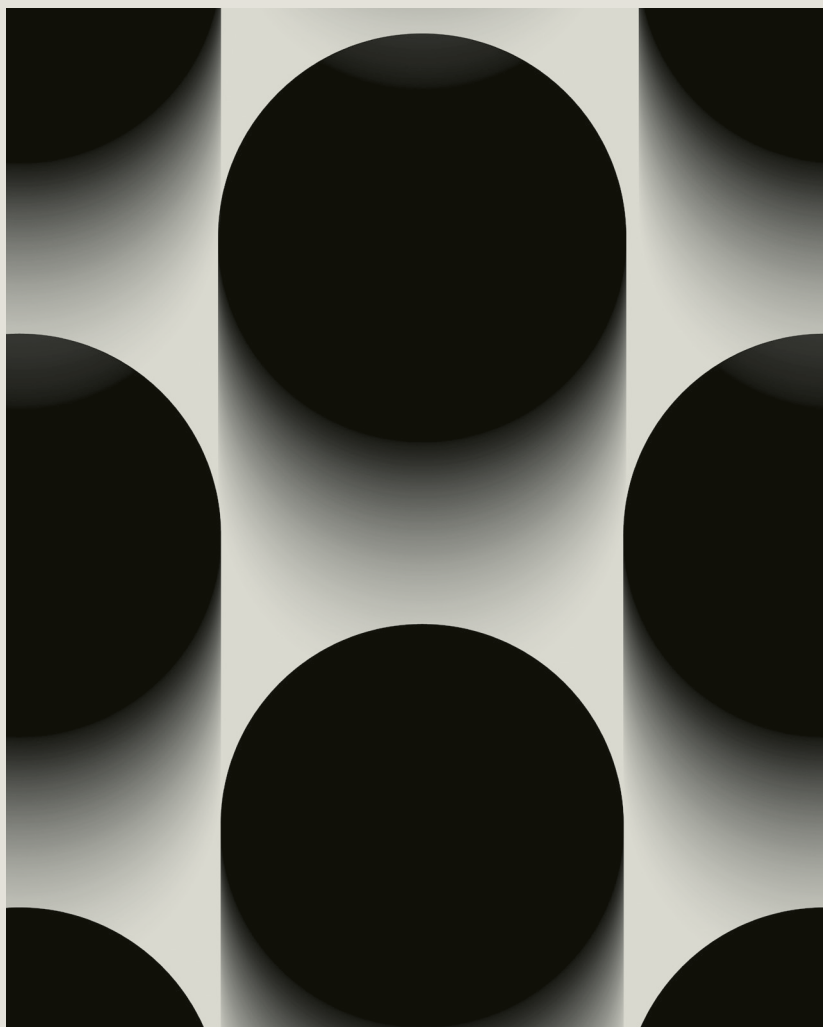


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IN MEMORIAM

Branislav S. Đurđev

(1950–2025)

*Profesor Branislav S. Đurđev, Univerzitet u Novom Sadu,
Prirodno-matematički fakultet; Prvi predsednik Društva demografa Srbije*

„Ima li ičeg što nije demografija?“
(ZMSDN, B. Đurđev)

Sa dubokim poštovanjem i iskrenom tugom, akademska zajednica Univerziteta u Novom Sadu, Društvo demografa Srbije, kao i brojni saradnici i prijatelji, oprostili su se od prof. dr Branislava S. Đurđeva, istaknutog demografa, geografa, dugogodišnjeg univerzitetskog profesora i jednog od najznačajnijih istraživača demografskih procesa u Srbiji i regionu. Njegov naučni doprinos, pedagoški rad i intelektualno nasleđe ostavili su dubok trag u razvoju savremene demografije.

Profesor dr Branislav S. Đurđev rođen je 1950. godine u Baču. Osnovne studije geografije završio je 1974. godine na Prirodno-matematičkom fakultetu Univerziteta u Novom Sadu, gde je i magistrirao 1979. i doktorirao 1986. Na kalifornijskom univerzitetu Berkli stekao je drugu magistarsku diplomu u oblasti demografije (1987), a po jedan semestar proveo je na moskovskom državnom univerzitetu, gde je izučavao ulogu stanovništva u planiranju razvoja, dok je na Katoličkom univerzitetu Leuven u Belgiji izučavao migracije. Nakon povratka sa Berklija započinje dugogodišnju, plodonosnu karijeru univerzitetskog profesora, is-

traživača i jednog od vodećih demografa u Srbiji. Na Prirodno-matematičkom fakultetu Univerziteta u Novom Sadu je 1989. godine izabran za docenta, 1994. biran je u vanrednog profesora, a 1999. u redovnog profesora.

Naučni rad profesora Đurđeva obuhvatao je širok spektar tema u oblasti demografije i geografije stanovništva. U zemlji i inostranstvu objavio je oko dve stotine naučnih i stručnih radova, četiri udžbenika i nekoliko monografija. Poseban doprinos dao je u proučavanju regionalnih demografskih dispariteta u Srbiji, demografskog razvoja Vojvodine, migracija i izbegličkih kretanja, strukture domaćinstava i istorijskih porodičnih obrazaca, starenja stanovništva i metodologije demografskih istraživanja. Proučavajući regionalne aspekte demografskih promena, posebno mesto u njegovom opusu zauzimaju istraživanja regionalnih razlika u Srbiji, u kojima je ukazivao na dugoročne posledice depopulacije, diferencijacije fertiliteta i migracione tokove. Njegovi radovi o demografskom razvoju Srbije i Vojvodine, uključujući analize regionalnih

polarizacija, ostaju nezaobilazni u razumevanju savremenih populacionih procesa. Profesor Đurđev je među prvima jasno artikulisao posledice razuđenog regionalnog razvoja i ukazao na potrebu za integralnim populacionim politikama. Migraciona istraživanja, uključujući istorijske tokove, postratna izbeglička pomeranja i unutrašnje migracije u Vojvodini, predstavljaju jedan od centralnih stubova njegovog naučnog rada. Profesor Đurđev je posmatrao migracije ne samo kao statističku pojavu, već kao fenomen koji oblikuje lokalne zajednice, etničku strukturu i razvojne perspektive čitavih regiona u zemlji.

Njegov rad o tradicionalnoj zadruzi, porodičnim strukturama i razvoju domaćinstava u Vojvodini povezao je istorijske izvore (deftere, domovne protokole, matične knjige) sa savremenim demografskim metodama. Ova istraživanja, često pionirska u domaćem kontekstu, dala su duboku sliku društvenih i demografskih obrazaca u multietničkom i kulturno bogatom prostoru Vojvodine.

Analize starenja stanovništva, demografskih projekcija i posledica niskog fertiliteta bile su važne teme njegovog delovanja u poslednjim decenijama. Učestvovao je u izradi više razvojnih strategija i stručnih dokumenata, na nivou AP Vojvodine i Republike Srbije, naglašavajući potrebu da se demografska perspektiva uključi u šire javne politike.

Profesor Đurđev je tokom čitave karijere insistirao na metodološkoj preciznosti. Posebno je ukazivao na nedostatke u dostupnim demografskim podacima u Srbiji, nužnost harmonizacije izvora i potrebu za formiranjem registra stanovništva.

Profesor Đurđev je kroz višedecenijski rad bio stub obrazovanja u oblasti demografije na Univerzitetu u Novom Sadu. Predavao je brojne ključne pred-

mete, uključujući Geografiju stanovništva, Demografske modele, Istorijsku demografiju, Populacionu politiku i planiranje porodice, Uvod u naučni rad i Metodologiju naučno-istraživačkog rada. Njegovi studenti pamte ga kao strogog, ali pravednog i posvećenog pedagoga, koji je umeo da podstakne kritičko mišljenje i istraživački duh. Tokom svoje karijere bio je mentor više od 150 završnih, master i doktorskih radova. Mnogi njegovi studenti danas su uspešni naučnici, istraživači i stručnjaci u zemlji i inostranstvu, što predstavlja najlepši dokaz njegovog pedagoškog nasleđa.

Pored temeljnog i pronicljivog naučno-istraživačkog rada, profesor Đurđev je bio sekretar i glavni urednik časopisa „Agroekonomika“ (1980–1990) Instituta za ekonomiku poljoprivrede i sociologiju sela, član uredništva „Zbornika radova Instituta za geografiju“, sekretar i član uredništva „Zbornika Matice srpske za društvene nauke“, glavni urednik međunarodnog časopisa „Geographica Pannonica“ (1996–2005), član stručne redakcije Srpske enciklopedije i izdavačkog saveta časopisa „Stanovništvo“. Uređivao je pet tematskih Zbornika Matice srpske za društvene nauke (brojeve 102–103, 110–111, 121, 131 i 148).

Svoj stručni doprinos dao je i kroz brojna društvena i profesionalna angažovanja. Bio je sekretar Odeljenja društvenih nauka Matice srpske (1996–2004), član njenog upravnog odbora i član Odeljenja za društvene nauke. Bio je dugogodišnji šef katedre za društvenu geografiju na Departmana za geografiju, turizam i hotelijerstvo Prirodno-matematičkog fakulteta Univerziteta u Novom Sadu (2001–2012) i prorektor za nauku i međunarodnu saradnju Univerziteta u Novom Sadu (2006–2009). Od 2012. do 2015. godine bio je direktor Departmana za geografiju, turizam i hotelijerstvo

Prirodno-matematičkog fakulteta Univerziteta u Novom Sadu.

Kao jedan od vodećih demografa, bio je predsednik Društva demografa Jugoslavije i prvi predsednik Društva demografa Srbije (1992–2011). Bio je član i više naučnih tela i udruženja kao što su Odbor za proučavanje stanovništva Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti, Srpsko geografsko društvo, Populaciona asocijacija Amerike, Evropska asocijacija za populacione studije i Statističko društvo Vojvodine.

Profesor Đurđev bio je entuzijastičan, posvećen i intelektualno strog naučnik, koga su karakterisali najviši standardi ličnog i profesionalnog integriteta. Bio je jedan od pionira u jačanju međunarodne saradnje na Univerzitetu u Novom Sadu. Uspostavio je dugoročnu međunarodnu naučnu saradnju segedinskog, temišvarskog i novosadskog univerziteta na proučavanju Banata, a što je rezultovalo sa nekoliko monografija na tu temu, a nastavilo se kroz druge naučne aktivnosti. Aktivnostima koje je sprovodio tokom svog prorektorskog mandata doprineo je opštem naučnom radu i unapređenju međunarodne saradnje novosadskog univerziteta. U januaru 2007. godine u

Novom Sadu je organizovana prva svečana ceremonija za dodelu sertifikata u okviru Kampusa Evrope. Za vreme njegovog mandata na Univerzitetu u Novom Sadu otvoren je Centar za razvoj karijere i savetovanje mladih. Kao izraz zahvalnosti, u maju 2014. godine, od strane Zapadnog Univerziteta u Temišvaru, Fakulteta za hemiju, biologiju i geografiju, Departmana za geografiju, dodeljeno mu je svečano Priznanje za podsticaj, razvoj i unapređenje međunarodne saradnje između Univerziteta u Novom Sadu, Departmana za geografiju turizam i hotelijerstvo i Zapadnog Univerziteta u Temišvaru, Departmana za geografiju.

Odlazak profesora Đurđeva je tužan gubitak izuzetnog univerzitetskog profesora i naučnika, čiji je doprinos geografskoj i demografskoj zajednici nemerljiv. Ostavio je veliki trag i ne samo da će ga se svi koji su ga lično poznavali sećati sa zahvalnošću, već će ga kroz svoj naučni rad citirati i generacije geografa i demografa koje tek dolaze.

Profesor Daniela Arsenović

*Univerzitet u Novom Sadu
Prirodno-matematički fakultet*

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Guest editor's introduction

Uvodna reč gostujućeg urednika

Population, Gender Equality, and Public Policies: Current Issues and Proposed Solutions

The thematic section focuses on issues of gender equality from an interdisciplinary research perspective. Starting with the social importance of gender equality, the goal is to highlight this topic as a central theme of the public policies related to population phenomena, the position, and needs of the population. This idea is based on the interdisciplinarity of the knowledge about population, which also involves discussing the gender dimension as a significant socio-cultural determinant of social and population phenomena (Hobcraft 2007; Johanson-Hanks 2007). The aim was to gather papers that would provide scientific support for the view proposing that issues related to the social position of women and men, gender differences, and behavioural patterns are fundamentally important in the creation of public policies. The belief that social sciences can and should serve as a significant support in solving practical societal problems (Bašić 2022) further motivated the theme and focus of this thematic section. Authors of the articles in this thematic section, from their research perspectives, emphasize the important social issue in scientific discussions, focusing on potential directions for action.

The United Nations has set gender equality as one of the Sustainable Devel-

opment Goals defined by Agenda 2030. Although the establishment of institutional mechanisms began six decades ago (Mršević 2011), many issues have remained unregulated, and numerous problems still need to be addressed. The development of mechanisms for gender equality in Serbia started in the early 2000s, while the Law on Gender Equality from 2021 outlines the responsibilities for institutional organization and action (Pajvančić, Petrušić and Sedlarević 2023).

The political framework for promoting gender equality includes national strategies and action plans that outline each country's specific actions. Guided by the Strategy for 2020–2025, the European Commission adopted a set of directives that clearly outline actions to reduce the gender pay gap, combat abuse of women and domestic violence, promote gender balance in the economy, harmonize work and private life, and fight gender stereotypes in both public and private spheres (European Commission n.d.). Strategic documents were also adopted in Serbia. Based on the evaluation of the 2016–2020 Strategy, Babović and Vuković (2021) proposed recommendations to improve the process of strategic planning and its implementation, as well as to identify key topics, including the development of gender

studies, improving gender sensitivity of study programs, and raising awareness, while also highlighting the importance of following cultural norms. The goals and measures defined by the Strategy for the period 2021–2030 have been directed at these issues.

To develop efficient and effective policies, a comprehensive approach is necessary, including identifying all issues, understanding the impact of the factors that hinder progress, and continuously monitoring the impact of proposed measures. Gender mainstreaming is an internationally recognized strategy for achieving gender equality. It involves integrating a gender perspective into all social activities, from policy design to evaluation, to promote equality between women and men and combat discrimination (EIGE 2025). In this context, such an approach requires recognizing gender-specific needs and characteristics within a particular social environment, as well as the activities and needs of individuals in their everyday lives, taking into account their demographic and socio-economic backgrounds. Gendering of public policies is viewed as a strategic approach to reducing gender inequality in both the public and private sectors (Antonijević 2018).

The link between demography and gender permeates all aspects of population studies. The foundations for this approach in the Serbian scientific community were established decades ago within the triangle of demography, sociology, and social anthropology. Academician Miloš Macura described demography as a science with a clear anthropological character (Macura 1997). Žarana Papić defined gender perspective as a heuristic tool necessary for a comprehensive understanding of society and social phenomena (Papić

1989). Marina Blagojević introduced the gender aspect into research on parental practices and reproductive behaviour in Serbia (Blagojević 1997). In the 2000s, the implementation of the gender perspective in Serbia intensified, and contemporary demography is now positioned as a science that, due to its epistemological specificity, considers gender differences and gender roles as key factors in understanding demographic phenomena (Šobot 2014; Devedžić 2020; Šobot 2021). A notable contribution to this field is a Collection of papers published by the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SANU) and the Institute of Social Sciences, titled *Serbia: Gender, Politics, and Population*. This volume examines the gender aspect of parenting (Rašević 2020; Bobić and Vesković Anđelković 2020; Stanojević 2020), gender differences in life expectancy and quality of life (Gnjatović Stojilković 2020), the gender dimension of elderly poverty (Matković and Stanić 2020), and the gender aspect of migration (Lukić 2020), as well as the adverse effects of gender imbalances among populations of reproductive age, both at the local level and in urban-rural contexts (Nikitović 2020).

The peculiarity of the thematic section in this issue of the scientific journal *Stanovništvo* lies in its focus on gender equality as the central topic. After the review process, five papers were included. When determining their order, I was guided by a kind of “demographic logic”, taking into account the journal’s primary research focus and the topics of the articles that passed the review process.

Stability and quality of partnerships from the gender roles perspective are the subjects of empirical research, and the findings are presented in the article titled **“The Relationship Between**

Gender Equality in Household Labour, Marital Stability and Quality” by Jelena Šakotić-Kurbalija, Dragan Kurbalija, and Nikolina Kukulj. Through statistical analysis, the authors examined how satisfaction with the distribution of housework influences perceptions of marital quality. The research focuses on both women and men, observing their differences not only in activities, but also in satisfaction, as well as how the relationship is expressed. The authors highlight methodological directions for further research and simultaneously point out the possibilities for practical contributions by experts in psychology to develop a work program aimed at promoting gender equality within the partnership.

The involvement of fathers in raising children is the topic examined in the article titled **“Gender Balanced Parenting Support: Fathers’ Perceptions of Healthcare System Support”** by Ivana Mihić, Katarina Mašić, Miljana Marić Ognjenović, and Anja Žujović. Since this issue is important for both children’s development and family relationships, the authors explore fathers’ perceptions and experiences of the support they receive to realize the role of involved parents in caring for their children from birth. The focus is on the support provided by the healthcare system, which begins from the first days after the birth and continues through follow-up services. Additionally, the authors highlight examples of best practices from countries with more experience in various programs and identify obstacles and deficiencies. Addressing these issues requires not only interventions within the health system, but also broader activities and support.

