mađarska, Poljska i Rumunija) i bivše republike SSSR-a (Belorusija, Estonija, Litvanija, Rusija, Kazahstan i Gruzija). Uočene promene manifestuju se kroz kraće trajanje partnerskih zajednica usled pomeranja starosne granice za njihovo formiranje, porast nestabilnosti, kao i uzdržavanje od toga da se započne zajednički život. One su vidljive u generacijama koje su na početku tranzicionog perioda iz socijalizma ka kapitalizmu bile u životnom dobu za formiranje porodica, ali još intenzivnije su u generacijama koje su tokom 2000-ih ulazile u ovu fazu životnog toka. Zaključuje se da je dinamika partnerskih zajednica bila takva da je mogla da utiče na pad fertiliteta, uprkos tome što je u bivšim republikama SSSR-a nastupio nešto kasnije nego u državama centralne i jugoistočne Evrope.

Koje strukturne prepreke deluju u izabranim državama? Šta je sa uticajima motivacionih i situacionih faktora koji se prepoznaju na mikro nivou?

Na temelju statističke analize relevantnih demografskih izvora, Šprocha (2022) je na primeru Slovačke istraživala reproduktivno ponašanje generacija žena koje su tokom perioda društvene transformacije bile u godinama u kojima se realizuje najveći deo rađanja. Negativan uticaj nepovoljnih socioekonomskih uslova života i nedovoljno razvijenog institucionalnog okvira reflektovao se kroz širenje obrasca rađanja jednog deteta među ženama čiji je reproduktivni period započeo neposredno pre tranzicije društvenog sistema. Snažan uticaj pogoršanih ekonomskih uslova usled sloma socijalizma podvučen je

činjenicom da u generacijama koje su nešto kasnije ušle u reproduktivni period nije registrovano dalje pomeranje starosne granice početka rađanja. Međutim, problem „rehabilitacije“ rađanja drugog deteta nije prevaziđen i rezultat je značajan pad fertiliteta. Takođe, očekuje se nastavak širenja dobrovoljnog odustajanja od roditeljstva u generacijama koje su početkom 2000-ih ušle u reproduktivni period. Uzroci pesimizma u pogledu mogućnosti „oporavka“ rađanja stoje u potcrtavanju važnosti delovanja prepreka koje proizilaze iz dominacije rodni stereotipa i tradicionalnog odnosa prema zaposlenosti žene, a koji podrazumeva očekivanja da je primarno angažovanje žena u podizanju dece i u porodičnim obavezama.

Istražujući uticaj *formalne i neformalne brige o deci* na rađanje drugog deteta u Belorusiji, Ishchanova (2022) zaključuje da pozitivan uticaj ima jedino kombinacija ove dve opcije jer se to pokazuje kao najefikasniji način snižavanja oportunističkih troškova roditeljstva. Međutim, starost prvog deteta slabi ovu statističku vezu. Takođe, postoje neke osobenosti s obzirom na sociodemografske karakteristike. Verovatnoća postojanja namere da imaju drugo dete veća je kod muškaraca nego kod žena, usled ženskog iskustva „dvostruke“ opterećenosti. Izgledi da realizuju nameru da imaju drugo dete u većoj meri su registrovani kod onih sa srednjim nego sa nižim obrazovanjem, dok među visokoobrazovanim postoji takođe pozitivna veza, ali ona nije statistički značajna. Nije utvrđeno postojanje veze nameravanog rađanja drugog deteta sa zaposlenošću i visinom dohotka. Dva puta veće šanse postoje kod onih koji imaju decu uzrasta od 3 do 6 godina nego kod ispitanika sa mlađim detetom. Takođe, među ispitanicima koji su imali 36 ili više godina manja je verovatnoća

postojanja namere da imaju drugo dete. Shodno ovim nalazima, osporava se neoklasični pristup pronatalitetne politike u Belorusiji koji težište stavlja na ulogu žene u podizanju dece. Takav pristup u kombinaciji sa nedostatkom razvijenosti i dostupnosti formalne brige o deci smatraju se ključnim preprekama za realizaciju namera da imaju dvoje dece.

Koje su to *motivacione i situacione determinante* percipirane kroz pozitivne i negativne strane roditeljstva u Poljskoj, a za posledicu imaju pojavu bezdetnosti (Mynarska i Brzozowska 2022). Šta su oni koji nisu realizovali svoju roditeljsku ulogu (bilo da je duže odlažu ili da su definitivno od toga odustali) uočili kao prepreke, a šta kao benefite roditeljstva, imajući u vidu iskustva onih koji su već roditelji? Rezultati istraživanja govore da je veza između percepcije pozitivnih i negativnih implikacija roditeljstva sa namerom da nemaju decu u određenoj meri uslovljena obrazovanjem, zaposlenošću, materijalnom situacijom u domaćinstvu i veličinom mesta u kojem žive. Zaposlene žene češće su iskazivale sklonost ka tome da ostanu bez dece nego one koje su se još uvek obrazovale ili koje su bile nezaposlene. Nivo obrazovanja je imao većeg uticaja kod muškaraca, a on se ispoljio kao i kod žena tako što su se oni koji su imali niže od visokog obrazovanja češće iskazivali nameru da nemaju decu. Kod žena je veličina naselja u kojem žive bila veći faktor diferenciranosti koja se ispoljila kroz to da je među onima iz gradskih naselja i velikih gradova namera da nemaju decu bila zastupljena u većoj meri nego kod onih iz seoskih i prigradskih naselja. Važnost motivacionih faktora potvrđena je time što su oni koji su procenjivali da je „cena“ roditeljstva niska značajno ređe iskazivali nameru da ostanu na tome da nemaju decu nego oni koji su procenjivali visoke „troškove“

roditeljstva. Motivacioni faktori oblikuju želju pojedinca za ili protiv roditeljstva, dok situacioni jačaju ili ograničavaju ovu želju kroz ono što je formulirano kao namere. Oni koji su skloni tome da definitivno nemaju decu imali su nisko sagledavanje prednosti roditeljstva, što je i glavni faktor takve njihove namere. Pokazalo se da opažanje visoke cene rađanja ima veoma važnu ulogu kod žena, ali oslanjanjem na neka druga istraživanja podvlači se da je razmatranje oportunitih, ali i finansijskih troškova roditeljstva, sve prisutnije i među muškarcima. Žene su „cenu“ roditeljstva percipirale kroz teškoće u kombinovanju materinstva i rada, probleme trudnoće i rađanja i kroz ograničenja u realizaciji profesionalne karijere i razvoja. Zaključuje se da su registrovane promene vezane za bezdetnost pre svega na nivou namera, dok još uvek nisu u većoj meri raširene na nivou ponašanja. Takođe, podseća se i na istraživanje koje je potvrdilo da se prioriteta i ocene dostupnosti resursa menjaju sa starošću. Kakvi su demografski efekti? Ne može se odgovoriti sa većim stepenom pouzdanosti, bez uvida da li se promene mogu odvijati u smeru širenja ili smanjivanja percepcije negativnih implikacija i visokih troškova roditeljstva.

Autori tri teksta konkretnije ispituju *rodni aspekt reproduktivnog ponašanja*. Njihova istraživanja su usmerena na različitim pitanjima, a odnose se na specifičnosti rodnih uloga kao bitnih faktora odluka o roditeljstvu.

Na temelju intervjua sa muškarcima koji su bili u kasnim 20-im i ranim 30-im kada su počele promene u mađarskom društvu, a nisu su se ostvarili kao roditelji i ako su već u 50-im, ukazuje se da se bezdetnost desi i onima koji nisu imali nameru da nikada ne realizuju i svoju roditeljsku ulogu (Szalma i Takács 2022). Glavnim uzrocima „nedobrovoljnog“

odustajanja od toga da imaju dete smatraju se faktori socioekonomske i kulturnološke prirode. Posebno je istaknuto da forsiranje obrasca muškarac – hranilac porodice, u tranzicionim uslovima mađarskog društva nije imao pozitivan uticaj na reproduktivno ponašanje muškaraca. Takođe je ukazano da nivo obrazovanja pospešuje različite razloge koji za efekat imaju kontinuirano prolongiranje koje najčešće implicira i negativnu odluku. Kod onih koji su stekli visoko obrazovanje izraženiji su subjektivni efekti i oni su izloženi različitim izborima koji su im se u jednom trenutku činili povoljnijim opcijama kako u pogledu ličnih ambicija, tako i životnog standarda. Muškarci koji su imali niže od visokog obrazovanja i oni koji su bili iz neurbanih mesta ograničenja su češće videli u ekonomskim uslovima i finansijskim teškoćama obezbeđivanja uslova u vezi sa čuvanjem dece.

Prepreke i barijere koje se tiču reproduktivnog ponašanja žena vezane su za mogućnosti ublažavanja konflikta između privatne i javne sfere. Uspostavljanje balansa između porodičnih obaveza sa položajem žene van porodice nije jednoobrazno i može se dovesti u vezu sa obrazovanjem, profesijom, kao i sa socijalnom pripadnošću.

Istraživanje sprovedeno među studentkinjama doktorskih studija iz STEM oblasti, u Mađarskoj je potvrdilo snažne barijere koje su proizvod neoliberalne organizacije univerziteta kojom se favorizuju uslovi koji nisu pogodan okvir za materinstvo (Paksi, Nagy i Tardos 2022). Zahtevi koji se stavljaju pred istraživače i uslovi izgradnje profesionalne karijere percipiraju se kao ograničenja za odluke o rađanju, a eventualna realizacija materinstva vidi se kao prepreka profesionalnoj karijeri. Otuda je odlaganje odluke da postanu majke jedan vid strategije među ovom grupom studentkinja doktorskih

studija, mada i među njima postoji manja različitost. Doktorantkinje iz oblasti hemijskog inženjeringa bile su sklonije namerama da ipak jednom postanu i majke, nego njihove kolegice iz oblasti elektronike i elektrotehnike. Otuda se ističe jačina uticaja prepreka koje proizlaze iz zahteva u vezi sa karijerama u STEM oblastima, koji se smatra jačim nego što su negativni uticaji mogućnosti usklađivanja porodice i profesije, mada ni u ovom pogledu prepreke nisu beznačajne. Skrenuta je pažnja da su žene koje imaju decu u manjoj meri uspele da uspostave ujednačeniju podelu poslova unutar domaćinstva nego one koje nisu imale decu.

Kakvoj strategiji su pribegle mlade pripadnice srednjeg sloja u Rusiji? „Pragmatični individualizam“ je njihova najoptimalnija opcija postavljanja između neoliberalne ideologije individualizma i samoproduktivnosti, na jednoj, i konzervativne rodne ideologije u pogledu porodice i fertiliteta, na drugoj strani (Shpakovskaya i Chernova 2022). Reproductivno ponašanje odvija se kroz standarde koji su u skladu sa njihovom socijalnom pripadnošću kako u pogledu ličnog ostvarenja i ambicija, tako i u pogledu podizanja i čuvanja dece. Mlade žene (do 35 godina starosti) su razvile svoj koncept koji im omogućava da se suoče sa preprekama koje ugrožavaju stabilnu zaposlenost, ali i da predstave ugroženost svojih pozicija u tom pogledu, dok su u privatnoj sferi savladale bračne nestabilnosti. One su pronašle praktičnu strategiju, kada mere podrške nisu konzistentne sa stvarnim troškovima životnog stila srednje klase. Njihov pristup se vidi kao vrsta kolektivne strategije žena srednjeg društvenog sloja, a cilj je uspostavljanje balansa tako što se beneficije koje nude pronatalitetne politike koriste tako da održavaju klasni životni stil koji je vidljiv i u načinu podizanja dece.