In the article titled **“Barriers to Work-Family Balance in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Gender Implications”**,

Jelena Čeriman, Ljiljana Pantović, and Marija Radovanović explore the mismatch between legal regulations and real-life situations in a social context that is close to the neighbouring countries that share a similar cultural heritage and social development. In addition to discussing the institutional framework of key aspects of work-family balance, the authors base their analysis and conclusions on empirical research involving employed women with at least one child over the age of one. They focus on intra-regional and socio-demographic differences concerning professional status, family responsibilities, institutional support, and perceptions of discrimination in the workplace.

The employment of women and policies aimed at improving their economic status are the focus of the article titled **“Employment Policy Measures to Improve the Economic Opportunities of Women in Serbia”** by Kosovka Ognjenović. The author analyses the impact of the implemented measures on women’s position in the labour market through a descriptive approach. The emphasis is on gender differences based on recent labour market statistics, with education level considered a key factor. In addition, the author pays attention to the situation of young people in the labour market, including those aged 15–24 not involved in education, employment, or training (NEET), as well as to the examination of the gender pay gap as a separate aspect. Drawing on the policy analysis and statistical data, conclusions are made regarding the effectiveness of the strategic framework in enhancing women’s position in the labour market, the status of employed women, and gender equality in wages.

In the article titled **“Gender and Its Impact on Work Engagement and**

Research Productivity of University Teachers in Serbia", Ivana Simić, Biljana Đorđević, and Sandra Milanović Zbiljić explore gender differences among employees in higher education through empirical research. Using statistical methods, the authors examine hypotheses about potential differences in work engagement and productivity between female and male university teachers, reflecting gender norms, while also verifying the relationship between work engagement and productivity. The conclusions support gender equality in higher education and efforts to strengthen the capacity of the academic community, improving the position and effectiveness of university teachers for both women and men.

These papers address relevant aspects, each contributing to its respective topics. This thematic section demonstrates the readiness of one demographic journal to provide strong arguments and make gender equality a key part of public policies across various sectors. In light of the growing prevalence of negative narratives and the spread of anti-gender discourses worldwide, including in Serbia (Bobičić and Stojičić 2023), I consider it important for a scientific journal that addresses population and development issues to emphasize gender equality and contribute to advancing it through recommendations based on evidence. The research and discussions presented in the articles are grounded in scientific principles, which should encourage policymakers to take them into account. This represents a meaningful contribution by the authors.

Nonetheless, it is important to note that the original goal of this thematic section has not been fully achieved. The complexity and multidimensionality of gender equality, together with the interconnections between gender and various population and social phenomena, call for a broader range of topics and approaches. Greater integration of feminist discourse, gender and masculinity studies, and insights from critically oriented scientific research are needed to strengthen both the theoretical and practical contributions. Although the academic and scientific community recognize the importance of gender equality, improving cooperation, fostering joint research on a wider array of issues, and engaging in high-quality discussions are essential to support more effective policy solutions. Researchers should actively share knowledge and collaborate in identifying challenges and developing recommendations, thereby enhancing both the robustness of their arguments and the practical application of their scientific findings.

As the editor of this thematic section, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the authors for their valuable contributions, as well as to the reviewers for their constructive feedback. I also wish to thank all those who contributed, directly or indirectly, to the development process, from the initial idea and thematic conceptualization, all the way to the section's completion. Finally, my sincere thanks go to the Editorial Board of the Journal for the trust they invested in me and the opportunity they provided for this thematic section to be published.

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Ankica Šobot 

Institute of Social Sciences, Belgrade, Serbia

Correspondence:

Ankica Šobot, Institute of Social Sciences,
Belgrade, Kraljice Natalije 45,
11000 Belgrade, Serbia

Email:

asobot@idn.org.rs

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The Relationship Between Gender Equality in Household Labor, Marital Stability and Quality

Jelena Šakotić-Kurbalija ¹ Dragan Kurbalija ² Nikolina Kukulj ³

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

The main goal of this research was to examine how important the gender equality in the distribution of household labor is for marital stability and the perception of marital quality. The study included 498 couples from the Republic of Serbia who lived together for a period ranging from 6 months to 57 years and 6 months ($M = 14.02$, $SD = 11.85$). The data was collected during 2015 and 2016 as part of a broader research project. Both partners provided responses on the household labor workload, satisfaction with the division of housework, dimensions of marital quality (Dyadic consensus, Dyadic satisfaction, Affectional expression and Dyadic cohesion) and the degree of marital instability. Differences in the household labor workload between women and men were examined using a series of t-tests for dependent samples. The structure of differences between couples who perform housework equally and those in which one spouse mainly performs the majority of work in the degree of satisfaction with the division of housework, assessment of the marital quality and stability was examined using discriminant analysis. The results indicate that the traditional division of household labor is still present in our society and that women are more engaged in housework related to feeding and hygiene, while husbands are more engaged in repair work. Caring for the children, pets, garden and lawn, are household tasks that both spouses are equally engaged in. The results also indicate that an equal distribution of household labor is important for women's satisfaction with the division of housework, and also for the degree of dyadic cohesion and dyadic satisfaction of both spouses. Based on the results, we can assume the existence of different mechanisms that connect the division of household labor, satisfaction with the division of housework, and the quality and stability of the relationship in men and women. The factors that influence satisfaction with the division of household labor

¹Department of Psychology,
Faculty of Philosophy,
University of Novi Sad,
Serbia

²Agricultural High School
with Dormitory Futog,
Futog, Serbia

³Elementary School „Jovan
Sterija Popović“, Vršac,
Serbia

Correspondence:

Jelena Šakotić-Kurbalija,
Faculty of Philosophy,
University of Novi Sad,
Department of Psychology,
Dr Zorana Đinđića 2, 21000
Novi Sad, Serbia

Email:

jelenasakotickurbalija@
ff.uns.ac.rs

in men should be further investigated, since they are not determined by the spouse's actual engagement in the housework.

KEYWORDS

gender equality, marriage, marital stability, marital satisfaction, marital quality

Povezanost rodne ravnopravnosti u kućnim poslovima, stabilnosti i kvaliteta bračnog odnosa

SAŽETAK

Da bismo odgovorili na pitanje koliko je rodna ravnopravnost u raspodeli kućnih poslova značajna za bračni kvalitet i stabilnost, u okviru šireg istraživačkog projekta, tokom 2015. i 2016. godine ispitano je 498 parova sa prebivalištem u Republici Srbiji, koji su živeli zajedno od 6 meseci do 57 godina i 6 meseci ($AS = 14,02$; $SD = 11,85$). Od oba partnera prikupljeni su podaci o opterećenosti kućnim poslovima, zadovoljstvu raspodelom kućnih poslova, različitim dimenzijama kvaliteta braka i stepenu bračne nestabilnosti. Razlike u opterećenju kućnim poslovima između žena i muškaraca ispitane su serijom t-testova za zavisne uzorke, a struktura razlika u stepenu zadovoljstva raspodelom poslova, proceni kvaliteta i stabilnosti braka među parovima koji kućne poslove obavljaju ravnopravno i onih kod kojih većinu kućnih poslova uglavnom obavlja jedan od supružnika ispitana je diskriminativnom analizom. Rezultati ukazuju da je u našoj sredini još uvek aktuelna tradicionalna podela kućnih poslova i da su žene u većoj meri angažovane na kućnim poslovima vezanim za hranjenje i higijenu dok su muševci više angažovani oko poslova vezanih za popravke. Briga o okućnici, deci i kućnim ljubimcima predstavljaju kućne poslove oko kojih se oba supružnika angažuju podjednako. Takođe, rezultati ukazuju da je ravnopravna raspodela kućnih poslova važna za zadovoljstvo raspodelom poslova žena, stepen dijadne kohezije i dijadnog zadovoljstva oba supružnika.

KLJUČNE REČI

rodna ravnopravnost, brak, bračna stabilnost, bračno zadovoljstvo, bračni kvalitet

1 UVOD

Mada je Terman, sa svojim saradnicima (Terman i dr. 1938), još tridesetih godina prošlog veka ispitivao povezanost čitavog niza varijabli sa bračnim zadovoljstvom; bračni odnosi su privukli veću pažnju sociologa i psihologa tek od sedamdesetih godina prošlog veka. U to vreme su, u razvijenim zemljama Zapada i Severne Amerike, velike društveno-ekonomske promene, između ostalog, imale za posledicu odlaganje zasnivanja porodice i sve veći broj razvoda.

Emancipacija žena je podstakla tranziciju porodice od tradicionalnog ka egalitarnom načinu funkcionisanja. Dok je stari – tradicionalni model podrazumevao jasno razlikovanje bračnih uloga po polu, te je žena bila zadužena za kućne poslove i brigu o deci, a muškarac za materijalno zbrinjavanje porodice; novi – egalitarni model podrazumeva ravnopravnost među supružnicima, i to ravnopravnost po pitanju moći, odgovornosti, donošenja odluka i raspodele kućnih obaveza. Porast broja žena koje su zaposlene van kuće je neminovno uticao na porodičnu dinamiku i vodio ka preispitivanju raspodele obaveza i odgovornosti u domaćinstvu. Pošto žene koje imaju plaćeni posao provode manje vremena kod kuće, u odnosu na žene koje su domaćice, one od svojih partnera očekuju da se više uključe u kućne poslove, što može dovesti do čestih, pa i svakodневnih bračnih konflikata, ukoliko partneri nemaju ista uverenja po pitanju modela porodičnog funkcionisanja. U skladu s tim, žene koje doživljavaju podelu posla u kući kao nepravednu izveštavaju o češćim bračnim konfliktima (Kluwer, Heesink i Van de Vliert 1996, prema Lavee i Katz 2002).

Kako različita istraživanja pokazuju (Coltrane 2000; Bartley i dr. 2005; Carlson i dr. 2016; Carlson, Miller i Sassler

2018) podela kućnih poslova se pokazala značajnom za kvalitet bračnog odnosa. Pri tom je, pored broja sati provedenih u kućnim poslovima, značajna i vrsta poslova koji se obavljaju (Ruppanner 2008). Naime, istraživački nalazi govore da je doživljaj nepravednosti i nejednakosti, i kod žena i kod muškaraca, povezan sa vremenom provedenim u poslovima s niskom mogućnošću kontrole (poslovima koji se ne mogu odlagati, jer se njima zadovoljavaju potrebe drugih ukućana, a koji se tradicionalno smatraju ženskim poslovima); dok je postizanje pravednosti u podeli ovih poslova bilo više povezano sa zadovoljstvom kod žena, nego kod muškaraca (Bartley i dr. 2005; Rogers i Amato 2000).

Rezultati istraživanja, sprovedenih kako u inostranstvu (Coltrane 2000; Bartley i dr. 2005), tako i u našoj sredini (Petrović i dr. 2009) i regionu (Bartolac i Kamenov 2013; Kamenov i dr. 2007), ukazuju da žene, pored bračne i profesionalne uloge, i dalje imaju najveći deo odgovornosti za brigu o deci i za obavljanje svakodневnih rutinskih ili tradicionalno ženskih poslova u domaćinstvu. Pri tom, napor koji se svakodnevno ulaže u kućne aktivnosti koje se odnose na brigu o drugima obično nije vidljiv onima koji od njega imaju koristi (Coltrane i Shih 2010), prosto se podrazumeva da je tako – da se jelo dobija na vreme, da je odeća čista i opeglana...; ukratko: da ima svega što je potrebno u vreme kada je potrebno. Neka istraživanja (Barnett 2004; Bartley i dr. 2005; Blair i Johnson 1992) utvrđuju da, zbog toga što se tim kućnim poslovima i dalje najčešće pristupa kao „ženskim“, žene ispoljavaju veći nivo psihološkog stresa, depresije i anksioznosti, u odnosu na muškarce.

U nedavno objavljenoj američkoj studiji (Milkie i dr. 2025), analizirani su podaci prikupljeni od 2003. do 2023.

u okviru Američke studije korišćenja vremena (American Time Use Survey – ATUS). Nalazi govore da su tokom 2003–04. godine žene radile 40% više rutinskih kućnih poslova vezanih za pranje i spremanje od svojih muževa (4,2:1), a da se ta nesrazmernost smanjila na 2,5:1 tokom 2022–23. godine. Rezultati iste studije ukazuju i na smanjenje razlika u opterećenju supružnika brigom o deci od 2:1 iz 2003–04. godine do 1,8:1 iz 2022–23. godine, ali te razlike nisu bile statistički značajne. Autori navode i nalaz da je tokom prethodne dve decenije (između 2003. i 2023. godine) ukupno nedeljno vreme provedeno u kućnim poslovima kod udatih žena značajno smanjeno – za oko jedan sat, a kod udatih žena sa decom za oko 1,5 sat, uz privremeno povećanje samo tokom pandemije COVID-19 (2020. i 2021. godine). Nasuprot tome, ukupno vreme provedeno u kućnim poslovima kod oženjenih muškaraca, bez obzira na to da li su imali decu, ostalo je uglavnom nepromenjeno (značajno se bilo povećalo samo za oko jedan sat neposredno nakon izbijanja pandemije). S obzirom na to da promene u vremenu provedenom u obavljanju kućnih poslova muškaraca i žena nisu bile drastične, te da je smanjenje razlike u angažovanju između polova bilo statistički značajno, ali relativno malo, autori smatraju da se može tvrditi da je rodna konvergencija u vremenu provedenom u kućnim poslovima zastavljena (Milkie i dr. 2025).

Sa druge strane, koristeći podatke iz Nacionalne studije porodica i domaćinstava, iz 1992–94, i podatke iz Istraživanja braka i veza (Marital and Relationship Survey) iz 2006, Carlson (2022) ističe da razumevanje „zaustavljene rodne revolucije“ zahteva razumevanje toga kako je raspodela kućnih poslova supružnika povezana sa njihovim

procenama kvaliteta veze. Ovaj autor navodi da uobičajeni pristupi merenju podele kućnih poslova ne uzimaju u obzir način na koji parovi obavljaju kućne poslove. Zato rekonceptualizuje stepen rodne ravnopravnosti u podeli rutinskih kućnih poslova kao broj zadataka koje partneri rade zajedno i upoređuje ovu meru sa konvencionalnom merom udela muškarca u ukupnim kućnim poslovima. Carlson zaključuje da je ukupni udeo muškaraca u kućnim poslovima pozitivno povezan sa procenom kvaliteta odnosa od strane žena, a negativno sa procenom kvaliteta odnosa od strane muškaraca. Međutim, nalazi istovremeno ukazuju da su najkorisniji egalitarni aranžmani (u kojima partneri podjednako učestvuju u obavljanju kućnih poslova), u smislu da su povezani sa najvećim nivoom kvaliteta odnosa i za muškarce i za žene (Carlson 2022).

U istraživanju kvaliteta i stabilnosti bračnog odnosa u funkciji raspodele kućnih poslova, finansijskih ulaganja i donošenja odluka, Kamenov i saradnice su zaključile da je u većini porodica u Hrvatskoj podela kućnih poslova i dalje tradicionalna, pa žene, i kada su nezadovoljne, ne razmišljaju o razvodu ili prekidu kohabitacije, jer ne očekuju da će im biti bolje u nekoj drugoj vezi. Autorke su ustanovile da se zadovoljstvo vezom i njenim kvalitetom najbolje može predvideti zadovoljstvom oba partnera njihovom ulogom u donošenju odluka, zatim zadovoljstvom žena podelom kućnih poslova i, na kraju, zadovoljstvom oba partnera raspodelom finansija. Pri tom, bračnoj nestabilnosti značajno doprinosi ako partneri nisu zadovoljni raspodelom donošenja odluka, muškarci podelom kućnih poslova, a žene podelom finansijskih ulaganja (Kamenov i dr. 2007).

Drugim istraživanjem iz Hrvatske (Bartolac i Kamenov 2013), u vezi raspo-

dele kućnih poslova, ustanovljeno je da se partneri slažu u proceni da su žene više angažovane u rutinskim (tradicionalno „ženskim poslovima“), dok muškarci više obavljaju povremene ili tradicionalno „muške poslove“. Uz to je zadovoljstvo raspodelom kućnih poslova kao i raspodelom finansija manje kod žena nego kod muškaraca. I muškarci i žene su najzadovoljniji kada podjednako učestvuju u porodičnim troškovima i donošenju odluka. Po pitanju podele kućnih poslova utvrđeno je da su muškarci uvek zadovoljni, a kod žena zadovoljstvo raste sa povećanjem partnerovog uključivanja u kućne poslove. Autorke zaključuju da je raspodela finansija i učestvovanje u odlučivanju uglavnom zajedničko i ravnopravno, a da je najmanje rodne ravnopravnosti ostvareno po pitanju raspodele kućnih poslova.

Teorija socijalne razmene je najpoznatija i najcitiranija teorija u okviru istraživanja bračnih odnosa, a njen najveći doprinos, u odnosu na sve druge teorije, je posmatranje stabilnosti i kvaliteta bračnog odnosa kao dve odvojene i (relativno) nezavisne dimenzije. Ova teorija pretpostavlja da partnerski odnosi funkcionišu na osnovu ekonomskog modela ulaganja i koristi, te omogućava objašnjenje da čak i odnosi koji uopšte nisu zadovoljavajući mogu biti stabilni ako su partneri već mnogo uložili (u materijalnom i nematerijalnom smislu) u postojeću vezu i nemaju ili ne vide privlačnije alternative (Čudina-Obradović i Obradović 2006). Teorija jednakosti (Wilcox i Nock 2006) naglašava značaj i doživljava egalitarnosti za bračno zadovoljstvo. Prema ovoj teoriji, pojedinci su najzadovoljniji partnerskim odnosima u kojima su njihovi doprinosi i dobici u vezi (pod)jednaki sa partnerovim. Važno je imati na umu da ova jednakost ne podrazumeva da partneri rade iste aktivnosti u jednakoj

meri, već podrazumeva subjektivni doživljaj ravnopravnosti.