Da li i kakve promene se odvijaju na nivou stavova u vezi sa fenomenom bezdetnosti koje imaju uticaja na reproduktivno ponašanje? U slučaju Bugarske uviđa se značajan porast raširenosti neutralnih i blag rast pozitivni stavova, za razliku od negativnih čija se zastupljenost smanjuje, što se vidi kao pokazatelj uspostavljanja drugačijeg odnosa prema roditeljstvu (Dimitrova i Kotzeva 2022). One se smatraju posledicama oblika ponašanja svojstvenih Drugoj demografskoj tranziciji, ali i širenja percepcija socijalnih rizika i barijera ka roditeljstvu. Takođe, veće prihvatanje je i odraz nepovoljnih ekonomskih okolnosti i prilagođavanje stavova ekonomskoj neizvesnosti, siromaštvu i socioekonomskim teškoćama koje doživljavaju mlade generacije. Socijalnim rizicima se smatraju i partnerstvo i roditeljstvo, jer se u uslovima širenja različitih vidova neizvesnosti povećava opreznost prema svemu što se smatra „rizičnim“ sa stanovišta ulaganja i što implicira ličnu odgovornost. Ukazuje se da je sve raširenije shvatanje da rađanje i roditeljstvo podrazumevaju lične izbore i privatne odluke.

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Tekstovi objavljeni u časopisu *Social Inclusion* privlače pažnju kao izvor saznanja o relevantnim uzrocima niskog fertiliteta u državama koje imaju drugačiji put razvoja od razvijenih evropskih demokratija. Oni skreću pažnju na aktuelne trendove u sferi reproduktivnog ponašanja i na taj način podvlače koliko je važno da se politike prema niskom fertilitetu definišu u tim okvirima. Pored toga pokazuju kako se u kontekstu društvenih specifičnosti bivših socijalističkih država uspostavljaju modeli ponašanja, rađanje jednog deteta i bezdetnost, „najodgovorniji“ za pad fertiliteta i veoma niske stope rađanja.

Razotkrivaju se uzroci kako bi se razumelo da li je i na koji način je moguće preduprediti njihovo intenzivnije širenje.

Pored pojedinačnog, zajednički doprinos objavljenih tekstova je u tome što prepoznaju važnost politika prema niskom fertilitetu, ali uz jasno prisustvo stava da su rađanje, podizanje male dece, majčinstvo i očinstvo pitanja koja se tiču pojedinca i njegovog privatnog života. Kao spona između potrebe za političkim odgovorom i nužnosti da se poštuju lične slobode i individualni izbori jeste to da ograničenja za odluke o nameravanom reproduktivnom ponašanju potiču iz društvenog konteksta, ekonomskih uslova i kulturnih normi. Na temelju empirijskih i kvalitativnih naučnih istraživanja, tražanje za odgovorom na pitanje o „snazi“ i „moći“ pronatalitetnih politika u bivšim socijalističkim državama prepoznaje realna ograničenja, a iskustva u vezi sa usklađivanjem obaveza roditeljstva sa onima koje se tiču posla i profesije postavljaju se u centar pažnje sa stanovišta politika prema niskom fertilitetu. Rešenja za ove izazove zavise od kontekstualnih specifičnosti, uvažavajući osnovne principe savremenih pronatalitetnih politika (Szalma i dr. 2022). To ne znači suprotstavljanje individualizaciji i slobodi izbora u donošenju odluke o tome da li će imati dete, kada i koliko dece će imati, već znači pospešivanje „reproduktivne autonomije“ i redukovanje neželjenih ponašanja.

Ankica Šobot 

Centre for Demographic Research, Institute of Social Sciences, Belgrade, Serbia

Correspondence:

Ankica Šobot, Institute of Social Sciences,
Kraljice Natalije 45, Belgrade, Serbia

Email:

ankica.sobot@gmail.com

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Međunarodna znanstvena konferencija

Migracije na rubu Europe: trendovi, politike i izazovi

Zagreb, 29. – 30. 9. 2022.

International scientific conference

Migration on the Edge of Europe: Trends, Policies, and Challenges

Zagreb, 29–30 September 2022

Konferenciju je organizirao Institut za migracije i narodnosti s ciljem da se kroz izlaganja i rasprave znanstvenika različitih profila iz povijesne i suvremene perspektive analiziraju različiti aspekti migracija u europskim zemljama s naglaskom na jugoistočne, propita učinkovitost europskih migracijskih, azilnih i integracijskih politika te razmotre promjene koje u društvima nastaju kao rezultat migracijskih procesa.

Pročelnica Znanstvenog odsjeka za migracijska i demografska istraživanja Sanja Klempić Bogadi otvorila je skup i poželjela dobrodošlicu sudionicima. Nakon pozdravnoga govora uslijedila su tri izlaganja u plenarnoj sesiji. Znanstveni dio konferencije započeo je izlaganjem Vladimira Nikitovića iz Centra za demografska istraživanja Instituta društvenih nauka »Changing Patterns of Recent Migration Flows Between the Western Balkans and the EU«, kao uvod u temu cijele konferencije. Nikitović konstatira da su se migracijski obrasci na prostoru

Zapadnog Balkana promijenili iz dugotrajne, obično trajne emigracije u fleksibilnije oblike, od kratkotrajne do one srednjeg trajanja i cirkularne mobilnosti. Smatra da bi hitni zadatak javnih politika trebao biti donošenje mjera za smanjenje emigracije te da je stabilna imigracija ključni cilj u cijeloj regiji. U drugom plenarnom izlaganju »Radne migracije na rubu EUrope – dolazak stranih radnika u Hrvatsku« autorice Snježana Gregurović, Margareta Gregurović, Simona Kuti, Sanja Klempić Bogadi i Sonja Podgorelec iz Instituta za migracije i narodnosti dale su prikaz useljavanja stranih radnika u Hrvatsku u posljednja dva desetljeća uzimajući u obzir dva aspekta toga procesa: obilježja migracijskog (useljeničkog) kontingenta i strukturna obilježja Hrvatske kao zemlje primitka migranta. Autorice ujedno razmatraju »vanjske« i »unutarnje« čimbenike koji bi mogli biti odgovorni za povećano useljavanje stranih radnika. Posljednje izlaganje u

plenarnoj sesiji bavilo se migracijom iz povijesne perspektive. Rad »'Bijednici'. O izbjeglicama na hrvatskom području tijekom Drugoga svjetskog rata« izložila je Marica Karakaš Obradov iz Hrvatskog instituta za povijest. Ona je u svojoj prezentaciji definirala područja iz kojih je tijekom Drugoga svjetskog rata dolazilo najviše izbjeglica na hrvatska područja, njihove karakteristike te probleme koji su se javljali pri njihovu prihvatu, kao i njihov povratak.