Imajući u vidu navedene teorije i nalaze istraživanja sprovedenog u našem regionu, koji govore da je najmanje rodne ravnopravnosti ostvareno po pitanju raspodele kućnih poslova (Bartolac, Kamenov 2013), ovaj rad je usmeren na ispitivanje povezanosti rodne ravnopravnosti u kućnim poslovima sa percepcijom kvaliteta bračnog odnosa i njegovom stabilnošću.

Glavni problem ovog istraživanja je pitanje: *koliko je rodna ravnopravnost u raspodeli kućnih poslova značajna za bračnu stabilnost i percepciju kvaliteta bračnog odnosa?* Da bismo odgovorili na ovo pitanje trebalo je utvrditi:

1. kolike su razlike u opterećenju kućnim poslovima između muškaraca i žena, i
2. kakva je struktura razlika u stepenu zadovoljstva raspodelom poslova, proceni kvaliteta bračnog odnosa (po različitim dimenzijama) i stabilnosti braka među parovima koji kućne poslove obavljaju ravnopravno i onih kod kojih većinu kućnih poslova uglavnom obavlja jedan od supružnika.

U skladu sa navedenim istraživačkim pitanjima formulisane su i hipoteze.

Prva hipoteza (H1) odnosi se na pretpostavku da je u našoj kulturi još uvek aktuelna podela na tradicionalno „ženske“ (svakodnevne, rutinske, unutrašnje, poslove sa niskim stepenom kontrole) i tradicionalno „muške“ (povremene, kreativne, spoljašnje, sa visokim stepenom kontrole) kućne poslove. Na osnovu rezultata ranijih istraživanja u regionu (Bartolac i Kamenov 2013; Kamenov i dr. 2007; Petrović i dr. 2009) možemo pretpostaviti da će žene u većoj meri biti angažovane u kućnim poslovima vezanim

za hranjenje (kuvanje, pranje suđa i pospremanje stola) i higijenu (pranje i peglanje veša, usisavanje i brisanje prašine, pranje prozora, podova i sl. i čišćenje sanitarnih prostorija), dok će se muževi više angažovati oko poslova vezanih za popravke (kućne popravke, popravka automobila i briga o okućnici). Takođe, možemo pretpostaviti da će se oba supružnika podjednako angažovati oko brige o deci i kućnim ljubimcima.

Druga hipoteza (H2) koju smo proveravali u ovom radu odnosi se na pretpostavku da će parovi koji veći deo kućnih poslova obavljaju ravnopravno biti pre svega zadovoljniji raspodelom kućnih poslova i da će biti zadovoljniji sopstvenim brakom. Pretpostavku smo formulisali na ovaj način zato što se u mnogim istraživanjima raspodele kućnih poslova (npr. Carlson, Miller i Rudd 2020) upravo bračno zadovoljstvo koristi kao kriterijumska varijabla.

2 METOD

2.1 UZORAK ISPITANIKA

Podaci su prikupljeni na uzorku od 498 parova sa prebivalištem u Republici Srbiji, koji su živeli zajedno od 6 meseci do 57 godina i 6 meseci ($M = 14,02$; $SD = 11,85$). Starost ispitanica bila je od 17 do 79 godina ($M = 39,49$; $SD = 11,17$). Njihovi partneri bili su statistički značajno stariji ($t = 18,59$; $p < 0,01$), iako su parovi bili usklađeni po godinama ($r = 0,96$; $p < 0,01$). Starost ispitanika iznosila je od 20 do 81 godine ($M = 42,16$; $SD = 11,61$), u proseku muškarci su bili stariji $M = 2,71$ godinu ($SD = 3,21$). Uzorak su činili ispitanici različitog obrazovanja: većina ispitanika završila je srednju školu (46,8%) ili fakultet (34,9%), ispitanice u uzorku su bile obrazovanije, i u najvećem broju su završile fakultet (43,4%), dok je srednju

školu završilo 38,4% ispitanica. Razlike u stepenu obrazovanja su statistički značajne ($\chi^2(25) = 295,6$, $p < 0,01$)

Analizama su obuhvaćeni samo oni parovi gde su oba partnera zaposlena da bismo jasnije ispitali povezanost opterećenja kućnim poslovima sa jedne strane, i kvaliteta i stabilnosti braka sa druge. Najveći broj i ispitanica (55,2%) i ispitanika (53,8%) bio je zaposlen na neodređeno vreme.

2.2 PROCEDURA ISTRAŽIVANJA

Ovo istraživanje je odobreno i finansirano od strane Ministarstva prosvete, nauke i tehnološkog razvoja Republike Srbije (projekat br. ON179022) pod nazivom „Efekti egzistencijalne nesigurnosti na pojedince i porodice u Srbiji“. Prikupljanje podataka je vršeno tokom 2015. i 2016. godine. Istraživanje je bilo anonimno, a ispitanici nisu bili nagrađivani za učešće. Parovi koji su pristali da učestvuju u studiji dobijali su upitnike (muški i žensku formu) u odvojenim kovertama koje su vraćali ispitivaču posle popunjavanja. Ispitanici su bili informisani o ciljevima i značaju istraživanja, ispitivanje je bilo dobrovoljno i mogli su da odustanu od popunjavanja upitnika u bilo kom trenutku.

2.3 INSTRUMENTI

Opterećenost kućnim poslovima mere na je instrumentom koji sadrži spisak kućnih poslova naveden u Lynch i Reilly (1998) i Tadinac i dr. (2005). Ispitano je opterećenje poslovima vezanim za: kuvanje; pranje i peglanje veša; pranje posuđa i pospremanje stola; kućne popravke; usisavanje i brisanje prašine; pranje prozora, podova i sl.; brigu o deci; brigu o kućnim ljubimcima; čišćenje sanitarnih prostorija; brigu o okućnici

i popravku automobila. Opterećenje je računato tako što su za svaku kategoriju kućnih poslova odgovori: „ne odnosi se na nas“; „neko treći“ i „uvek partner/ka“ bodovani sa 0; odgovor „uglavnom partner/ka“ bodovan je sa 1; „partner/ka i ja jednako“ sa 2; „uglavnom ja“ sa 3, a „uvek ja“ sa 4. Viši skorovi ukazuju na veće angažovanje ispitanika u obavljanju svakog od ispitivanih poslova. Pouzdanost instrumenta nije računata zato što su obuhvaćeni i tradicionalno „muški“ i tradicionalno „ženski“ kućni poslovi, pa se nije mogao pretpostaviti jedinstven predmet merenja.

Zadovoljstvo raspodelom kućnih poslova (Lynch i Reilly 1998; i Tadinac i dr. 2005) mereno je jednim ajtemom „Imajući u vidu sve to, koliko ste zadovoljni ovakvom raspodelom poslova u svojoj vezi?“, a ponuđeni odgovori su bili na skali Likertovog tipa od 1 (potpuno nezadovoljan/na) do 7 (potpuno zadovoljan/na).

Kvalitet braka procenjivan je Skalom dijadnog prilagođavanja (Dyadic Adjustment Scale – DAS: Spanier 1976) koju čine 32 ajtema. Pored ukupnog skora, omogućava i izračunavanje skorova na sledećim skalama: *Konsenzus*, procenjuje slaganje bračnih partnera po pitanjima koja su od značaja za svakodnevno funkcionisanje: vođenje finansija, odnos prema kućnim obavezama, religiji, rekreaciji, odnos prema prijateljima, roditeljima i rođacima, životnoj filozofiji, donošenju odluka i sl; *Zadovoljstvo brakom*, procenjuje opšte zadovoljstvo brakom, poverenje u partnera, učestalost bračnih konflikata, stepen bračne tenzije, doživljaj međusobne netrpeljivosti i lični odnos prema budućnosti braka; *Afektivno-seksualna usaglašenost*, procenjuje stepen usaglašenosti bračnih partnera u ispoljavanju emocija i seksualnim odnosima i *Kohезivnost* procenjuje stepen bliskosti

i kvaliteta komunikacije među partnerima: zajednički rad na nekom ostvarenju, smireni razgovori, podsticanje razmene ideja, zajednička interesovanja van kuće, zajednički smeh.

Bračna nestabilnost procenjivana je sa 3 ajtema preuzeta iz Indeksa bračne nestabilnosti (Booth, Johnson i Edwards 1983) koji se odnosi na prisustvo razmišljanja o razvodu braka, razgovor sa prijateljima o razvodu, i razgovor o razvodu braka sa bračnim partnerom.

2.4 STATISTIČKA OBRADA PODATAKA

Da bismo ispitali razlike u opterećenju kućnim poslovima između žena i muškaraca primenjena je serija t-testova za zavisne uzorke kojima je poređeno opterećenje supružnika unutar dijade.

Struktura razlika u stepenu zadovoljstva raspodelom poslova, proceni kvaliteta i stabilnosti braka među parovima koji kućne poslove obavljaju ravnopravno i onih kod kojih većinu kućnih poslova uglavnom obavlja jedan od supružnika ispitana je na sledeći način:

Prvo je za svaki par utvrđen broj poslova koji obavljaju „partner/ka i ja jednako“. Parovi koji su za više od četvrtine ispitanih poslova (6) procenili da ih oba supružnika rade u istoj meri svrstani su u kategoriju „parovi koji kućne poslove obavljaju ravnopravno“; sa druge strane, parovi koji su za manje od 6 poslova odgovorili da ih obavljaju „partner/ka i ja jednako“ svrstani su u kategoriju „parovi kod kojih podela kućnih poslova specijalizovana“. Granični skor, na osnovu koga su ispitani parovi svrstani u grupe, definisan je na osnovu distribucije učestalosti odgovora koji ukazuje na zajedničko obavljanje kućnih poslova (u uzorku je bilo 187 parova koji poslove obavljaju podjednako i 311 parova kod kojih je

podela poslova specijalizovana). Struktura razlika između ove dve grupe parova u odnosu na stepen zadovoljstva raspodelom poslova za ženu i muža, procenu bračne nestabilnosti za ženu i muškarca i procenu dijadne kohezije, dijadnog zadovoljstva, afektivno-seksualne usaglašenosti i dijadnog konsenzusa za ženu i muškarca ispitana je Diskriminativnom analizom¹.

Analize su vršene u programu IBM SPSS 23.0.

3 REZULTATI

3.1 DESKRIPTIVNA STATISTIKA I KORELACIJE MEĐU VARIJABLAMA

Pokazatelji deskriptivne statistike za sve ispitane varijable prikazani su u tabeli 1.

Kao što se može videti u tabeli 1, žene su najviše opterećene poslovima vezanim za pranje i peglanje veša, pranje prozora, podova i sl., čišćenje sanitarnih prostorija, kuvanje, usisavanje i brisanje prašine, kao i pranje posuđa i pospremanje stola. Muškarci su najviše opterećeni poslovima vezanim za kućne popravke i popravku automobila. Takođe, može se primetiti da se oko poslova vezanih za brigu o deci, kućnim ljubimcima i okućnici angažuju i žene i muškarci.

Distribucije odgovora na skalama zadovoljstva raspodelom poslova kod

¹ Iako se, u odnosu na prirodu analiziranih varijabli, višestruka regresiona analiza činila kao prirodan izbor, pošto je ona bazirana na računanju parcijalnih korelacija, veoma je osetljiva na multikolinearnost među prediktorskim varijablama. Kako su se u setu prediktorskih varijabli nalazile procene istih parametara za žene i muškarce koji su u visokim međusobnim korelacijama (0,63 za bračnu nestabilnost; 0,65 za Dijadni konsenzus; 0,68 za Dijadno zadovoljstvo; 0,68 za Afektivno-seksualnu usaglašenost i 0,67 za Dijadnu koheziju) opredelili smo se ipak za diskriminativnu analizu koja je bazirana na računanju diskriminativnog faktora i nije osetljiva na interkorelacije među prediktorima.

muškaraca i dijadnog zadovoljstva muškaraca i žena pomerene su u smeru viših skorova, dok su distribucije odgovora vezanih za bračnu nestabilnost pomerene ka nižim skorovima.

Pouzdanost primenjenih skala je u rasponu od 0,68 do 0,89 što je u skladu sa rezultatima prethodnih studija.

Korelacije među varijablama su prikazane u tabeli 4 (u prilogu). Zbog velikog broja varijabli, u članku su prikazane samo korelacije varijabli kućnih poslova sa zadovoljstvom raspodelom kućnih poslova i pokazateljima percipiranog kvaliteta bračnog odnosa i stabilnosti, a kompletna matrica interkorelacija se može dobiti od autora članka.

Kao što se može videti u tabeli 4 (u prilogu) stepen zadovoljstva raspodelom poslova žena je u najvećoj meri pozitivno povezan sa procenom bračnog kvaliteta oba supružnika, zadovoljstvom raspodelom poslova muževa i većim angažovanjem muškaraca u poslovima vezanim za kuvanje, usisavanje i brisanje prašine, kao i pranje posuđa i pospremanje stola. Zadovoljstvo raspodelom poslova žena je u najvećoj meri negativno povezano sa sopstvenim angažovanjem vezanim za usisavanje i brisanje prašine, pranje posuđa i pospremanje stola, pranje prozora, podova i sl., brigu o deci i kuvanje. Za razliku od žena, stepen zadovoljstva raspodelom poslova muškaraca uglavnom nije povezan sa angažovanjem oko kućnih poslova. Jedini statistički značajni koeficijenti korelacije odnose se na pozitivnu povezanost sa sopstvenim angažovanjem vezanim za kućne popravke, i negativnu povezanost sa ženinim angažovanjem oko kućnih ljubimaca.

Procena bračne nestabilnosti je, kod oba supružnika, negativno povezana sa ženinim angažovanjem oko pranja i peglanja veša, i muževljevim angažovanjem oko dece.

Procena bračnog kvaliteta je, kod oba supružnika, negativno povezana sa ženinim opterećenjem vezanim za brigu o

deci, a pozitivno sa muževljevim angažovanjem u kućnim poslovima.

Tabela 1 Pokazatelji deskriptivne statistike za sve ispitane varijable

	Raspon	AS	SD	Skjunis	Kurtozis	Alfa
ŽP A. kuvanje	4	2,88	1,21	-1,11	0,40	
MP A. kuvanje	4	0,88	0,88	0,92	0,68	
ŽP B. pranje i peglanje veša	4	3,32	1,01	-1,86	3,30	
MP B. pranje i peglanje veša	4	0,57	0,78	1,58	3,10	
ŽP C. pranje posuđa i pospremanje stola	4	2,79	0,96	-0,62	0,46	
MP C. pranje posuđa i pospremanje stola	4	1,24	0,90	0,26	-0,33	
ŽP D. kućne popravke	4	0,85	0,98	1,40	1,88	
MP D. kućne popravke	4	2,77	1,28	-1,12	0,19	
ŽP E. usisavanje i brisanje prašine	4	2,87	1,08	-0,95	0,55	
MP E. usisavanje i brisanje prašine	4	1,10	0,91	0,53	-0,06	
ŽP F. pranje prozora, podova i sl.	4	3,09	1,16	-1,37	1,18	
MP F. pranje prozora, podova i sl.	4	0,75	0,83	1,07	1,21	
ŽP G. briga o deci	4	1,70	1,17	-0,21	-0,73	
MP G. briga o deci	4	1,30	0,91	-0,48	-1,29	
ŽP H. briga o kućnim ljubimcima	4	1,14	1,26	0,64	-0,78	
MP H. briga o kućnim ljubimcima	4	1,21	1,24	0,46	-1,01	
ŽP I. čišćenje sanitarnih prostorija	4	2,94	1,23	-1,17	0,47	
MP I. čišćenje sanitarnih prostorija	4	0,90	0,93	0,93	0,52	
ŽP J. briga o okućnici	4	1,24	1,17	0,54	-0,56	
MP J. briga o okućnici	4	1,89	1,40	-0,10	-1,22	
ŽP K. popravka automobila	4	0,28	0,64	2,96	10,59	
MP K. popravka automobila	4	2,72	1,70	-0,86	-1,07	
ŽP Zadovoljstvo raspodelom	6	5,20	1,54	-0,73	-0,08	
MP Zadovoljstvo raspodelom	6	6,01	1,16	-1,33	1,81	
Ž Bračna nestabilnost	3	0,36	0,86	2,29	3,83	0,86
M Bračna nestabilnost	3	0,27	0,73	2,80	6,88	0,80
Ž Dijadni konsenzus	39	51,39	7,63	-0,71	0,53	0,88
M Dijadni konsenzus	52	52,04	7,61	-0,73	1,42	0,89
Ž Dijadno zadovoljstvo	40	42,63	5,68	-1,18	2,32	0,84
M Dijadno zadovoljstvo	34	43,85	5,31	-1,22	2,09	0,82
Ž Afektivno-seksualna usaglašenost	10	9,53	2,02	-0,96	0,81	0,68
M Afektivno-seksualna usaglašenost	10	9,70	1,97	-0,97	0,70	0,68
Ž Dijadna kohezija	20	19,66	3,54	-0,98	0,94	0,79
M Dijadna kohezija	20	19,83	3,37	-0,91	1,01	0,80

Standardna greška Skjunisa = 0,11; Standardna greška Kurtozisa = 0,22

3.2 RAZLIKE U OPTEREĆENJU KUĆNIM POSLOVIMA IZMEĐU ŽENA I MUŠKARACA

Razlike u opterećenju kućnim poslovima između žena i muškaraca su prikazane u tabeli 2.

Kao što se može videti u tabeli 2, najveće razlike u opterećenju kućnim po-

prva hipoteza (H1) u najvećoj meri potvrđena. Rezultati ukazuju na jasnu podelu poslova na tradicionalno „ženske“ i tradicionalno „muške“ među ispitanim bračnim parovima. Jedino odstupanje rezultata od početne pretpostavke odnosi se na brigu o okućnici u vezi koje smo pretpostavili da će se više angažovati muškarci.