Nakon plenarnih izlaganja, rad u sesijama odvijao se na dvije lokacije ovisno o temama, te su prvi dan održana ukupno 24 izlaganja u okviru šest sesija. U prvoj, Međunarodna migracijska statistika i diverzifikacija međunarodnih migracija, održana su četiri izlaganja. Dario Pavić s Hrvatskih studija Sveučilišta u Zagrebu problematizirao je kvalitetu migracijske statistike, pri čemu je napravio usporedbu podataka o migraciji između Hrvatske i šest europskih država (Austrija, Irska, Italija, Njemačka, Norveška i Švedska). Slijedilo je izlaganje Aleksandra Kneževića s Geografskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu, koji je govorio o metodološkim izazovima etnostatističke evidencije u popisima stanovništva Republike Srbije. Marija Šarić i Saša Božić u izlaganju »Dva života, jedan dom: međunarodne kružne radne migracije žena iz Slavonije« prikazali su dio rezultata kvalitativnog istraživanja provedenog na uzorku od 25 žena iz Slavonije čije kruženje uključuje odlazak u Austriju, Italiju i Njemačku s ciljem zaposlenja na niskokvalificiranim radnim pozicijama njege u privatnom kućanstvu te sezonskim poslovima u poljoprivredi, ugostiteljstvu i hotelijerstvu. Sesija je završila temom međunarodnih umirovljeničkih migracija. Autori Saša Božić i Simona Kuti raspravljali su o trenutačnim dosezima u istraživanju ove teme u svijetu i u Hrvatskoj.

Četiri izlaganja održana su u drugoj sesiji Stavovi prema (i)migrantima. Romana Bešter, Mojca Medvešek i Janez Pirc prezentirali su rezultate istraživanja »Challenges of Immigrant Integration and the Development of Integration Policy in Slovenia«, koji su pokazali da većina stanovništva smatra da je integracija imigranata djelomično uspješna, a poznavanje slovenskog jezika i zaposlenje imigranata dva su najvažnija čimbenika njihove uspješne integracije. Slijedila su dva izlaganja temeljena na podacima iz Europskoga društvenog istraživanja (ESS). Jadranka Čačić-Kumpes i Josip Kumpes utvrdili su u prezentaciji »Politička orijentacija i antiimigracijski stavovi u Hrvatskoj« da su desno politički orijentirani ispitanici u prosjeku skloniji nego oni lijevo politički orijentirani izraziti antiimigrantske i antiimigracijske stavove. Zaključuju da analiza povezanosti političke orijentacije sa stavovima prema imigrantima i imigraciji u Hrvatskoj upućuje i na važnost društveno-povijesnoga konteksta u kojem se ti stavovi oblikuju, kao i na to da se hrvatsko društvo nalazi pred izazovima rastućega procesa imigracije. Ivan Čipin, Petra Međimurec i Dario Mustač s Ekonomskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu analizirali su mijenja li se i na koji način javno mišljenje o imigraciji u Hrvatskoj i kako su stavovi o imigraciji povezani s odabranim demografskim, socioekonomskim i drugim obilježjima (dob, spol, obrazovanje, migrantsko podrijetlo, dohodak kućanstva, religioznost, politička orijentacija). Margareta Gregurović i Marko Mrakovčić govorili su o društvenoj distanci studenata prava prema migrantima u Hrvatskoj. Rezultati anketnog istraživanja provedenog među studentima četiriju pravnih fakulteta u Hrvatskoj, u Zagrebu, Rijeci, Splitu i Osijeku, pokazuju da najsnažniji učinak na društvenu distancu prema svim skupinama imigranata ima nacionalizam.

Treća sesija okupila je radove s temom prisilnih migracija. Jana Kiralj i Dean Ajduković govorili su o sociopsihološkoj dimenziji integracije između izbjeglica iz Sirije i članova zajednica primatelja u Hrvatskoj, Švedskoj, Njemačkoj i Jordanu. Nikolina Stanković, Antonija Vrdoljak, Dinka Čorkalo Biruški, Margareta Jelić, Rachel Fasel i Fabrizio Butera izložili su osnovne nalaze iz anketnog istraživanja provedenog među učenicima osnovnih škola u Zagrebu, Karlovcu, Zadru i Sisku u kojem su ispitani stavovi prema djeci izbjeglicama, percipirane socijalne norme o kontaktu s djecom izbjeglicama, međugrupne emocije te preferirane akulturacijske strategije. Iako domicilna djeca pokazuju spremnost na integraciju svojih vršnjaka izbjeglica, rezultati upućuju na zaključak da mogućnost kontakta sama po sebi nije dovoljna te da postoji prostor za napredak i poboljšanje tih odnosa. Sandra Cvikić prikazala je rezultate komparativne kritičke analize znanstveno/stručnog diskursa publikacija o sirijskom izbjeglištvu u Turskoj čiji su autori turski i međunarodni znanstvenici/stručnjaci, a koje su objavljene od 2015. do 2021. u Turskoj i izvan nje. Dražen Živić i Monika Komušanac osvrnuli su se na migracijski kontekst rata u Ukrajini i njegov potencijalni demografski odraz na Hrvatsku. Ivančica Devčić i Daša Poredoš Lavor bavili su se temom zapošljavanje i obuhvatom mjera aktivne politike zapošljavanja za osobe pod međunarodnom zaštitom u Hrvatskoj.