Tabela 2 Razlike u opterećenju kućnim poslovima između žena i muškaraca

Poslovi	Razlike			
	AS	SD	t	r
A. kuvanje	2,00	1,71	26,06**	-0,31**
B. pranje i peglanje veša	2,75	1,47	41,62**	-0,34**
C. pranje suđa i pospremanje stola	1,55	1,60	21,62**	-0,49**
D. kućne popravke	-1,92	1,73	-24,75**	-0,15**
E. usisavanje i brisanje prašine	1,77	1,73	22,84**	-0,49**
F. pranje prozora, podova i sl.	2,34	1,62	32,16**	-0,31**
G. briga o deci	0,40	1,07	8,40**	0,50**
H. briga o kućnim ljubimcima	-0,06	1,55	-0,90	0,23**
I. čišćenje sanitarnih prostorija	2,04	1,77	25,70**	-0,33**
J. briga o okućnici	-0,65	1,80	-8,03**	0,03
K. popravka automobila	-2,44	1,80	-30,16**	0,02

slovima odnose se na veće angažovanje žena u sledećim poslovima: pranje i peglanje veša, pranje prozora, podova i sl., čišćenje sanitarnih prostorija i kuvanje; dok su muškarci više opterećeni poslovima vezanim za popravku automobila i kućne popravke. Sa druge strane, oboje supružnika se podjednako angažuju oko poslova vezanih za brigu o deci, kućnim ljubimcima i okućnici.

Pranje sudova i pospremanje stola i usisavanje i brisanje prašine su visoko polarizovani poslovi (što se jedno od supružnika angažuje više, drugo se angažuje manje), dok je sa brigom o deci drugačije: što se jedno od supružnika angažuje više i drugo se angažuje više.

Na osnovu navedenih rezultata ovog istraživanja, možemo zaključiti da je

3.3 RAZLIKE IZMEĐU PAROVA U ODNOSU NA STEPEN RAVNOPRAVNOSTI U IZVOĐENJU KUĆNIH POSLOVA

Struktura razlika u stepenu zadovoljstva raspodelom poslova, proceni kvaliteta i stabilnosti braka, među parovima koji više od četvrtine ispitanih kućnih poslova obavljaju ravnopravno i parova kod kojih postoji jasna podela poslova, ispitana je diskriminativnom analizom. Izolovana je statistički značajna diskriminativna funkcija ($R=0,38$; Wilksova lambda iznosila je 0,86 i bila je statistički značajna na nivou $p>0,01$). Struktura diskriminativnog faktora prikazana je u tabeli 3.

Kao što se može videti u tabeli 3, pozitivan pol diskriminativnog faktora u

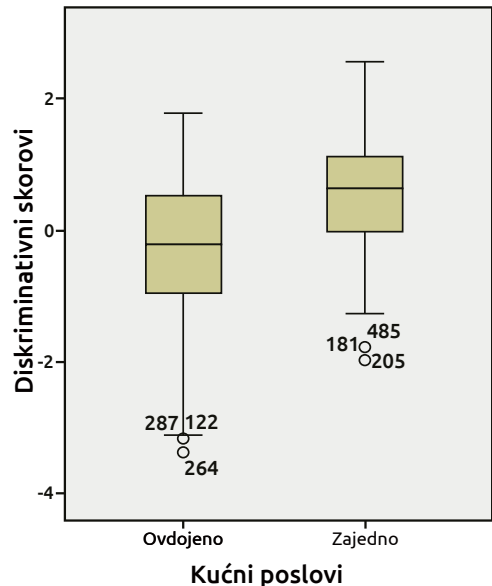
Tabela 3 Struktura diskriminativnog faktora u odnosu na stepen ravnopravnosti u izvođenju kućnih poslova

Varijabla	r
ŽP Zadovoljstvo raspodelom	0,81
Ž Dijadna kohezija	0,52
M Dijadna kohezija	0,42
M Dijadno zadovoljstvo	0,36
Ž Dijadno zadovoljstvo	0,36
Ž Afektivno-seksualna usaglašenost	0,34
M Dijadni konsenzus	0,32
Ž Dijadni konsenzus	0,29
MP Zadovoljstvo raspodelom	0,23
M Bračna nestabilnost	-0,18
M Afektivno-seksualna usaglašenost	0,18
Ž Bračna nestabilnost	-0,06

najvećoj meri je određen procenom ženinog zadovoljstva raspodelom kućnih poslova, zatim stepenom dijadne kohezije i dijadnog zadovoljstva, kao i procenom stepena afektivno seksualne usaglašenosti žena i stepena dijadnog konsenzusa kod muškaraca. Rezultati delimično potvrđuju drugu istraživački hipotezu (H2). Naime, zadovoljstvo raspodelom kućnih poslova žena je u visokoj korelaciji sa diskriminativnim faktorom, ali to nije slučaj sa zadovoljstvom raspodelom kućnih poslova kod muškaraca. Takođe, očekivali smo da će procena dijadnog zadovoljstva biti u većoj meri povezana sa diskriminativnom dimenzijom zato što se u mnogim istraživanjima raspodele kućnih poslova upravo bračno zadovoljstvo koristi kao kriterijumska varijabla. Iako koeficijenti korelacije procene dijadnog zadovoljstva i diskriminativnog faktora nisu niski, dijadna kohezija koja se odnosi na zajedničko provođenje vremena, učestalost razmene ideja, zajedničkih aktivnosti i brojnost zajedničkih interesovanja partnera u mnogo većoj meri razlikuje parove koji kućne poslove rade ravnopravno

od parova kod kojih postoji jasna podela poslova u domaćinstvu.

Prosečne vrednosti ispitanih parova na diskriminativnoj funkciji su 0,53 za grupu parova koji više od četvrtine ispitanih kućnih poslova obavljaju podjednako i -0,32 za grupu parova kod kojih postoji jasna podela poslova. Treba imati u vidu da se distribucije diskriminativnih skorova ispitanih grupa parova u velikoj meri preklapaju, što se može videti na grafikonu 1. Distribucija skorova za grupu parova kod koje postoji jasna specijalizacija kućnih poslova je šira, što znači da postoji mnogo parova kod kojih kućne poslove uglavnom radi neko od supružnika, a kod kojih su žene zadovoljne raspodelom poslova, koji imaju brojne zajedničke aktivnosti, malo konflikata i visok stepen generalnog zadovoljstva bračnim odnosom. Upravo zbog toga, na osnovu diskriminativne funkcije ispravno je klasifikovano (samo) 65,2% ispitanih parova.

**Grafikon 1** Vrednosti ispitanih parova na diskriminativnoj funkciji

4 DISKUSIJA

Iako je intenzivno proučavanje povezanosti opterećenja kućnim poslovima sa različitim dimenzijama bračnog kvaliteta i bračnom stabilnošću počelo još 90-tih godina prošlog veka (za pregled videti Coltrane 2000), još uvek postoje brojni teorijski i metodološki problemi vezani za izučavanje ove oblasti. Teorijski problemi se, pre svega, odnose na nedostatak jasne definicije kućnih poslova i nedostatak adekvatnog teorijskog okvira koji bi služio za postavljanje hipoteza i tumačenje rezultata istraživanja, a metodološki na probleme merenja opterećenosti kućnim poslovima.

Pod kućnim poslovima često se podrazumeva *neplaćeni* rad koji se obavlja u svrhu „održavanja“ članova porodice i doma (Shelton i John 1996). Ovakvo široko određenje povezano je sa problemima pravljenja konačne i iscrpne liste kućnih poslova. Naime, opterećenje kućnim poslovima obično se meri preko apsolutnog (izraženog u satima) ili relativnog (u odnosu na partnera) angažovanja ispitanika u njihovom obavljanju. Međutim, u različitim domaćinstvima svakog supružnika, nakon povratka sa njegovog plaćenog posla, čeka sasvim različit set zadataka koje treba obaviti, a koji su vezani za dom i članove porodice. Na primer, parovi koji žive u kućama imaju mnogo više poslova vezanih za održavanje okućnice u odnosu na parove koji žive u stanovima; neki poslovi su sezonski (npr. spremanje ogreva i loženje, čišćenje snega, skupljanje lišća, košenje trave, rad u bašti...), a neki se rade tokom cele godine. Neki poslovi (npr. briga o deci) vezani su za određene razvojne periode porodice, pa su određeni parovi njima izuzetno opterećeni, a kod drugih nisu prisutni. Takođe, neki parovi žive u zajedničkim domaćinstvima, pa deo kuć-

nih poslova obavljaju rođaci, drugi ukućani ili deca, a neki parovi koriste plaćene usluge trećih lica koji preuzimaju poslove vezane za hranjenje, higijenu, popravke i/ili brigu o deci.

Način računanja opterećenja svakog supružnika kućnim poslovima korišten u ovom istraživanju, po kom su odgovori: „ne odnosi se na nas“; „neko treći“ i „uvek partner/ka“ bodovani sa 0 u velikoj meri prevazilazi problem povezan sa velikim brojem specifičnih poslova koji se javljaju u nekim domaćinstvima, a u drugima nisu prisutni. Međutim, instrumenti kojima se meri opterećenje često previđaju mnoge rutinske poslove koji se svakodnevno ili periodično ponavljaju. Tako na primer, skala koju smo koristili u ovom istraživanju ne uključuje poslove vezane za plaćanje računa, nabavku namirnica i životnih potrepština, iznošenje smeća, komunikaciju sa majstorima, odvođenje dece na vannastavne aktivnosti, pomoć deci oko školskih obaveza, disciplinovanje dece i slično. Čak se u poslednje vreme sve više govori o tome da nije dovoljno ispitati samo fizičko opterećenje rutinskim poslovima koji se obavljaju u kući nakon radnog vremena, već da je potrebno uzeti u obzir i kognitivno opterećenje i poslove vezane za menadžment domaćinstva (Daminger 2019). Drugim rečima, nije dovoljno da muškarac opere sudove posle jela ili da se „prošeta“ do prodavnice sa unapred pripremljenim spiskom namirnica koje treba kupiti da bi se ženino zadovoljstvo raspodelom kućnih poslova promenilo. Takođe, sve više istraživača govori i o potrebi da se ispita emocionalno opterećenje kućnim poslovima (Bianchi i dr. 2000, 2012; DeVault 1999; Hochschild 1979).

Mnogi autori koji se bave proučavanjem raspodele kućnih poslova (npr. Daminger 2019) polaze od implicitne pretpostavke da je povećana stopa za-

poslenja žena dovela do njihove preopterećenosti, pošto su kućni poslovi podjednako teški i zahtevni kao i oni plaćeni. Svakodnevni rad žena u „dve smene“ zato dovodi do stalnog smanjenja kvaliteta braka i povećanja broja razvoda. Potencijalno rešenje ovog problema mnogi autori (npr. Carlson i dr. 2020) vide u većem angažovanju muškaraca u obavljanju kućnih poslova, egalitarizmu, fer raspodeli i rodnoj ravnopravnosti, što je sve blisko idejama teorije socijalne razmene i socijalističko-feminističke teorije (Coltrane 2000).

Međutim, rezultati našeg istraživanja ne podržavaju u potpunosti ovu pretpostavku. Nalazi dobijeni na uzorku od gotovo 500 parova različitog doba, stepena obrazovanja i zaposlenja govore u prilog pretpostavci o postojanju različitih mehanizama koji povezuju raspodelu kućnih poslova i kvalitet veze kod muškaraca i žena, kao i tome da je rodna ravnopravnost u raspodeli kućnih poslova mnogo važnija ženama nego muškarcima.

Naime, iako je zadovoljstvo raspodelom poslova kod muškaraca u proseku veće od zadovoljstva raspodelom kod žena, ono nije povezano ni sa njihovim stepenom angažovanja u kućnim poslovima, ni sa stepenom angažovanja njihovih supruga. Rezultati ukazuju da je stepen zadovoljstva raspodelom kućnih poslova kod muškaraca jedino umereno povezan sa sopstvenim procenama dijadnog konsenzusa i dijadnog zadovoljstva. Postavlja se pitanje na osnovu čega onda muškarci formiraju svoj sud o zadovoljstvu raspodelom kućnih poslova, ako on nema puno veze ni sa sopstvenim angažovanjem, ni sa angažovanjem njihovih žena, ni sa procenama kvaliteta i stabilnosti braka? Jedna od pretpostavki koja bi mogla objasniti ove rezultate odnosi se na to da muškarci formiraju svoj sud o zadovoljstvu raspodelom kućnih

poslova poredeći stepen sopstvenog angažovanja sa nekim referentnim grupama (npr. porodica porekla, prijatelji, kolege na poslu, komšije, parovi koji se mogu videti u filmovima i serijama i slično). Ne tako davno su muškarci koji su radili „ženske“ kućne poslove bili omalovažavani kao „feminizirani“, „mekušci“ ili „papučari“, pa su zbog toga mnogi od njih verovatno osetljiviji na mišljenje okoline nego na zadovoljstvo sopstvenih žena. Iako intenzivna medijska kampanja u filmovima i serijama koja promovise egalitarizam i aktivnije učešće muškaraca u kućnim poslovima traje još od 90-tih godina prošlog veka, raspodela je, kao što pokazuju rezultati, još uvek uglavnom tradicionalna. Druga pretpostavka koja bi mogla objasniti ove rezultate odnosi se na to da zadovoljstvo raspodelom kućnih poslova kod muškaraca nije povezano sa stvarnim stepenom njihovog angažovanja već stilom menadžmenta kućnih poslova, odnosno sa tim ko određuje koji poslovi moraju hitno da se urade i na koji način.

Sa druge strane, stepen zadovoljstva raspodelom kućnih poslova kod žena je povezan i sa raspodelom kućnih poslova i sa njihovom procenom kvaliteta braka i sa procenom kvaliteta braka od strane njihovog supruga, što je u skladu sa istraživačkom paradigmom.

Prva hipoteza. Rezultati istraživanja su u najvećoj meri potvrdili prvu hipotezu: žene su zaista u većoj meri angažovane u kućnim poslovima vezanim za hranjenje i higijenu dok su muževi više angažovani oko poslova vezanih za popravke. Jedina razlika u odnosu na početnu pretpostavku odnosi se na brigu o okućnici koja, uz brigu o deci i kućnim ljubimcima, predstavlja kućni posao oko kog se oba supružnika angažuju podjednako. Ipak, postoji nekoliko zanimljivih nalaza vezanih za raspodelu poslova koje bi trebalo

prokomentarisati. Naime, od svih ispitanih kućnih poslova vezanih za hranjenje i higijenu, muškarci se najviše angažuju oko pranja sudova i usisavanja, a kod ovih poslova su u isto vreme i najviše negativne korelacije među supružnicima (što se jedan od supružnika angažuje više, drugi se angažuje manje).

Od svih kućnih poslova (ako se pod kućnim poslovima podrazumeva neplaćeni rad koji se obavlja nakon povratka sa plaćenog posla) briga o deci je najteža za istraživanje. Naime, mnogi ispitani parovi nemaju decu, a takođe je i potpuno različit intenzitet opterećenja i vrste poslova koji su prisutni kod porodica sa sasvim malom decom, decom predškolskog uzrasta, osnovcima, srednjoškolcima, studentima i potomcima koji su već odrasli i neki od njih su formirali svoje porodice i dobili decu (pa u različitoj meri od svojih roditelja očekuju pomoć u brizi oko unučadi). Zbog ovih metodoloških problema briga o deci je čak često isključivana sa liste kućnih poslova (Coltrane 2000) iako za pojedine porodice realno predstavlja mnogo veći izvor opterećenja od pranja veša ili čišćenja sanitarnih prostorija. Način računanja opterećenja kućnim poslovima svakog supružnika korišten u ovom istraživanju daje nam mogućnost da u istraživanje ravnopravno uključimo i parove bez dece i parove koji su izuzetno opterećeni poslovima vezanim za brigu o deci.

Rezultat vezan za raspodelu opterećenja brigom o deci se takođe odnosi na pretpostavku o različitim mehanizmima koji povezuju angažovanje u kućnim poslovima, kvalitet i stabilnost braka kod žena i muškaraca. Naime, rezultati našeg istraživanja govore u prilog pretpostavci da se o deci podjednako brinu oba supružnika. Čak, pošto je korelacija među supružnicima na ovoj varijabli relativno visoka i pozitivna, možemo oče-

kivati da što se jedan od supružnika angažuje više, to se i drugi angažuje više. Međutim, zanimljiv je nalaz da je povećanje brige o deci kod muškaraca povezano sa smanjenjem bračne nestabilnosti i kod muškaraca i kod žena, dok gotovo i da nije povezano sa indikatorima bračnog kvaliteta. Sa druge strane, povećanje opterećenja brigom o deci kod žena povezano je sa smanjenim doživljajem kvaliteta braka i muškaraca i žena, ali nije povezano sa bračnom nestabilnošću.

Od svih ispitanih kućnih poslova, potencijal za razvod jedino je povezan sa smanjenim ženinim angažovanjem na poslovima vezanim za pranje i peglanje veša, i smanjenim angažovanjem muškarca na poslovima vezanim za brigu o deci. Mogli bismo pretpostaviti da za muškarce distanciranje od dece znači i distanciranje od porodice u celini, a da za žene prestanak brige o tome kako će izgledati njen muž u isto vreme znači i prestanak brige o tome da se brak održi. Pošto koeficijenti korelacije nisu visoki, ove pretpostavke bi ipak trebalo proveriti i drugim istraživanjima.