Izlaganja iz područja povijesti migracija odvijala su se u okviru dviju sesija naslovljenih Migracije i povijesna iskustva 1 i 2. Danijel Vojak iz Instituta društvenih znanosti »Ivo Pilar« u svom izlaganju dao je sažeti prikaz povijesti migracija Roma na hrvatskim područjima, od njihova naseljavanja u 14. stoljeću do danas. Damir Josipović analizirao je migracije

između Slovenije i Hrvatske u razdoblju prije postojanja moderne statistike u izlaganju »Migration Between the Area of Contemporary Slovenia and Croatia in Historical Perspective«. U sljedećem izlaganju Dubravka Mlinarić bavila se migracijama u ranom novom vijeku na području sjeverne Dalmacije. Na temelju narativnih, demografskih, crkvenih i kartografskih povijesnih izvora identificirani su najzastupljeniji modeli prostornoga kretanja na definiranom području. Sanja Lazanin govorila je o promjenama zakonskog okvira kojim su se tijekom 18. stoljeća regulirale migracijska politika i politika naseljavanja slabije naseljenih krajeva Monarhije te kako su se te promjene odražavale na provedbu naseljavanja u Slavoniji i Srijemu. Eldina Lovaš iz Hrvatskog instituta za povijest izlaganje je temeljila na analizi podataka iz prvoga neplemenitog popisa Slobodnog i kraljevskog grada Osijeka iz 1814. kao izvrsnog izvora za proučavanje migracijskih procesa na području grada na početku 19. stoljeća te ih usporedila s do sada istraženim migracijskim trendovima drugih slobodnih i kraljevskih gradova, prvenstveno s prostora Ugarskoga Kraljevstva. U izlaganju »Smjerovi mađarskih migracija u Slavoniju u 19. stoljeću« Denis Njari prvenstveno na temelju mađarskih izvora pokušao je rekonstruirati glavna polazišna područja s kojih su se Mađari doseljavali na područje Slavonije tijekom 19. stoljeća. Stefan Denda, Jovana Todorić i Jasna Micić iz Geografskog instituta Jovan Cvijić SANU govorili su o migracijama na prostoru Kosova i Metohije od početka 20. stoljeća do danas. U posljednjem izlaganju ovog tematskog bloka Marija Damjanović fokusirala se na dva iseljeničko-izbjeglička vala tijekom Drugoga svjetskog rata i poraća, prvi koji je usko povezano s kapitulacijom Italije u rujnu 1943. te drugi koji je u najvećoj

mjeri uzrokovan slomom Nezavisne Države Hrvatske i uspostavom socijalističke države početkom svibnja 1945.

U šestoj sesiji Migracije, ljudska prava i sigurnost održana su tri izlaganja. Matija Kontak s Pravnog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu bavio se pitanjem ljudskih prava u doba primjene moderne tehnologije u migracijama i azilu, s posebnim osvrtom na Eurodac, bazu podataka otisaka prstiju tražitelja azila, čije je korištenje obvezujuće za sve članice EU-a. Hrvoje Butković u izlaganju »Rad putem online platformi u Hrvatskoj: raj ili pakao za strane radnike?« otvorio je pitanje zakonodavnih i drugih prilagodbi koje su nužne u području rada putem *online* platformi koji posljednjih godina nezaustavljivo raste, te prepoznao puno neprijavljenog i rada u sivoj zoni, što sve radnike, a naročito strance, čini osjetljivom skupinom na tržištu rada. Danijel Bačan analizirao je različite aspekte utjecaja europske migracijske krize na hrvatsko-slovensko-mađarsko pogranično područje.

Drugi dan konferencije započeo je sedmom sesijom Iseljavanje iz Jugoistočne Europe i postmigracijska iskustva, koja je okupila pet izlaganja. Autorski tim Krešimir Peračković, Geran-Marko Miletić i Mateo Žanić izložio je rad »Zašto mladi (ne)ostaju u Hrvatskoj? – Istraživanje stavova o koristima i troškovima odlaska i ostanka«. Prikazali su rezultate anketnog istraživanja među učenicima trećih i četvrtih razreda srednjih škola na području Vukovarsko-srijemske županije koji su pokazali da ih čak trećina planira svakako se iseliti, a najvažniji su motivi veće plaće i teškoća pronalaženja adekvatnog zaposlenja nakon školovanja. Domagoj Dalbello, Ivan Majstorić i Dominik Pavković iz Svjetskog saveza mladih Hrvatska predstavili su dio rezultata istraživanja »Motivacija mladih za migracijom i zasnivanjem obitelji«

provedenog 2021. koje je pokazalo da mladi koji češće glasuju na izborima i aktivniji su u civilnom društvu i vjerskoj zajednici, žele više djece te imaju manju želju za iseljavanjem. Niže zadovoljstvo poslom i rad u privatnom sektoru su povezani sa većom motivacijom za iseljavanjem. Josip Ježovita, Mateja Plenković i Matea Škomrlj predstavili su rezultate istraživanja na temu hrvatskog iseljavanja kao pokretača razvoja u Hrvatskoj obavljenih u okviru znanstveno-stručnog projekta »zaJEDNO srce, jedna duša, jedna HRVATSKA«. Marijan Vinogradac, Marija Nikić i Valentina Pavlović Vinogradac u izlaganju »Karijerna adaptabilnost hrvatskih iseljenika u europskim državama: sličnosti i razlike« iznijeli su rezultate istraživanja koje je provedeno metodom *online* ankete na uzorku od 394 hrvatska iseljenika koja žive u šest europskih država. Rezultati istraživanja upućuju na razlike u karijernoj adaptabilnosti s obzirom na pojedine karakteristike hrvatskih iseljenika. Milica Langović, Danica Šantić, Biljana Apostolovska Toshevska, Mirjanka Madjević i Marija Ljakoska govorile su o migracijskim planovima studenata Geografskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu i studenata Geografskog instituta Univerziteta svetog Ćirila i Metodija u Skoplju, s naglaskom na isticanje poticajnih čimbenika ostanka, te zaključile prijedlogom mjera migracijske politike.