Druga hipoteza. Rezultati delimično potvrđuju drugu hipotezu: žene su zaista zadovoljnije raspodelom kućnih poslova kada se partneri podjednako angažuju oko njih, ali to nije slučaj i sa muškarcima. Kao što je već rečeno, stepen zadovoljstva raspodelom kućnih poslova muškaraca verovatno je povezan sa nekim drugim faktorima. Takođe, rezultati ukazuju na to da je stepen dijadne kohezije (zajedničkih interesovanja i aktivnosti partnera) mnogo značajniji za proučavanje raspodele kućnih poslova od stepena dijadnog zadovoljstva.

Ograničenja rezultata i istraživanja. Pre svega treba istaći da je istraživanje sprovedeno na prigodnom uzorku i da je učešće u istraživanju bilo dobrovoljno. Kao i kod većine istraživanja ovog

tipa, to znači da su u najvećoj meri ispitani relativno obrazovani parovi koji su u principu zadovoljni svojim odnosom. Ispitanici nižeg obrazovnog statusa kojima je bilo teško da čitaju i odgovaraju na veliki broj pitanja koja se odnose na njihove unutrašnje procese i parovi koji su u lošim odnosima i nalaze se pred razvodom po pravilu nisu pristajali na učešće u ispitivanju. Ovo svakako treba imati u vidu kod uopštavanja rezultata, pošto je vrlo verovatno da su mehanizmi koji povezuju angažovanje u kućnim poslovima, kvalitet i stabilnost braka kod siromašnijih porodica kod kojih supružnici mnogo više vremena provode radeći plaćene poslove i kod parova koji su u konfliktnim i lošim odnosima sasvim drugačiji od onih o kojima govore rezultati našeg istraživanja. Pri uopštavanju rezultata posebno treba imati u vidu činjenicu da raspodela odgovora ispitanika na varijabli Bračna nestabilnost značajno odstupa od normalne (vrednosti skijunisa su 2,29 za žene i 2,80 za muškarce). Zbog toga se nalazi ovog istraživanja koji su vezani za odnos raspodele kućnih poslova i stabilnosti braka mogu tumačiti samo kao pretpostavke koje bi trebalo proveriti drugim istraživanjima na uzorku parova koji su u većoj meri spremni da okončaju svoj odnos.

Drugo ograničenje odnosi se na listu ispitanih kućnih poslova. Lista koju smo koristili svakako nije konačna i, kao što je već rečeno, postoje mnogi sezonski poslovi ili poslovi koji su specifični za pojedine parove, a koji nisu obuhvaćeni ispitivanjem. Način računanja opterećenja svakog supružnika kućnim poslovima korišten u ovom istraživanju, po kom su odgovori: „ne odnosi se na nas“; „neko treći“ i „uvek partner/ka“ bodovani sa 0 u velikoj meri prevazilazi ovaj problem, pa bi zbog toga trebalo raditi na proširenju liste neplaćenih aktivnosti koje se

obavljaju nakon povratka sa plaćenog posla. Tek na osnovu liste koja ne pretenduje da bude univerzalna i u kojoj su ravnomerno zastupljeni i „ženski“ i „muški“ kućni poslovi možemo imati jasniju sliku o stvarnom stepenu opterećenja supružnika poslovima vezanim za održavanje i brigu o domaćinstvu.

Treće ograničenje studije odnosi se na vreme proteklo od prikupljanja podataka do objavljivanja rezultata istraživanja. Kao što je već rečeno u odeljku o proceduri istraživanja, prikupljanje podataka je vršeno, u sklopu većeg istraživačkog projekta, tokom 2015. i 2016. godine. Međutim, zbog prirode prikupljenih podataka (veliki broj ispitanih parova koji nemaju kućne ljubimce, parova koji nemaju decu, parovi koji žive u stanu pa nemaju okućnicu, parovi koji nemaju automobil i slično), nismo bili u mogućnosti da ih adekvatno analiziramo sve dok nismo uvideli mogućnost drugačijeg načina računanja opterećenja supružnika kućnim poslovima, koji je korišćen u ovom radu. Ipak, pri uopštavanju rezultata istraživanja treba imati u vidu da postoji mogućnost da su se trendovi vezani za odnos raspodele kućnih poslova, kvaliteta i stabilnosti braka promenili u poslednjih 9–10 godina, koliko je prošlo od prikupljanja podataka.

Najzad, ovom studijom ispitano je samo opterećenje fizičkim poslovima, a kognitivno i emocionalno opterećenje nije uzeto u obzir.

5 ZAKLJUČAK

Osnovni problem istraživanja predstavljenog ovim radom je bilo pitanje koliko je značajna rodna ravnopravnost u raspodeli kućnih poslova za bračnu stabilnost i percepciju kvaliteta bračnog odnosa. Analizirani su podaci, prikupljeni u okviru većeg projekta, tokom 2015. i

2016. godine, na uzorku od 498 bračnih parova različitog doba, stepena obrazovanja i zaposlenja. Osnovnu metodološku novinu u ovom radu predstavlja način računanja opterećenja kućnim poslovima koji je omogućio da se u ispitivanju integrišu parovi na koje se određeni poslovi ne odnose (parovi koji nemaju decu, kućne ljubimce, dvorište, automobil...), parovi koji žive u proširenim domaćinstvima pa određene poslove (kuvanje, brisanje prašine, pranje sudova...) radi neko treći (roditelji supružnika, rođaci, deca...) i parovi koji angažuju plaćenu pomoć vezanu za pripremu obroka, čišćenje i/ili brigu o deci, a koji su ranije obično bili isključivani iz analiza zbog nedostajućih odgovora.

Rezultati jasno ukazuju na postojanje različitih mehanizama koji povezuju raspodelu kućnih poslova, zadovoljstvo raspodelom, kvalitet i stabilnost veze kod muškaraca i žena. Naime, rodna ravnopravnost u raspodeli kućnih poslova je mnogo važnija ženama, i one su zaista zadovoljnije raspodelom kućnih poslova kada se partneri podjednako angažuju oko njih, ali to nije slučaj sa muškarcima. Stepenn zadovoljstva raspodelom kućnih poslova kod muškaraca je jedino umerno povezan sa njihovom procenom stepena slaganja bračnih partnera po pitanjima koja su od značaja za svakodnevno funkcionisanje (vođenje finansija, odnos prema kućnim obavezama, religiji, rekreaciji, odnos prema prijateljima, roditeljima i rođacima, životnoj filozofiji, donošenju odluka) i sa njihovom procenom opšteg zadovoljstva brakom, poverenjem u partnera, odsustvom bračnih konflikata i niskim stepenom bračne tenzije.

Rezultati takođe ukazuju na to da je stepen dijadne kohezije (zajedničkih interesovanja i aktivnosti partnera) značajniji za proučavanje raspodele kućnih poslova od stepena dijadnog zadovoljstva.

Najzad, rezultati ukazuju da je u našoj sredini još uvek aktuelna tradicionalna podela kućnih poslova i da su žene u većoj meri angažovane na kućnim poslovima vezanim za hranjenje i higijenu dok su muškarci više angažovani oko poslova vezanih za popravke. Briga o deci, kućnim ljubimcima i okućnici predstavljaju kućne poslove oko kojih se oba supružnika angažuju podjednako. Ipak, rezultati istraživanja ukazuju da se muškarci više angažuju u nekim poslovima (pranje posuđa, usisavanje...), dok neke (npr. pranje i peglanje veša) i dalje rade skoro isključivo žene.

Preporuke za dalja istraživanja. Da bismo razumeli procese koji povezuju raspodelu kućnih poslova, kvalitet i stabilnost braka, potrebno je, pre svega, jasno definisati šta se podrazumeva pod kućnim poslovima. Nedostatak opšteprihvaćenog određenja povezan je i sa problemima u konstrukciji mernih instrumenata i sa merenjem stvarnog opterećenja kućnim poslovima žena i muškaraca. Ako se pod kućnim poslovima podrazumeva *neplaćeni* rad koji se nakon povratka sa plaćenog posla obavlja u svrhu „održavanja“ porodice i doma (Shelton i John 1996), onda mnogi specifični poslovi koji u određenim domaćinstvima postoje, a u drugima nisu prisutni (poput spremanja ognjeva i zagrevanja prostorija, brige o domaćim životinjama u seoskim domaćinstvima...) nisu obuhvaćeni postojećim skalama. Takođe, primetna je tendencija da se u mernim instrumentima pojedini poslovi usitnjavaju do nivoa konkretnih zadataka (npr. pranje posuđa i pospremanje stola, usisavanje i brisanje prašine, čišćenje sanitarnih prostorija...), a da su neki poslovi opisani na mnogo višem nivou opštosti (npr. kućne popravke, briga o okućnici, briga o deci...) što utiče na procenu opterećenja.

Druga preporuka se odnosi na potrebu za detaljnijim istraživanjem kućnog menadžmenta – kognitivnog i emocionalnog opterećenja kućnim poslovima (ko vodi računa o tome šta sve, na koji način i u koje vreme treba uraditi). Organizacija kućnih poslova (praćenje trenutnog stanja, planiranje i nabavke potrepština za svakodnevno funkcionisanje, uz potrebu za stalnim prilagođavanjem aktuelnim nepredviđenim okolnostima) često zahteva više energije od prostog fizičkog obavljanja svakodnevni radnji, a ona je oduvek bila podrazumevajući posao „domaćice“. O ovome je bitno voditi računa i u istraživanjima, jer postoje paradoksalne situacije kada se stepen fizičkog angažovanja muškaraca u obavljanju kućnih poslova povećava (u smislu kad god im se kaže da nešto urade, oni to i urade), a da se u isto vreme povećava i stepen opterećenja, menadžerskog stresa kod žena, jer one zadržavaju odgovornost i nadzor nad tim šta sve i kada treba uraditi kako bi ukućani imali sve što je potrebno u vreme kada im je potrebno.

Treća preporuka odnosi se na to da bi trebalo podrobnije ispitati mehanizme na osnovu kojih muškarci formiraju svoj sud o zadovoljstvu raspodelom kućnih poslova. Aktuelna istraživačka paradigma formirana je pod jakim uticajem teorije socijalne razmene i socijalističko-feminističke teorije, pa je samim tim i istraživački fokus na opterećenju kućnim poslovima i proceni bračnog kvaliteta i stabilnosti kod žena, dok isti procesi kod muškaraca obično nisu u fokusu istraživanja. Ovaj manjak teorijskog i istraživačkog interesovanja nosi sa sobom rizik da nekritično insistiranje na egalitarizmu može dovesti do percepcije (očekivanog) povećanja stepena kvaliteta braka kod žena, a u isto vreme pokrenuti neke neočekivane procese kod njihovih

muževa, te u krajnjem ishodu dovesti do povećanja bračne nestabilnosti.

Najzad, važno je imati u vidu da odnos raspodele kućnih poslova, kvaliteta i stabilnosti braka, opažen u dosadašnjim istraživanjima, ne mora biti univerzalan. Pre uopštavanja rezultata postojećih istraživanja na opštu populaciju i formulisanja opšte strategije razvoja društva i javnih politika, svakako bi trebalo proveriti da li se i u kojoj meri opaženi trendovi mogu primeniti na parove kod kojih je zaposlen samo jedan od supružnika, parove niskog socio-ekonomskog statusa koji su preopterećeni angažovanjem oko (više) plaćenih poslova, seoska domaćinstva u kojima ne postoji „klasičan posao sa radnim vremenom“, parove koji su u veoma lošim međusobnim odnosima, istopolne parove i slično.

Na samom kraju, imajući u vidu kompleksnost problema, kao i brojnost i značaj posledica rodne neravnopravnosti, mogu se dati samo neke opšte praktične preporuke, koje je potrebno detaljno osmisлити i razvijati kroz opsežne, multidisciplinarne projekte na nacionalnom nivou. Doprinos psihologa i psihoterapeuta, u tim projektima, bio bi usmeren na razvoj programa za grupni i individualni rad sa različitim uzrasnim kategorijama. Za odrasle je, za početak, potrebno učiniti dostupnim savetovališta za brak i porodicu, gde će oni koji se aktuelno suočavaju sa razvojnim i situacionim krizama, besplatno ili po nekoj simboličnoj ceni uvremenjeno dobiti stručnu emocionalnu pomoć i podršku, kao i priliku da sagledaju različite perspektive u prevladavanju postojećih životnih teškoća. Kod dece i mladih, koji su u procesu obrazovanja, u samim obrazovnim institucijama je potrebno u znatno većoj meri promovisati rodnu ravnopravnost (kako putem specijalno organizovanih tribina i psiholoških radionica, tako i kroz redovnu nastavu).

I na kraju, ono što je najdelotvornije – bitno je i potrebno što pre započeti sa razvijanjem svesti o rodnoj ravnopravnosti od najranijeg uzrasta – kroz programe rodne ravnopravnosti u vrtićima i obdaništima.

Neuporedivo je lakše postaviti zdrave temelje razvoja ličnosti, u fazi kada su deca prirodno radoznala i otvorena za istraživanje različitih uloga, od kasnijeg menjanja već formiranih stavova.

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Doprinosi koautora

Jelena Šakotić-Kurbalija: Osmišljavanje istraživanja, Prikupljanje podataka, Pisanje originalnog rada, Pisanje izmena u procesu recenzije; Rukovođenje istraživačkim projektom;

Dragan Kurbalija: Metodologija, Statistička analiza, Pisanje originalnog rada, Pisanje izmena u procesu recenzije;

Nikolina Kukulj: Osmišljavanje istraživanja, Prikupljanje podataka.

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PRILOG

Tabela 4 Korelacije među ispitanim varijablama

	ŽP	MP	Ž BN	M BN	Ž DAS1	M DAS1	Ž DAS2	M DAS2	Ž DAS3	M DAS3	Ž DAS4	M DAS4
ŽP A	-0,21**	-0,04	0,02	0,01	-0,09	-0,02	-0,10*	-0,09	-0,05	-0,06	-0,13**	-0,11*
MP A	0,24**	0,00	-0,04	-0,02	0,12**	0,07	0,14**	0,12*	0,10*	0,03	0,10*	0,10*
ŽP B	-0,14**	-0,06	-0,16**	-0,15**	0,00	-0,02	-0,05	-0,07	-0,01	-0,03	-0,07	-0,07
MP B	0,14**	-0,08	0,01	0,03	0,04	0,07	0,07	0,06	0,09*	0,08	0,04	0,12**
ŽP C	-0,24**	-0,02	-0,01	-0,03	-0,14**	-0,08	-0,15**	-0,20**	-0,15**	-0,12*	-0,18**	-0,11*
MP C	0,20**	-0,03	0,04	0,03	0,16**	0,16**	0,13**	0,20**	0,12**	0,15**	0,16**	0,16**
ŽP D	-0,16**	-0,04	0,05	-0,02	-0,06	-0,02	-0,12**	-0,07	0,00	0,03	-0,11*	-0,03
MP D	0,06	0,12*	-0,04	-0,04	0,05	0,05	0,07	0,08	0,04	0,03	0,00	-0,03
ŽP E	-0,28**	-0,04	-0,04	-0,02	-0,10*	-0,10*	-0,12**	-0,13**	-0,11*	-0,09*	-0,14**	-0,12**
MP E	0,21**	0,02	0,00	0,02	0,11*	0,14**	0,17**	0,12**	0,14**	0,09*	0,15**	0,12**
ŽP F	-0,24**	-0,02	-0,05	-0,07	-0,11*	-0,10*	-0,11*	-0,12*	-0,09	-0,08	-0,13**	-0,14**
MP F	0,18**	0,04	-0,02	0,01	0,15**	0,16**	0,17**	0,14**	0,12**	0,13**	0,17**	0,20**
ŽP G	-0,23**	-0,04	-0,03	-0,04	-0,29**	-0,20**	-0,27**	-0,25**	-0,23**	-0,22**	-0,25**	-0,27**
MP G	0,00	0,03	-0,13**	-0,14**	-0,14**	-0,02	-0,09*	-0,07	-0,08	-0,09	-0,08	-0,09*
ŽP H	-0,16**	-0,12*	0,01	0,03	-0,14**	-0,12**	-0,19**	-0,10*	-0,11*	-0,10*	-0,14**	-0,09*
MP H	0,06	0,00	-0,05	-0,10*	-0,10*	-0,02	-0,06	-0,06	-0,05	-0,02	-0,06	0,03
ŽP I	-0,17**	-0,05	0,04	0,03	-0,17**	-0,12*	-0,11*	-0,12**	-0,16**	-0,12**	-0,13**	-0,13**
MP I	0,16**	0,01	-0,07	0,00	0,05	0,07	0,04	0,00	0,04	0,02	0,02	0,05
ŽP J	-0,13**	-0,10*	0,04	0,04	-0,14**	-0,12**	-0,15**	-0,11*	-0,11*	-0,12**	-0,07	-0,08
MP J	0,02	0,03	-0,09	-0,05	-0,07	0,01	0,00	-0,02	0,01	0,03	-0,02	-0,01
ŽP K	-0,02	-0,07	0,07	0,02	-0,03	-0,04	-0,10*	-0,03	-0,01	-0,01	-0,02	-0,01
MP K	-0,01	0,06	0,02	0,03	-0,06	0,00	-0,02	-0,02	-0,01	-0,05	-0,06	-0,06
ŽP	1	0,21**	-0,18**	-0,17**	0,47**	0,37**	0,48**	0,37**	0,36**	0,30**	0,32**	0,33**
MP	0,21**	1	-0,05	-0,16**	0,20**	0,32**	0,26**	0,30**	0,20**	0,27**	0,20**	0,21**
Ž BN	-0,18**	-0,05	1	0,63**	-0,30**	-0,33**	-0,45**	-0,33**	-0,34**	-0,27**	-0,25**	-0,23**
M BN	-0,17**	-0,16**	0,63**	1	-0,23**	-0,38**	-0,35**	-0,46**	-0,23**	-0,27**	-0,21**	-0,28**
Ž DAS1	0,47**	0,20**	-0,30**	-0,23**	1	0,65**	0,69**	0,54**	0,67**	0,53**	0,61**	0,51**
M DAS1	0,37**	0,32**	-0,33**	-0,38**	0,65**	1	0,53**	0,64**	0,50**	0,67**	0,49**	0,67**
Ž DAS2	0,48**	0,26**	-0,45**	-0,35**	0,69**	0,53**	1	0,68**	0,68**	0,56**	0,65**	0,52**
M DAS2	0,37**	0,30**	-0,33**	-0,46**	0,54**	0,64**	0,68**	1	0,47**	0,61**	0,50**	0,60**
Ž DAS3	0,36**	0,20**	-0,34**	-0,23**	0,67**	0,50**	0,68**	0,47**	1	0,68**	0,52**	0,42**
M DAS3	0,30**	0,27**	-0,27**	-0,27**	0,53**	0,67**	0,56**	0,61**	0,68**	1	0,46**	0,55**
Ž DAS4	0,32**	0,20**	-0,25**	-0,21**	0,61**	0,49**	0,65**	0,50**	0,52**	0,46**	1	0,67**
M DAS4	0,33**	0,21**	-0,23**	-0,28**	0,51**	0,67**	0,52**	0,60**	0,42**	0,55**	0,67**	1

DAS1 – Dijadni konsenzus; DAS2 – Dijadno zadovoljstvo; DAS3 – Afektivno-seksualna usaglašenost;
 DAS4 – Dijadna kohezija



Gender Balanced Parenting Support: Fathers' Perceptions of Healthcare System Support

Ivana Mihić¹  Katarina Mašić¹ 
Miljana Marić Ognjenović²  Anja Žujović³ 

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Research shows that father involvement contributes to child development, the quality of maternal parenting, and the overall functioning of the family. However, there remains a significant gap between the guidance offered by scientific research for better child-rearing practices and the practical support available to fathers, especially within institutional systems such as healthcare. The healthcare system, in particular, plays a pivotal role from the earliest days of parenthood, offering very important opportunities to support both mothers and fathers in their caregiving roles.