U osmoj sesiji Migracije i mediji održane su četiri prezentacije. Omar Sayfo raspravljao je o ulozi društvenih mreža u aktivnostima vezanim uz neregularne migracije. Krno Kardov, Helena Popović i Drago Župarić-Ilić prezentirali su rezultate istraživanja reprezentacija migranata u hrvatskim medijima tijekom 2018. i 2019., s posebnim fokusom na reprezentacije izbjeglica. Rezultati kvalitativne analize sadržaja pokazuju da se u ovom razdoblju o migrantima primarno izvještavalo

unutar teme sigurnosti i politike, nakon čega slijede teme međunarodnih odnosa, migrantske rute, integracije te druge manje zastupljene teme. Viktorija Kudra Beroš i Sanja Klempić Bogadi u izlaganju su propitivale strukturiranje »mita o povratku i domovini« u hrvatskome javnom i političkom prostoru kao ideološke fantazme koje strukturiraju realnost i antagonizme u imaginiranju budućnosti, ne iz perspektive dijaspore/iseljeništva, već i iz perspektive »domovine«. Velimir Veselinović analizirao je političko djelovanje pravaških stranaka koje pripadaju radikalnoj desnici tijekom migracijske krize 2015. u hrvatskome političkom životu. Osvrnuo se na njihovu kritiku vladajuće elite, koja nije u stanju riješiti probleme nastale usporedno s globalizacijom, a u maniri populizma sebe proglašava jedinim predstavnikom naroda.

Deveta sesija nosila je naziv Migracije i pandemija bolesti COVID-19. Danica Šantić, Marija Antić, Milica Langović i Natalija Perišić govorile su o promjenama migracijskih trendova u Srbiji od 2020. s fokusom na povratnike i neregularne migrante tijekom pandemije bolesti COVID-19. Ana Kršinić izložila je promjene u proceduri traženja azila kroz uporabu različitih tehnologija koje su se dogodile tijekom najintenzivnijeg razdoblja pandemije u državama članicama EU-a. Vlasta Kokotović Kanazir, Marija Drobňaković i Milena Panić analizirale su kako je pandemija bolesti COVID-19 utjecala na unutarnje migracije u Srbiji. Nermin Oruč problematizirao je temu emigracije visokoobrazovanih i utjecaj na lokalni razvoj na primjeru Bosne i Hercegovine.

Posljednja sesija na konferenciji bavila se temom migracijskih, integracijskih i azilnih politika. Senada Šelo Šabić u izlaganju »Kakvu zemlju želimo? Migracijska politika kao doprinos razvoju Hrvatske« osvrnula se na temu migracijske politike

u Hrvatskoj u razdoblju od ulaska Hrvatske u Europsku uniju 2013. do danas, 2022. Zaključivši da sveobuhvatna migracijska politika Hrvatske ne postoji, analizirala je razloge zašto je to tako i predložila određena rješenja. Árpád Párducz govorio je o sigurnosti granica iz mađarske perspektive, objašnjavajući političku i pravnu poziciju Mađarske prema neregularnim migracijama. Posljednje izlaganje na konferenciji »The Vicious Circle of Migration Policy Planning in the Republic of Serbia«, autora Natalije Perišić i Dejana Pavlovića s Fakulteta političkih nauka Univerziteta u Beogradu, problematiziralo je pitanje migracijske politike Srbije.

Konferencija je okupila znanstvenike iz Hrvatske, Slovenije, Mađarske, Srbije, Bosne i Hercegovine i Sjeverne Makedonije, gotovo iz svih institucija na ovom području koje se bave temom migracija. Izlaganja su bila na hrvatskom, srpskom, bosanskom i engleskom jeziku. Kroz zanimljive prezentacije i dinamične diskusije sudionici su raspravljali o promjeni migracijskih obrazaca na području Jugoistočne Europe, utjecaju pandemije bolesti COVID-19 na migracije, postmigracijskim procesima, kao i o izazovima koji očekuju ove zemlje u vrlo skoroj budućnosti, te na taj način doprinijeli daljnjem razvoju migracijskih istraživanja na području Jugoistočne Europe.

Sanja Klempić Bogadi 

Department for Migration and Demographic Research, Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies, Zagreb, Croatia

Correspondence:

Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies, Trg Stjepana Radića 3, 10000 Zagreb, Croatia

Email:

sanja.klempic@imin.hr

Statistički prilog

Statistical annex

Mortality in Serbia due to the COVID-19 pandemic

Overview of basic mortality data for 2020 and 2021

The coronavirus disease (COVID-19) is an infectious disease caused by the newly discovered coronavirus, SARS-CoV-2. The coronavirus pandemic was declared on 11 March 2020 by the World Health Organization (WHO), and by the end of that month, around 50,000 individuals around the world had died from COVID-19. The curve of infected and dead then began to rise significantly, especially in Europe. In Serbia over the past seven decades (since the end of World War II), there has been no annual increase in mortality as great as that recorded in 2020 and especially in 2021. Mortality increased by 14% in 2020 and as much as 34% in 2021 compared to the average mortality from 2017 to 2019. Monthly balance sheets show that during the two years of the pandemic there were record high death tolls. Particularly large deviations were recorded in December 2020 (when the number of deaths almost doubled compared to the 2017–2019 average) and October 2021 (when the number of deaths increased by 85%). The absolute highest number

of COVID-19 deaths was recorded in October 2021 (5,277 deaths).

Males in Serbia have higher mortality rates due to COVID-19 than females. During the first year of the pandemic, the relative difference was as high as 78%, while in the second year of the pandemic, the relative difference was significantly lower at around 21%. Data by age shows that the elderly population (65+) is more burdened by mortality due to COVID-19 and that young people and children (0–19) are much less affected. In the male population, the highest number of deaths was in the 70–74 age group for both years, while in the female population, the highest number of deaths was in the 70–74 age group in 2020 and in the 80–84 age group in 2021.

The statistical annex was prepared based on final mortality data in 2020 and 2021 published by the Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia (SORS 2020, 2021), and data from the SORS' detailed database on deaths by cause of death obtained by official request.