This study aims to describe fathers' experiences with the support they receive from the healthcare. The study involved 367 fathers ($M = 37$ years; average age of the oldest child 58 months). The majority of fathers are employed (94.8%) and had at least a secondary education (42.2%). Findings suggest that healthcare professionals are rarely recognized as significant sources of parenting support. During pregnancy monitoring, fathers are almost never invited to check-ups, and discussions about the baby's development and the father's role are largely absent. Although pediatricians invite fathers more frequently, still about 50% of fathers report that they have never been invited to pediatric consultations (healthy baby check-ups). Home visiting nurses represent the most recognized and accessible form of support. Visits are often planned when the father is present (43.5%). However, statistically significant differences are noted between mothers and fathers in the content and tone of interactions that they receive during these visits. Fathers receive less information and emotional support compared to mothers, especially in areas such as: infant care, responsive parenting practices and discussions about parental competence and emotional wellbeing.

¹ *Department of Psychology,
Faculty of Philosophy,
University of Novi Sad,
Serbia*

² *Department of Social
Work, Faculty of Philosophy,
University of Novi Sad,
Serbia*

³ *Institute of Social Sciences,
Belgrade, Serbia*

Correspondence:

Katarina Mašić,
Department of Psychology,
Faculty of Philosophy,
University of Novi Sad,
Dr Zorana Đinđića 2,
21102 Novi Sad, Serbia

Email:

katarina.masic@ff.uns.ac.rs

Furthermore, the majority of fathers in this sample report being unaware of the existence of parenting programs or services within the healthcare system. Even when they are aware of them, very few have actually participated in activities such as parenting classes, breastfeeding support groups or groups for parental preparations. Fathers recognize and express strong need for more targeted services – such as father-specific workshops, mental health support and guidance in the relationship with their child – highlighting systemic neglect of their unique needs. Overall, the findings accentuate the necessity for a paradigm shift in how the healthcare systems conceptualize and deliver support for parenting. Fathers are willing to be involved, but it seems that the systemic structures and cultural expectations (still) often prevent their engagement.

KEYWORDS

father involvement, healthcare system, parenting support, nurturing care, gender balanced parenting

Rodno balansirana podrška roditeljstvu: percepcija očeva o podršci iz zdravstvenog sistema

SAŽETAK

Istraživanja dokazuju da uključenost očeva doprinosi razvoju deteta, kvalitetu majčinog roditeljstva, te funkcionalnosti cele porodice. Ipak, postoji značajna diskrepanca između onog što nauka nudi kao usmerenje za kvalitetnije staranje o deci i prakse podrške.

Zdravstveni sistem je kontekst u kom se veštine kvalitetnog staranja mogu podržati od prvog dana, kod oba roditelja. Ovo istraživanje ima cilj da opiše iskustvo očeva vezano za podršku koju dobijaju iz zdravstvenog sistema. U istraživanju je učestvovalo 367 očeva (prosečan uzrast 37 godina; uzrast najstarijeg deteta 58 meseci). Najveći broj očeva je zaposlen (94,8%) i ima završenu srednju školu (42,2%) ili fakultetsko obrazovanje (42,2%).

Profesionalci iz zdravstvenog sistema se retko prepoznaju kao izvor podrške. Tokom praćenja trudnoće otac gotovo nikad nije pozvan na kontrole, a razvoj bebe i uloga oca nisu tema razgovora. Pedijatri očeve pozivaju češće, ali i dalje 50% očeva izveštava da nije nikada pozvano na kontrole u pedijatrijskom savetovalištu. Patronažne sestre se prepoznaju kao resurs i posete se često (43,5%) planiraju u vreme kada je otac prisutan. Ipak, vidljive su statistički značajne razlike u podršci koju tokom poseta dobijaju majke i očevi u svim aspektima podrške brizi o bebama, građenju veština interakcije sa bebom i razgovoru o kompetentnosti i osećanjima vezanim za roditeljstvo.

KLJUČNE REČI

uključenost očeva, zdravstveni sistem, podrška roditeljstvu, podsticajna nega, rodno balansirano roditeljstvo

1 UVOD

Značaj uključenosti očeva za razvoj dece danas je dobro dokumentovan podacima iz velikog broja istraživanja. Uključenost očeva doprinosi kvalitetu odrastanja i ima pozitivne efekte na celokupan razvoj dece, kvalitet socijalnih relacija dece, njihovo akademsko postignuće i emocionalnu dobrobit (Parke 2000; Cabrera, Shannon i Tamis-LeMonda 2007; Pleck 2010; Sarkadi i dr. 2008; Cabrera i Tamis-Le Monda 2013; Cabrera i dr. 2014; Rolle i dr. 2019; Cano, Perales i Baxter 2019; Diniz i dr. 2021; Puglisi i dr. 2024). Isto tako, uključenost očeva doprinosi razvoju i emotivnoj dobrobiti samih očeva. Rezultati istraživanja ukazuju na pravilnosti da uključeniji očeви imaju više samopouzdanja, doživljavaju se kompetentnijim u staranju o detetu, bolje razumeju svoju ulogu u životu deteta, prihvataju dete, ali su i generalno zadovoljniji životom, imaju stabilnije poslove i manje profesionalnog stresa, brakovi su im kvalitetniji i više učestvuju u zajednici (Allen i Daly 2007)¹.

Konačno, uključenost očeva značajan je aspekt funkcionisanja porodice u celini. Ovaj doprinos vidljiv je pre svega kroz funkcionalnost roditeljskog saveza. Ova relacija podrazumeva interakciju među roditeljima koja je odvojena od partnerске i tiče se dogovora o brizi o detetu, usaglašavanja vaspitnih ideja i međusobne podrške za razvoj u roditeljskoj ulozi

(Feinberg 2003). Iako roditeljski savez postoji i kada otac nije uključen u staranje o detetu, ključni procesi koji čine dinamiku ove relacije (poput podjednake participacije i zainteresovanosti oba roditelja za staranje o detetu, dogovora o podeli brige, usaglašavanja oko vaspitanja i načina na koji se doživljava dete i razume roditeljska uloga), ukazuju na to da se funkcionalan i snažan roditeljski savez ipak oslanja na uključenost očeva. Osim toga, na samu uključenost očeva, pa i na funkcionalan roditeljski savez oslanja se izgradnja rodno balansiranih i rodno transformativnih porodičnih okruženja. Ova okruženja podrazumevaju staranje o detetu i dinamiku porodice koja je oslobođena rodni stereotipa i kada je u pitanju vaspitanje dečaka ili devojčica, i kada su u pitanju aktivnosti muškaraca i žena u porodici (rodno-balansirana okruženja). Prema Trikić i Ayali (2023) ova okruženja podrazumevaju ne samo oslobođenost rodni stereotipa kada je u pitanju porodična dinamika, već ona omogućavaju kritičko razmatranje socijalnih (ne)ravnopravnosti, rodni uloga, normi i međuljudskih odnosa. Dakle, ona uključuju i promišljanje o širim socijalnim strukturama (poput zakona, običaja, medija, školskog, zdravstvenog i pravnog sistema), kao i socijalni pritisaka koji dolaze iz vršnjačkih odnosa ili zajednice, a koji oblikuju rodne stavove i proces socijalizacije rodni uloga kod dece. Takvo okruženje autori definišu kao rodno transformativno okruženje (Trikić i Ayali 2023). Rodno balansirano porodično okruženje podrazumevaće snažan i funkcionalan roditeljski savez i kvalitetne odnose među starateljima, pružanje modela angažovanog, zainteresovanog i veštog roditelja bez obzira na rod, uvažavanje i građenje kompetencija oba roditelja, prepoznavanje značaja oba roditelja za

¹ Rad predstavlja sintezu od oko 150 relevantnih empirijskih studija objavljenih do tada, a koje se tiču uključivanja očeva u roditeljstvo, njegovim implikacijama za decu, roditeljski savez i same očeve. Autori prilažu širok spektar efekata, od kojih su neki navedeni u tekstu, ali je važno napomenuti da se fokusiraju na pregled postojećih korelacija, a ne longitudinalnih istraživanja. Podaci su prikupljeni iz različitih populacionih i kontekstualnih uzoraka (uključujući različite zemlje, starosne grupe i porodične strukture).

dete i kvalitetnog odnosa koji dete ima svakim od njih za stvaranje negujućeg, prihvatajućeg i podsticajnog okruženja za dete (UNICEF i ISSA 2020). Tome će dodatno doprineti svest i praksa ovog okruženja tako što pruža jednake prilike za podsticaj i rano učenje, učešće, negu i pripadanje, bez obzira na rod deteta. U tom smislu, rodno balansirana okruženja, i uključenost očeva kao jedna od temeljnih komponenti, može da doprinese izgradnji društva koje počiva na rodnoj ravnopravnosti (npr. Cano i Hofmeister 2023). Dodatno, uključenost očeva se smatra jednim od ključnih činilaca transgeneracijskog prenosa kapaciteta za deljeno staranje o deci, prevencije rodno zasnovanih grubih vaspitnih praksi i rodno zasnovanog nasilja (npr. Handayani i dr. 2024; Hansen, Pascoe i Wells 2022). Uzimajući sve navedeno u obzir, uključenost očeva više ne može biti preporuka, već društveni imperativ, a podrška uključenosti očeva jedan od temeljnih zadataka podrške deci i porodicama.

Podrška očevima za staranje o deci pre svega bi trebalo da pođe od pitanja šta iz perspektive razvoja dece znači *uključeni otac*? Interdisciplinarni pristupi istraživanju očinstva najpre su uveli praksu praćenja koliko vremena očevo provode sa decom, i eventualno, u koji tip aktivnosti su očevo uključeni (Pleck 2010). Ove studije kvantiteta uvele su značaj dostupnosti i fizičkog prisustva, odnosno odsustva oca. Iako su dale značajan doprinos razumevanju efekata dihotomno definisane varijable uključenosti (prisutan ili ne), zapravo su reflektovale odsustvo dobre teorije koja bi usmeravala istraživanja uloge oca. U većini ovih studija, uključenost očeva se oslanja na Lambov koncept po kom uključen znači dostupan, angažovan, odgovoran (Lamb i dr. 1985). Aktuelno se, inicirano studijama koje su se oslanjale na kvalitativnu

metodologiju, sve više pažnje posvećuje razumevanju kvaliteta relacije oca i deteta i upravo se ovaj aspekt uključenosti razume kao ključan preduslov svih ranije navedenih efekata. Ovo ogromno polje istraživanja uvelo je u razumevanje uključenosti oca koncepte poput responzivnosti i senzitivnosti i sa njima povezanih veština. Rezultati ovih studija ukazuju (između ostalog) na to da očevo imaju podjednak kapacitet za responzivno staranje kao i majke (Cabrera, Shannon i Tamis-LeMonda 2007; Mills-Koonce i dr. 2015). Dodatno su otvorena i pitanja mogućnosti da se u porodici razviju nezavisne relacije deteta sa ocem i majkom, te pitanja delovanja različitih činilaca na kvalitet relacije otac-dete (McBride, Schoppe i Rane 2002; McBride i dr. 2005; Perry i Langley 2013; Cabrera i dr. 2014; Seward i Stanley-Stevens 2014; Diniz, Brandao i Verissimo 2023; Voyer-Perron, Matte-Gagne i Levesque 2024; Alakoç, Akış i Soydan 2025). Upravo interesovanje za poslednje pitanje je značajno doprinelo korpusu podataka koji objašnjavaju, kako vulnerabilnost očeve roditeljske uloge, tako i važnost prepoznavanja očeva kao grupe kojoj je potrebno nameniti specifične usluge u cilju podrške njihovom kvalitetnom staranju o detetu.

Uz prethodno, povezano je i jedno specifičnije pitanje. Šta suštinski znači uloga *uključenog oca u savremenom kontekstu Srbije*? Dostupni nalazi govore da, kada je reč o svakodnevnim aktivnostima sa malim detetom, očevo u Srbiji retko preuzimaju potpunu odgovornost u neposrednom odnosu sa detetom. Rutinske aktivnosti nege uglavnom ostaju u domenu majke, dok se očevo češće uključuju u aktivnosti koje su pre svega usmerene na igru i zajedničko provođenje vremena, a u okviru svakodnevne brige češće imaju ulogu pomagača (Stanojević 2018). Sa druge strane, podaci

ukazuju da očevi svoju uključenost procenjuju kao visoku u periodu predškolskog uzrasta deteta (Mihić 2010), što sugerira da se njihovo angažovanje povećava kako deca rastu, kada se, prema sopstvenoj proceni, uključuju u sličnoj meri kao i majke (Stanojević 2018). Ipak, istraživanja sa adolescentima pokazuju da razlika ostaje jasno izražena: majke se i dalje doživljavaju kao roditelji koji prvenstveno zadovoljavaju emocionalne potrebe deteta, dok se očevima najčešće pripisuje „spoljašnja“ uloga, pre svega kroz pružanje instrumentalne podrške (Mihić i Petrović 2009). U skladu sa nalazima, autori navode da se najviše promena u ulozi oca beleži na nivou identiteta i vrednosti, dok su same prakse očinstva i dalje u velikoj meri usklađene sa patrijarhalnim obrascima prisutnim u Srbiji (Tomanović i Stanojević 2024).

Sve to vodi drugom pitanju. Šta znači *podržati uključenost očeva u staranje o detetu*? Aktivnosti koje su usmerene na informisanje ili zakonsko omogućavanje prisustva očeva u životu deteta (poput odsustva za negu deteta ili medijskih kampanja koje i očeve stavljaju u centar svakodnevnih rutina poput kupanja, hranjenja, presvlačenja) mogu efektima da dosegnu do podizanja svesti o značaju uključenosti i veće zainteresovanosti i prisustva očeva u životu deteta. Potrebne su, dakle, intervencije koje adresiraju problem na više različitih nivoa (poput individualnog i sistemskog), koje su prilagođene najčešćim specifičnim pitanjima vezanim za ulogu oca, ali i dostupne za različite potrebe očeva, kako bi se podržao kvalitet interakcije očeva i dece.

Sumirajući rezultate velikog broja studija, Svetska zdravstvena organizacija, UNICEF i Svetska banka (World Health Organization, United Nations Children's Fund i World Bank Group 2018) definisali su koncept *Podsticajne nege*,

obuhvatajući njime suštinske elemente kvalitetnog okruženja za razvoj i kvalitetnog staranja o detetu. Ovaj koncept *kvalitet brige* definiše kroz pet domena staranja. To su: briga o zdravlju (obuhvata praćenje razvoja, brigu o mentalnom zdravlju i roditelja i deteta), briga o ishrani (uz nutritivno kvalitetnu ishranu, podrazumeva i responzivno hranjenje), briga o sigurnosti i bezbednosti (obuhvata emotivno sigurno okruženje i pozitivne vaspitne prakse), responzivna nega i prilike za učenje (koje podrazumevaju učešće roditelja u igri ili čitanju sa detetom, ali i uključivanje deteta u različite svakodnevne rutine porodice) (World Health Organization, United Nations Children's Fund i World Bank Group 2018). Kao suštinska potka kvalitetne brige u bilo kom od ovih domena, izdvaja se responzivnost kao veština roditelja da prepozna, razume i odreaguje na različite potrebe deteta čime obezbeđuje da se dete oseća prihvaćeno, podržano i zaštićeno. Koncept podsticajne nege ponudio je jasan okvir za to šta znači kvalitet brige, ali i smernice za politike, programe i usluge koji omogućavaju kvalitet roditeljstva. Na taj način ponuđen je jasan odgovor: podizati kvalitet odnosa oca i deteta znači jačati responzivnost i svih pet domena podsticajne nege. Dodatno, zdravstveni sistem je stavljen u fokus (United Nations Children's Fund i World Health Organization 2022) kao prvi koji bi trebalo da odgovori na potrebe oba roditelja onda kada se kapaciteti za staranje o detetu intenzivno grade, a odnosi oba roditelja sa detetom uspostavljaju. To obuhvata tranziciju u roditeljstvo, kao i naročito zahtevno angažovanje u brizi o detetu u prvim danima, mesecima i godinama života deteta.