Table 1. Total deaths and deaths due to COVID-19 per month in Serbia

Months	Total deaths			COVID-19 deaths	
	2017–2019	2020	2021	2020	2021
I	10,919	9,886	12,538	0	2,619
II	9,448	9,205	10,085	0	1,670
III	9,230	9,050	12,767	75	3,316
IV	8,338	8,710	12,584	597	3,528
V	8,125	7,943	9,977	178	1,452
VI	7,765	8,222	8,918	177	329
VII	7,830	9,959	8,452	1,212	112
VIII	7,888	8,626	8,379	640	401
IX	7,390	7,646	11,756	163	2,748
X	8,471	8,580	15,653	168	5,277
XI	8,162	11,914	13,808	2,121	4,185
XII	8,713	17,109	11,705	5,025	2,105
SUM	102,278	116,850	136,622	10,356	27,742

Note: The average values are calculated from 2017 to 2019.

Table 2. Deaths due to COVID-19 by sex and age in Serbia in 2020 and 2021

Age group	2020			2021		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Total	10,356	6,629	3,727	27,742	15,218	12,524
0	2	1	1	3	0	3
1–4	2	0	2	0	0	0
5–9	0	0	0	1	1	0
10–14	0	0	0	1	1	0
15–19	1	1	0	9	5	4
20–24	10	6	4	19	12	7
25–29	24	11	13	32	19	13
30–34	20	12	8	76	52	24
35–39	60	48	12	157	105	52
40–44	123	96	27	266	197	69
45–49	198	148	50	472	342	130
50–54	348	259	89	746	483	263
55–59	591	427	164	1,215	793	422
60–64	979	697	282	2,159	1,309	850
65–69	1,664	1,177	487	3,969	2,337	1,632
70–74	1,921	1,226	695	5,061	2,850	2,211
75–79	1,548	922	626	4,356	2,246	2,110
80–84	1,590	906	684	4,939	2,438	2,501
85 +	1,271	690	581	4,259	2,027	2,232
Unknown	4	2	2	2	1	1

Smrtnost u Srbiji usled pandemije COVID-19

Pregled osnovnih podataka o mortalitetu za 2020. i 2021. godinu

Koronavirusna bolest ili COVID-19 je zarazna bolest koju uzrokuje novootkriveni koronavirus SARS-CoV-2. Pandemiju virusa korona proglasila je Svetska zdravstvena organizacija 11. marta 2020. godine (SZO) i do kraja samo tog meseca umrlo je sa dijagnozom COVID-19 oko 50 hiljada lica širom sveta. Kriva zaraženih i umrlih tada počinje značajno da raste, naročito u Evropi. Na teritoriji Srbije u poslednjih 7 decenija (od kraja Drugog svetskog rata) nije bilo takvog godišnjeg rasta smrtnosti kakav je zabeležen 2020. i naročito 2021. godine. U odnosu na očekivane i ranije podatke o smrtnosti, vrednosti su, u odnosu na prosek 2017–2019, povećane za 14% tokom 2020. odnosno čak 34% u 2021. godini. Bilansi po mesecima pokazuju da su tokom dve godine pandemije uspostavljeni rekordno visoki brojevi umrlih, a naročito velika odstupanja su evidentirana u decembru 2020. (kada je gotovo dupliran broj umrlih u odnosu na prosek

2017–2019) i oktobru 2021. godine (povećana smrtnost za 85%). Apsolutno najveći broj umrlih od COVID-19 zabeležen je u oktobru 2021. godine (5.277 umrlih lica).

Posmatrano po polu, muškarci u Srbiji imaju višu smrtnost usled bolesti COVID-19 od žena. U prvoj godini pandemije relativna razlika je čak 78%, dok je u drugoj znatno niža i iznosi oko 21%. Podaci po starosti pokazuju da je staro stanovništvo (65+) više opterećeno smrtnošću od ovog uzroka, kao i da mladi i deca (0–19) beleže niske vrednosti. Kod muške populacije najveći broj umrlih je u starosti 70–74 za obe posmatrane godine, dok je u ženskoj 2020. grupa 70–74, a 2021. stari 80–84 godine.

Statistički prilog je pripremljen na osnovu konačnih podataka o smrtnosti tokom 2020. i 2021. godine koje je objavio Republički zavod za statistiku (RZS) (SORS 2020, 2021) i podataka iz detaljne baze podataka RZS-a o umrlim po uzroku smrti dobijenih na službeni zahtev.

Tabela 1. Ukupno umrli i umrli od bolesti COVID-19 po mesecima u Srbiji

Meseci	Ukupno umrli			Umrli od COVID-19	
	2017–2019.	2020.	2021.	2020.	2021.
I	10.919	9.886	12.538	0	2.619
II	9.448	9.205	10.085	0	1.670
III	9.230	9.050	12.767	75	3.316
IV	8.338	8.710	12.584	597	3.528
V	8.125	7.943	9.977	178	1.452
VI	7.765	8.222	8.918	177	329
VII	7.830	9.959	8.452	1.212	112
VIII	7.888	8.626	8.379	640	401
IX	7.390	7.646	11.756	163	2.748
X	8.471	8.580	15.653	168	5.277
XI	8.162	11.914	13.808	2.121	4.185
XII	8.713	17.109	11.705	5.025	2.105
SUM	102.278	116.850	136.622	10.356	27.742

Napomena: Izračunate su prosečne vrednosti za period 2017–2019. godine.