Prema dostupnim nalazima u Srbiji, očevi načelno ističu da razlike u brizi o detetu ne bi trebalo da postoje prema

rodnim ulogama. Ipak, jasno je da i dalje prave distinkciju između „majčinih“ i „očevih“ zadataka (Stanojević 2018). Često navode da biološki aspekt trudnoće ženama omogućava da se povežu sa detetom već pre rođenja, dok se kod njih roditeljska uloga razvija kasnije. Upravo zato, prilike da prisustvuju prenatalnim pregledima (naročito ultrazvuku), za njih imaju posebno značenje. Čini se da im takva iskustva omogućuju da trudnoću dožive kao realnu i opipljivu, da ostvare prvi vizuelni kontakt sa detetom i počnu da zamišljaju sebe u roditeljskoj ulozi (Stanojević 2018; Genesoni i Tallandini 2009). U tom kontekstu zdravstveni radnici već tokom tranzicije u roditeljstvo mogu odigrati ključnu ulogu jednostavnim, ali značajnim gestom kao što je upućivanje poziva i očevima da prisustvuju pregledima. Očevi jasno govore o svojim željama da budu prisutni tokom svakog pregleda i ostalih aktivnosti (ako postoje). Ipak, nalazi dostupnog istraživanja u Srbiji (Stanojević 2018) izveštavaju o tome da očevi retko imaju takve prilike. Dakle, i pored određenih pomaka u pojedinim aspektima roditeljstva, razlike u aktivnostima majki i očeva opstaju, a te razlike posebno su vidljive i u domenu obaveza prema sistemskoj brizi za dete poput zdravstvenog sistema koji prema raspoloživim nalazima i dalje dominantno pripada majkama (Stanojević 2018).

Koncept podsticajne nege jeste pronašao svoje mesto u politikama², ali i smernicama za realizaciju prakse u različitim uslugama iz domena zdravlja i u Srbiji³.

² Već ranije usvojenim, na primer Uredba o nacionalnom programu za unapređenje razvoja u ranom detinjstvu: 22/2016 (2016).

³ Npr. Stručno metodološko uputstvo za sprovođenje kućnih poseta polivalentne patronažne službe porodicama sa trudnicama i decom (Gradski zavod za javno zdravlje Beograd 2022).

Obuke zdravstvenih radnika stavljaju poseban naglasak na uključivanje očeva (UNICEF i ISSA 2019) i promociju rodno balansirano porodičnog okruženja (UNICEF i ISSA 2020). Cilj ovog rada je stoga da proveriti i opiše kako očevi doživljavaju podršku koju, u ulozi roditelja, dobijaju iz zdravstvenog sistema, kao i da utvrdi da li smatraju da se ta podrška razlikuje od one koja je dostupna majkama. Rezultati istraživanja poput ovog, mogli bi da doprinesu kontinuiranom praćenju realizovane podrške, ali i oblikovanju smernica za unapređenje prakse podrške podsticajnoj nezi.

2 METOD

Uzorak istraživanja činilo je 367 muškaraca, prosečnog uzrasta nešto ispod 38 godina ($M = 37,51$ godina). U uzorku većina ima fakultetsku diplomu ili viši nivo obrazovanja (40,6%), odnosno barem završenu srednju školu (42,2%). Najveći broj očeva iz uzorka je zaposlen (95%). Svi ispitanici žive sa svojim partnerkama (u braku ili vezi), imaju decu, a uzrast najstarijeg deteta je oko 5 godina ($M = 58,24$ meseci).

Očevi iz uzorka sebe opisuju kao spremne da traže podršku za znanja o razvoju deteta i kvalitetnom staranju o detetu ($M = 4,03$, od maksimalnih 5), zadovoljne u ulozi oca ($M = 4,33$, od maksimalnih 5), angažovane u svakodnevnoj interakciji sa detetom (razgovaram sa detetom: $M = 4,4$; čitam sa detetom: $M = 4,04$; igram se sa detetom: $M = 4,35$, od maksimalnih 5). Nešto nižim opisuju svoju informisanost o razvoju deteta ($M = 3,93$, od maksimalnih 5) odnosno načinima na koje može da podstakne razvoj svog deteta ($M = 3,87$, od maksimalnih 5).

2.1 PROCEDURA

Ispitanici su upitnik popunjavali on-line tokom decembra 2024. godine. Ispitanicima je najpre davana forma informisane saglasnosti u kojoj je predstavljen cilj istraživanja, način obrade i upotrebe dobijenih podataka. Dodatno su date informacije o dobrovoljnosti, vremenu potrebnom za popunjavanje upitnika, načinima osiguravanja anonimnosti učesnika u istraživanju, kao i o mogućnosti odustajanja od učešća u istraživanju. Pored metoda snežne grudve i deljenja upitnika putem društvenih mreža, upitnik je prosleđivan porodicama i od strane vaspitača u predškolskim ustanovama, odnosno patronažne službe roditeljima dece mlađe od godinu dana.

2.2 INSTRUMENTI

U istraživanju su korišćeni upitnici konstruisani za potrebe studije, sa setovima pitanja o socio-demografskim podacima, zdravstvenom sistemu podrške i dostupnim informacijama o roditeljstvu. Pitanja o izvorima informacija bila su zatvorenog tipa, uz mogućnost samostalnog davanja odgovora i navođenja informacija koje smatraju nedostupnim. Deo o zdravstvenom sistemu obuhvatio je setove pitanja o podršci u toku tranzicije u roditeljstvo, najpre od strane ginekologa, te podršci nakon rođenja deteta od strane pedijatar i patronažnih sestara. Korišćena je četvorostepena skala odgovora (1 – *nikada* do 4 – *uvek ili skoro uvek*). Ispitanici su procenjivali i dostupnost usluga lokalnih domova zdravlja (*da/ne*), njihovo korišćenje (sopstveno i/ili supruge), korisnost i usmerenost na očeve, uz mogućnost navođenja drugih programa koji su im bili važni.

Dodatno, uključena su i određena otvorena pitanja o tome koliko su očevi

zadovoljni podrškom koja im je ponuđena, te su, ukoliko prepoznaju da oni kao očevi (ne) dobijaju podršku u dovoljnoj meri, zamoljeni da navedu vidove podrške koje prepoznaju kao postojeće, odnosno, šta je to što primećuju da nedostaje. Na samom kraju, očevi su procenjivali sebe u roditeljskoj ulozi (npr. „*Ja sam vešt otac*“) na petostepenoj skali slaganja (1 – *uopšte se ne slažem* do 5 – *u potpunosti se slažem*).

Pitanja u ovom segmentu, koja se tiču oblika, programa i aktivnosti podrške iz zdravstvenog sistema, obuhvatala su usluge podrške porodicama koje su definisane na osnovu dostupnog regulatornog okvira koji definiše univerzalni nivo podrške porodicama iz primarnog nivoa zdravstvene zaštite u Srbiji, kao i na osnovu sadržaja rada patronažnih sestara prikazanih u aktuelnim stručno metodološkim uputstvima za njihov rad (Gradski zavod za javno zdravlje Beograd 2022). Prema ovim uputstvima, podrška pedijatar i patronaže nastavlja se dalje od prve godine detetovog života (iako tada jeste najintenzivnija). Stoga su, u skladu sa propisanom podrškom, pitanja usmerena na period do predškolskog perioda, što je i bio uzrast dece obuhvaćen ovim istraživanjem.

3 REZULTATI

3.1 PROCENA DOSTUPNOSTI I SADRŽAJA PODRŠKE OČEVIMA

Očevi procenjuju da u zajednici gotovo i nema programa podrške očevima. Vidovi podrške koje prepoznaju uglavnom se tiču rada patronažnih sestara, pedijatar i školi roditeljstva u domovima zdravlja. Primeri odgovora koje navode odnose se na organizovane programe i informativne posete („*Škola roditeljstva*“, „*Informacije zdravstvenih radnika, sistematski*

pregledi", „Program roditeljstva"). Takođe, prepoznaju i podršku zdravstvenih radnika kroz direktan kontakt („Patronažna sestra i njihova organizacija svega", „Odnos prema deci, hranjenje, kupanje, oblačenje – kad dođe patronažna sestra").

3.2 ZDRAVSTVENI RADNICI KAO IZVOR INFORMACIJA O RAZVOJU DECE I RODITELJSTVU

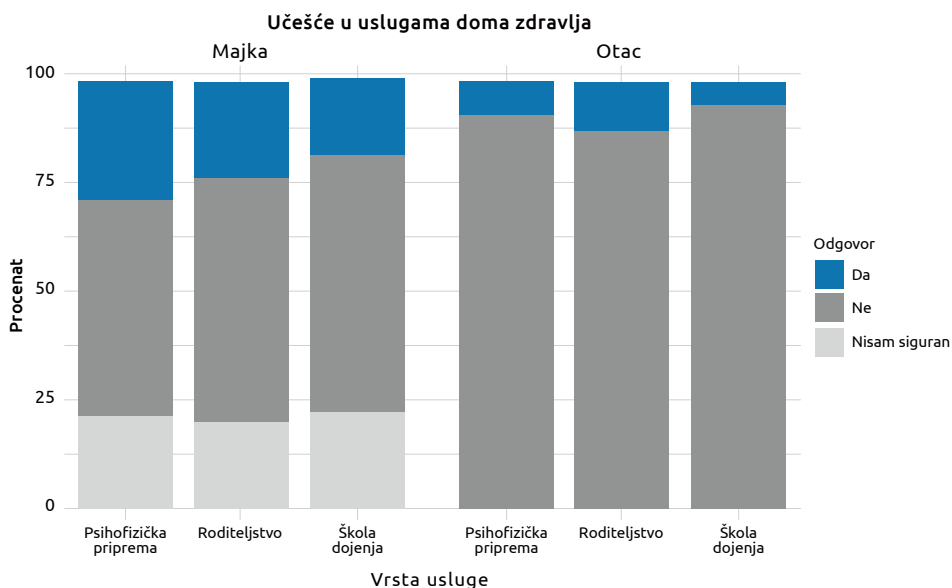
Prema tome gde očevi najčešće pronalaze informacije o razvoju dece i kvalitetnom staranju o njima, pedijatri se nalaze na trećem mestu (15%). Na prvom mestu nalaze se partnerke, odnosno, najveći broj očeva informacije dobija od majki svoje dece (20%), a zatim i kroz razgovor sa drugim roditeljima (16%). Ostali odgovori uključuju sledeće načine pronalaženja informacija: poster i flajeri u domu zdravlja, poseta patronažne sestre, čitanje knjiga, praćenje internet portala, drugi mediji (televizija ili novinski članci), Bebbio aplikacija, razgovor sa drugim članovima porodice sa decom, posećivanje

programa roditeljstva (pri čemu je ova opcija najmanje zastupljena u odgovorima očeva).

U isto vreme, zdravstveni sistem prepoznaje se kao modalitet prenosa informacija koji očevima najviše znači (61%).

3.3 INFORMISANOST OČEVA O USLUGAMA I DOSTUPNIM OBLICIMA PODRŠKE U ZDRAVSTVENOM SISTEMU

Iako očevi izveštavaju da je zdravstveni sistem za njih značajan izvor informacija o detetu i razvoju deteta, oni takođe izveštavaju da nisu upoznati sa uslugama koje nudi zdravstveni sistem kao oblike podrške roditeljstvu (61%). Od očeva kojima su takve usluge poznate, veoma mali broj ih je i posećivao. Najčešće su to škole roditeljstva (11%), i retko grupe psihofizičke pripreme za porođaj (8%) ili škole dojenja (5%). Očevi su procenili da su majke češći korisnici programa koje kao podršku staranju o deci nude domovi zdravlja (Grafikon 1).



Grafikon 1 Procena očeva o razlikama u učešću majki i očeva u uslugama doma zdravlja

Rezultati hi kvadrat testa potvrđuju statističku značajnost razlika u procenjenom učešću majki i očeva i to u svakoj od postojećih oblika podrške – školi psihofizičke pripreme ($\chi^2(1) = 18,63, p < ,001$), školi dojenja ($\chi^2(1) = 10,08, p = ,001$) i školi roditeljstva ($\chi^2(1) = 6,99, p = ,008$), sve u korist majki, koje su, prema izveštaju očeva, češći korisnici ovih programa (iako su sadržaji ovih programa namenjeni i očevima).

Očevi koji jesu posećivali navedene usluge, u skoro polovini slučajeva izveštavaju da su za njih ovi sadržaji bili korisni (46,5%), a u nešto manjem procentu (40%) veruju da su osim informacija, podizali i veštine staranja o detetu. Na kraju, sličan procenat očeva smatra i da sadržaj programa nije namenjen isključivo ili skoro isključivo majkama, već podjednako i očevima (41%).

3.4 PERCIPIRANA PODRŠKA ZDRAVSTVENOG SISTEMA U TOKU TRANZICIJE U RODITELJSTVO

Većina očeva nije nikada ili jeste retko bila pozvana od strane zdravstvenih radnika da prisustvuje pregledima tokom

trudnoće zajedno sa majkom deteta. Dodatno, prema izveštaju očeva, tokom samih poseta, ginekolozi najčešće nisu inicirali razgovore sa očevima. U najvećem broju slučajeva nije bilo razgovora o razvoju bebe, a ni o ulozi koju otac ima u tom procesu. Iako rezultati ukazuju da su u određenom broju slučajeva ginekolozi pokazivali otvorenost za pitanja oca o razvoju bebe i brizi za majku deteta, očevi ipak u najvećem broju slučajeva izveštavaju da ostaju uskraćeni za informacije o aktivnostima koje su bile korisne za trudnicu, bebu, ili par u celini, a u kojima i oni mogu da učestvuju (Tabela 1).

3.5 PERCIPIRANA PODRŠKA OČEVIMA OD STRANE PEDIJATARA

Očevi najčešće izveštavaju da, od strane pedijatar, nisu direktno pozivani u pedijatrijsko savetovaništvo na kontrolne preglede sa ciljem praćenja napredovanja i razvoja deteta (Tabela 2). Oko polovine ispitanika izveštava da pedijatar informiše oca o razvoju deteta i značenju brige o zdravlju, napredovanju i razvoju deteta. Nešto je veći procenat očeva koji izveštavaju o tome da je pedijatar na ovaj

Tabela 1 Percepcija očeva o informisanju od strane ginekologa na redovnim pregledima tokom trudnoće

	Nikada	Retko	Često	Uvek / Skoro uvek
Ginekolog je pozivao na kontrole oca zajedno sa majkom	54,9%	14,3%	9%	19,1%
U posetama ginekologu tokom trudnoće, ginekolog je razgovarao sa ocem o razvoju bebe	42,4%	20,4%	14,1%	20,4%
U posetama ginekologu tokom trudnoće, ginekolog je sa ocem razgovarao o ulozi oca u razvoju deteta	68,4%	15,9%	5,8%	7,2%
Ginekolog je informisao oca o načinu na koji može da podrži suprugu u zdravom stilu života tokom trudnoće	57%	17,8%	10,6%	11,9%
Ginekolog je informisao oca o adekvatnim zajedničkim aktivnostima (kao što su ples, šetnja, plivanje) koje su dobre za suprugu u toku trudnoće, ali i za njih kao par	65,8%	13%	7,7%	10,9%
Ginekolog je (bio) otvoren za pitanja oca o razvoju deteta i brizi za suprugu	33,7%	14,6%	17,5%	31,6%

Tabela 2 Percepcija očeva o interakciji pedijatra sa njima na redovnim pregledima

	Nikada	Retko	Često	Uvek / Skoro uvek
Pedijatar poziva oca na redovne kontrole (u pedijatrijskom savetovalištu)	45,9%	13,5%	15,1%	22,8%
Pedijatar informiše oca o razvoju deteta (kako se razvijaju i javljaju sposobnosti u oblasti pokreta, govora, socio-emocionalnih veština i kada se ove sposobnosti javljaju kod najvećeg broja dece određenog uzrasta)	25,2%	19,1%	22%	31%
Pedijatar informiše oca o rastu deteta (kako da prati visinu i težinu deteta i šta bi trebalo da radi kako bi podstakao zdrave životne navike svog deteta)	28,6%	15,4%	22,3%	31%
Pedijatar informiše oca o načinu brige o zdravlju deteta (imunizacija, ishrana i sl.)	22,3%	13,3%	24,4%	37,4%
Pedijatar informiše oca o „crvenim zastavicama“ u razvoju deteta - ponašanjima koja ukazuju na neke poteškoće u razvoju (npr. izostanak ili kašnjenje u razvoju nekih veština, ponašanja poput povlačenja u sebe, povećane razdražljivosti i sl.)	39,5%	19,1%	17,2%	21,5%
Pedijatar je otvoren za pitanja oca o staranju o detetu i odnosu otac – dete	16,7%	18,6%	22%	40,1%

način angažovan u oblasti informisanja o higijeni, zdravlju i imunizaciji. Tek nešto manje od 39% očeva izveštava da je od pedijatra dobio informacije o tome šta su rizici za razvoj i na šta bi trebalo da obrati pažnju u praćenju razvoja svog deteta. Više od polovine ispitanika doživljava da je pedijatar otvoren da sasluša i odgovori na pitanja koje otac može imati o razvoju i napredovanju svog deteta.