Tabela 2. Umrli od bolesti COVID-19 prema polu i starosti, Srbija, 2020. i 2021. godina

	2020.			2021.		
	Ukupno	Muško	Žensko	Ukupno	Muško	Žensko
Total	10.356	6629	3727	27.742	15.218	12.524
0	2	1	1	3	0	3
1-4	2	0	2	0	0	0
5-9	0	0	0	1	1	0
10-14	0	0	0	1	1	0
15-19	1	1	0	9	5	4
20-24	10	6	4	19	12	7
25-29	24	11	13	32	19	13
30-34	20	12	8	76	52	24
35-39	60	48	12	157	105	52
40-44	123	96	27	266	197	69
45-49	198	148	50	472	342	130
50-54	348	259	89	746	483	263
55-59	591	427	164	1.215	793	422
60-64	979	697	282	2.159	1.309	850
65-69	1.664	1.177	487	3.969	2.337	1.632
70-74	1.921	1.226	695	5.061	2.850	2.211
75-79	1.548	922	626	4.356	2.246	2.110
80-84	1.590	906	684	4.939	2.438	2.501
85 +	1.271	690	581	4.259	2.027	2.232
Nepoznato	4	2	2	2	1	1

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Ivan Marinković¹ 

Ana Tramošljanin² 

¹ *Centre for Demographic Research,
Institute of Social Sciences, Belgrade, Serbia*

² *Stockholm University Demography Unit,
Department of Sociology, Stockholm University,
Stockholm, Sweden*

Correspondence:

Ivan Marinković, Institute of Social Sciences,
Kraljice Natalije 45, 11000 Belgrade, Serbia

Email:

imarinkovic.pa@gmail.com

Autori u ovoj svesci

GVOZDANOVIĆ, dr Anja	Viši naučni saradnik Institut za društvena istraživanja u Zagrebu, Zagreb anja@idi.hr
IGNJATOVIĆ, dr Suzana	Viši naučni saradnik Centar za sociološka i antropološka istraživanja, Institut društvenih nauka, Beograd signjatovic@idn.org.rs
KLEMPIĆ BOGADI, dr Sanja	Naučni savetnik Znanstveni odsjek za migracijska i demografska istraživanja, Institut za migracije i narodnosti, Zagreb sanja.klempic@imin.hr
MARINKOVIĆ, dr Ivan	Viši naučni saradnik Centar za demografska istraživanja, Institut društvenih nauka, Beograd imarinkovic.pa@gmail.com
MENTUS, dr Vladimir	Naučni saradnik Centar za sociološka i antropološka istraživanja, Institut društvenih nauka, Beograd vmentus@idn.org.rs
MITROVIĆ, dr Katarina	Naučni saradnik Etnografski institut SANU, Beograd katarina.mitrovic@ei.sanu.ac.rs
MITROVIĆ, dr Veselin	Viši naučni saradnik Centar za sociološka i antropološka istraživanja, Institut društvenih nauka, Beograd mitrove@gmail.com
OGNJENOVIĆ, dr Kosovka	Naučni saradnik Institut ekonomskih nauka, Beograd kosovka.ognjenovic@ien.bg.ac.rs
PAVLOVIĆ, dr Zoran	Redovni profesor Odeljenje za psihologiju, Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu, Beograd zoran.pavlovic@f.bg.ac.rs
STANOJEVIĆ, dr Dragan	Docent Odeljenje za sociologiju, Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu, Beograd draganstanojevich@gmail.com
ŠOBOT, dr Ankica	Naučni saradnik Centar za demografska istraživanja, Institut društvenih nauka, Beograd ankica.sobot@gmail.com
TOMANOVIĆ, dr Smiljka	Redovni profesor Odeljenje za sociologiju, Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu, Beograd smiljka.tomanovic@gmail.com
TRAMOŠLJANIN, Ana	Master student Odeljenje Demografije Univerziteta u Stokholmu, Sociološki fakultet, Univerzitet u Stokholmu, Stokholm ana.tramosljanin@hotmail.com

Authors for this issue

GVOZDANOVIĆ, PhD Anja	Senior Research Associate Institute for Social Research in Zagreb, Zagreb (Croatia) anja@idi.hr
IGNJATOVIĆ, PhD Suzana	Senior Research Associate Centre for Sociological and Anthropological Research, Institute of Social Sciences, Belgrade (Serbia) signjatovic@idn.org.rs
KLEMPIĆ BOGADI, PhD Sanja	Principal Research Fellow Department for Migration and Demographic Research, Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies, Zagreb (Croatia) sanja.klempic@imin.hr
MARINKOVIĆ, PhD Ivan	Senior Research Associate Centre for Demographic Research, Institute of Social Sciences, Belgrade (Serbia) imarinkovic.pa@gmail.com
MENTUS, PhD Vladimir	Research Associate Centre for Sociological and Anthropological Research, Institute of Social Sciences, Belgrade (Serbia) vmentus@idn.org.rs
MITROVIĆ, PhD Katarina	Research Associate Institute of Ethnography SASA, Belgrade (Serbia) katarina.mitrovic@ei.sanu.ac.rs
MITROVIĆ, PhD Veselin	Senior Research Associate Centre for Sociological and Anthropological Research, Institute of Social Sciences, Belgrade (Serbia) mitrove@gmail.com
OGNJENOVIĆ, PhD Kosovka	Research Associate Institute of Economic Sciences, Belgrade (Serbia) kosovka.ognjenovic@ien.bg.ac.rs
PAVLOVIĆ, PhD Zoran	Full Professor Department of Psychology, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade, Belgrade (Serbia) zoran.pavlovic@f.bg.ac.rs
STANOJEVIĆ, PhD Dragan	Assistant Professor Department of Sociology, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade, Belgrade (Serbia) draganstanojevich@gmail.com
ŠOBOT, PhD Ankica	Research Associate Centre for Demographic Research, Institute of Social Sciences, Belgrade (Serbia) ankica.sobot@gmail.com
TOMANOVIĆ, PhD Smiljka	Full Professor Department of Sociology, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade, Belgrade (Serbia) smiljka.tomanovic@gmail.com
TRAMOŠLJANIN, Ana	Master's student Stockholm University Demography Unit, Department of Sociology, Stockholm University, Stockholm (Sweden) ana.tramosljanin@hotmail.com

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Grafikoni, kartogrami, slike, crteži i druge ilustracije treba da budu **dostavljeni i kao posebne datoteke** u PDF vektorskom formatu (nezavisan od rezolucije). 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.pdf).

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, levo ravnanje). 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 članak nije na engleskom, obavezno treba dostaviti i engleske verzije svih tabela i grafičkih priloga** (naslove i napomene navesti u odgovarajućim poljima prilikom podnošenja tabela i grafikona na web platformi časopisa).

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