3.6 PERCIPIRANA PODRŠKA OČEVIMA U POSETAMA PATRONAŽNIH SESTARA

Prema izveštajima očeva, u više od polovine slučajeva, patronažne sestre zakazuju posetu u terminu kada je i otac prisutan. Tačnije, u 43% slučajeva poseta je dogovorena redovno kada su i očevi prisutni, a u dodatnih 16% često. Ipak, ta prisutnost nije često korišćena u svrhu podsticanja očevog angažovanja: 49% očeva izveštava da patronažna

sestra nikada ili veoma retko podstiče interakciju oca i deteta kroz konkretne aktivnosti tokom kućne posete. Takođe, prema njihovom izveštaju, izostaju razgovori na temu očevog doživljaja o sopstvenim kompetencijama za brigu o detetu (58%) ili njegovom odnosu sa detetom (57%).

Informacije koje patronažna sestra tokom posete deli sa očevima, najčešće se, prema njihovim izveštajima, odnose na osnovnu negu i higijenu deteta, i to svega u četvrtini slučajeva (26%). Sve ostale teme zastupljene su, prema navodima očeva, ređe: imunizacija i preventivni pregledi u 15%, dojenje i ishrana u 12%, bezbednost okruženja u 11%, a interakcija i komunikacija otac-dete u tek 10% slučajeva. Teme poput mentalnog zdravlja očeva, pripreme za roditeljstvo i porođaj, te ranog učenja ili pripreme za polazak u predškolsko gotovo se i ne pominju tokom poseta patronažnih sestara (o tome izveštava tek 3% do 7% očeva).

Slično tome, doživljaj očeva je da se konkretne veštine koje se sa ocem vežbaju tokom poseta uglavnom svode na osnovnu negu deteta, poput kupanja ili presvlačenja (32%), a veštine koje doprinose emocionalnom povezivanju sa detetom (kao što je igra, razgovor i/ili čitanje) su ređe deo posete (prema izveštajima očeva iz uzorka između 8% kada je reč o čitanju do 15% kada je reč o igri).

Kada je reč o emocionalnoj podršci koju patronažne sestre mogu da pruže tokom svojih poseta, razgovori sa očevima o njihovom doživljaju kompetentnosti u roditeljskoj ulozi su veoma retki (o njima izveštava 19% ispitanika), kao i razgovori o emocionalnom stanju očeva (16%), ili mreži podrške koju imaju u

roditeljstvu (12%). U velikom broju slučajeva (45%), prema izveštaju očeva, nijedna od ovih tema zapravo nije ni bila obuhvaćena posetom kojoj su i oni prisustvovali.

Očevi izveštavaju o značajnim doživljenim razlikama u podršci koju tokom patronažne posete dobijaju oni sami, u poređenju sa onom koju dobijaju majke (Tabela 3). Sve razlike su i ovde u korist majki, za koje očevi procenjuju da su češće informisane i uključivane u aktivnosti tokom posete. Ovu razliku očevi naročito prepoznaju vezano za teme emocionalnog povezivanja sa detetom, uključivanja deteta u predškolsku ustanovu ili aktivnosti podsticaja razvoju (čitanje i igra sa detetom).

Tabela 3 Izveštaj očeva o doživljenim razlikama u odnosu patronažnih sestara prema njima i prema majkama deteta

	Tema	χ^2 (df = 1, N = 367)	p	Cramer's V
Informisanje	Nega i higijena	49,90	<,001	,367
	Priprema za roditeljstvo, porođaj i dojenje	49,70	<,001	,368
	Dojenje i ishrana	16,38	<,001	,211
	Mentalno zdravlje	110,42	<,001	,549
	Bezbednost okruženja	163,94	<,001	,668
	Interakcija i komunikacija otac-dete	121,20	<,001	,575
	Rano učenje	145,60	<,001	,630
	Imunizacija i preventivni pregledi	121,11	<,001	,574
	Priprema za polazak u predškolsku ustanovu	184,01	<,001	,708
Iniciranje vežbanja veština	Nega deteta	44,97	<,001	,350
	Prepoznavanje signala gladi	61,57	<,001	,410
	Razgovor sa detetom	130,55	<,001	,596
	Igra sa detetom	180,23	<,001	,701
	Čitanje sa detetom	181,77	<,001	,704
Razgovor sa roditeljima	Osećanja	68,99	<,001	,434
	Doživljaj veštine u staranju o detetu	71,48	<,001	,441
	Doživljaj podrške u roditeljstvu	107,02	<,001	,540
	Umor i zahtevnost uloge roditelja	63,93	<,001	,417

Napomena: Cramer's V predstavlja snagu efekta za razlike među kategorijama; 0,1 = mala razlika, 0,3 = umerena razlika, 0,5 = velika razlika.

3.7 PERCEPCIJA NEDOSTAJUĆE PODRŠKE

U završnom delu upitnika, očevi su odgovarali na otvoreno pitanje: *Ukoliko smatrate da očevi NE dobijaju podršku u dovoljnoj meri, molimo navedite koji su to vidovi (ili teme) podrške koji nedostaju*. Na njega je dalo odgovor oko 75% ispitanika. Deo pruženih odgovora je bio vrlo kratak ili uopšten (na primer: *ne znam; sve teme*), te nije pružao dovoljno sadržaja za dalju analizu. Kvalitativna analiza sadržaja primenjena je na preostalom skupu odgovora (oko 85% svih datih odgovora). Na osnovu sličnosti i tematskog preklapanja, izdvojene su tri kategorije sa odgovarajućim podtemama koje ilustruju ključne oblasti u kojim ispitanici prepoznaju nedostatak podrške. Prva kategorija bila je najzastupljenija, sa oko 50% odgovora, dok su druge dve kategorije imale po oko 25% odgovora:

1. Specifične teme koje u postojećim programima nedostaju, a za očeve su relevantne:

- Uloga oca i odnos sa detetom: izražena je potreba za edukacijom o očinskoj ulozi, emocionalnom povezivanju sa detetom, ali i specifičnostima odnosa „otac-ćerka i otac-sin“. Primeri odgovora: „Pravilan pristup detetu i uloga oca u životu jednog deteta“, „Kako biti dobar otac“, „Značaj uključenosti oca u razvoj deteta“
- Razvoj i nega deteta: poput dojenja, uspavljivanja, pravilne ishrane i vaspitanja. Primeri odgovora: „Privenstveno dojenje pa onda sve ostalo“, „Nega bebe, umirivanje, uspavljivanje, šta sve mi možemo da uradimo umesto mame“, „Pravilna ishrana, rast i razvoj deteta“, „Vaspitanje dece“

- Porodični odnosi i partnerstvo: briga o porodici, komunikacija sa partnerkom i balansiranje porodičnih uloga. Primeri odgovora: „Očuvanje porodice, zajedničke aktivnosti oca i majke sa decom“, „Savez roditelja (majka-otac-dete)“, „Sadržaji na teme kako da se sačuva odnos sa majkom deteta nakon rođenja deteta i da se pronađe vreme za odnos između supružnika. Načini na koje očevi mogu da budu prava podrška majkama u prvim mesecima nakon rođenja deteta“
- Mentalno zdravlje i priprema za roditeljsku ulogu. Primeri odgovora: „Zapostavljenost i psihičko stanje oca“, „Podrška mentalnom zdravlju“, „Priprema za roditeljstvo“, „Mentalna priprema za dolazak deteta“

2. Načini pružanja podrške koje očevi prepoznaju kao potrebne. Iako je pitanje formulisano kao opšte, odgovori su analizirani u odnosu na temu istraživanja i kontekst zdravstvenog sistema. Njihov izostanak prepoznat je kao slabost postojećeg sistema podrške:

- Radionice, škole, kursevi (jasno namenjeni očevima, posebno tokom trudnoće i postpartalnog perioda). Primeri odgovora: „Grupe podrške za očeve, škole i za očeve kao što postoje za majke“, „Edukacije i kursevi“, „Radionice ili seminari za očeve, edukativni sadržaji namenjeni očevima“, „Radionica za očeve u toku trudnoće, kao i tokom majkinog postpartum-a“
- Stručna podrška i savetovništvo u zdravstvenom sistemu (mogućnost razgovora sa psihologom u okviru zdravstvenih ustanova. Primeri odgovora: „Recimo kada bi psiholog bio na raspolo-

ganju da se zakaže razgovor, da se obrne mnoštvo tema, to bi bilo fantastično. Psiholog kao neka neutralna osoba koja je na raspolaganju besplatno", „U redu to što mi supruge objasni ali mnogo je bolje i ima veću težinu kada ti informacije daje „stručno“ lice", „Zdravstvena zaštita"

- Informativna podrška u vezi sa brigom i negom deteta (edukativni materijali, kampanje i javna komunikacija sistemski usmerena na očeve). Primeri odgovora: „Iole marketinški pravilnija upotreba društvenih mreža zarad obuke novih i postojećih očeva", „Više da se priča u medijima o toj podršci", „Edukativni materijali, praktični saveti", „Pozivi određenih ustanova za prisustvovanje ili newsletteri ne bi bili na odmet"

3. Stavovi i kritike vezano za postojeći odnos prema očevima i ulozi oca u sistemima koji podržavaju porodicu. Ovi odgovori se pre svega odnose na doživljaj isključenosti očeva iz staranja o detetu, ili specifičnije na kritiku vrednosnih stavova o roditeljskim ulogama, za koje očevi smatraju da i dalje opstaju i doprinose isključenosti očeva iz institucionalne podrške. Primeri odgovora: „Sistem nije u mogućnosti da prepozna da i očevi učestvuju u emotivnom razvoju deteta, otac je patrijarhalnom ulogom sistema stavljen na mesto obezbeđivača egzistencijalnih potreba porodice", „Sve je orijentisano na majke, jako malo informacija za očeve", „Generalno sve što prati odrastanje deteta nije prilagođeno ulozi oca kao ravnopravnog roditelja", „Bilo koja podrška bila bi dobra. Makar i samo podizanje svesti da su i očevi ravnopravni roditelji. Bukvalno imam osećaj da me ljudi čudno gledaju kada budem jedini tata u parkiću

ili na dečijem rođendanu", „Očevima i odnosom oca i deteta se retko ko bavi, sva pažnja je manje više usmerena na odnos majke i deteta".

4 DISKUSIJA

Zdravstveni sistem ima jedinstvenu priliku da podrži uključivanje očeva u brigu o deci i razvoj njihovih roditeljskih kompetencija, posebno u pružanju podsticajne nege i izgradnji kvalitetnog odnosa sa detetom. Prvi kontakt sa porodicom ostvaruje se već tokom tranzicije u roditeljstvo, od trudnoće i samog porođaja, pa sve do prvih godina detetovog života. Tokom tog perioda, porodica ostvaruje niz susreta sa profesionalcima iz zdravstvenog sistema koji brinu o zdravlju i napredovanju deteta, ali i stvaranju podsticajnog okruženja za njegov razvoj. Koncept podsticajne nege, koji pruža okvir za rad sa očevima i porodicama uopšte, sve više je integrisan u svakodnevnu praksu stručnjaka u sistemu zdravstvene zaštite. Rezultati ove studije pokazuju da očevi imaju visoko poverenje u zdravstvene radnike kada je reč o prenošenju informacija i znanja o razvoju i potrebama njihove dece, te da su oni među najčešćim izvorima kojima se očevi obraćaju. Ipak, očevi istovremeno izveštavaju da nisu dovoljno upoznati sa postojećim uslugama podrške roditeljstvu u okviru zdravstvenog sistema i često smatraju da takve usluge, namenjene očevima, u njihovim zajednicama uopšte ne postoje. Međutim, čak i kada su informisani o postojanju različitih programa (poput psihofizičke pripreme za porođaj, škola roditeljstva ili škola dojenja) veoma retko izveštavaju da u njima i učestvuju. Konačno, samo 40% ispitanih očeva doživljava da su programi koje, kao podršku roditeljstvu, zdravstveni sistem nudi, zaista namenjeni jednako očevima i majkama.

Podrška tokom tranzicije u roditeljstvo.

Tokom tranzicije u roditeljstvo, budući roditelji su pre svega upućeni na podršku od strane ginekologa koji prati trudnoću. Više od polovine očeva koji su učestvovali u ovom istraživanju navelo je da nisu nikada (ili veoma retko) bili pozvani na redovni pregled zajedno sa suprugom. Iako se često smatra da je odluka žene ko je prati na pregledu, Uredba o podršci razvoju u ranom detinjstvu (Uredba o nacionalnom programu za unapređenje razvoja u ranom detinjstvu: 22/2016), kao i važeći teorijski okviri u praksi zdravstvenih radnika (poput koncepta Podsticajne nege; World Health Organization, United Nations Children's Fund i World Bank Group 2018) ukazuju na to da je uloga zdravstvenog radnika da aktivno promoviše i podstiče uključenost oba staratelja od najranijih dana (naravno, ako ne postoji pretnja po bezbednost majke ili deteta). U tom smislu, uloga ginekologa i drugih zdravstvenih radnika je, između ostalog, da poziva oba staratelja i omogućuje oboma pristup istim informacijama i podršci koja je dostupna. Ipak, većina očeva, učesnika ovog istraživanja, izveštava da sadržaj pregleda nije bio usmeren na njih niti na njihovu roditeljsku ulogu. Dok u Srbiji nema istraživanja o potrebama očeva u ovom periodu, podaci iz inostranstva pokazuju da oni tada najčešće traže informacije o razvoju deteta, mentalnom zdravlju i emotivnoj dobrobiti majke, finansijskim aspektima staranja o detetu, planiranju porodice i radu sistema podrške. Isti nalazi ukazuju da je u ovom periodu posebno važno očevima ponuditi relevantne, proverene informacije i prepoznati njihove potrebe (Griffit i dr. 2025). Prema tome, narednim istraživanjima bi bilo značajno obuhvatiti kako teme, tako i načine pružanja podrške koji bi za očeve bili korisni u ovom periodu.

Podrška staranju o deci u najranijem detinjstvu.

Nakon rođenja deteta, intenzivna podrška porodici u prvim mesecima i godinama brige o detetu predstavljena je kroz posete pedijatrijskom savetovalištu i patronažne posete porodičnom domu. Učesnici ovog istraživanja imaju doživljaj da su retko pozivani od strane pedijataru na posete u savetovalištu. Ipak, kada prisustvuju, očevi ocenjuju da od pedijataru mogu dobiti informacije o rastu i razvoju deteta, kao i da su pedijataru otvoreni da odgovore na njihova pitanja o brizi za dete. Očevi dodatno ističu i svoju spremnost da traže podršku kako bi unapredili znanja o razvoju i kvalitetnoj brizi o detetu, ali svoju informisanost o ovim temama procenjuju nešto nižom. Ovakav obrazac ukazuje da motivacija i angažovanost postoje, ali da su potrebni dodatni sadržaji i resursi posebno usmereni na osnaživanje očevih kompetencija.

U sistemu zdravstvene zaštite u Srbiji, podrška očevima je zastupljena (mada, pokazuje se, još uvek nedovoljno) i kroz pozive za uključivanje u škole roditeljstva, grupe za psihofizičku pripremu za porođaj ili škole dojenja. Ovakvi programi su dominantno prisutni oblici grupnog zdravstveno-vaspitnog rada na primarnom nivou zdravstvene zaštite. Međutim, iako formalno dostupni i očevima, kako rezultati ovog istraživanja pokazuju, ove programe statistički značajno više posećuju majke, dok su očevi tek ponekad učesnici.

Očevi obuhvaćeni ovim istraživanjem imaju doživljaj da najviše podrške dobijaju prilikom poseta patronažne službe. Više od polovine očeva izveštava da se posete zakazuju u terminima kada i oni mogu da prisustvuju. Patronažna sestra sa očevima deli znanja i podstiče veštine nege deteta, a razgovara i o bezbednosti doma, imunizaciji i ishrani. Iako su ovi

sadržaji prisutni, oni još uvek nisu pravilnost i o njima izveštava relativno mali broj ispitanika. Još manje njih izveštava o tome da su patronažne sestre otvorile pitanja mentalnog zdravlja, doživljaja kompetentnosti za staranje o detetu ili ponudile očevima priliku da razviju veštine podsticaja razvoja deteta kroz igru ili čitanje. Sve ove teme su, prema izveštajima očeva iz uzorka, bile statistički značajno češće zastupljene u razgovoru i radu patronažne sestre sa majkama. Razlika je naročito vidljiva kada se radi o prihvatanju deteta i emocijama vezanim za roditeljstvo.

Zabeleženi doživljaj patronažne pose- te kao korisne usluge je očekivan, imaju- ći u vidu da je do sada najviše ulaganja u kompetencije profesionalaca zdravstve- nog sistema usmereno upravo u razvoj prakse patronažne službe i pedijatar- a, posebno u domenu ranog razvoja i ra- nih intervencija. U ovom domenu postoji niz resursa kao što su obuke i moduli koji omogućuju promišljanje i unapređivanje prakse podrške uključivanju očeva (UNI- CEF i ISSA 2019), građenje rodno balan- siranih porodičnih okruženja (UNICEF i ISSA 2020) i jačanje roditeljskog saveza, uključujući i sadržaje vezane za prenatal- ne posete (UNICEF i ISSA 2023). Podrška uključivanju očeva i jačanju roditeljskog saveza integrisana je i u dokumenta koja regulišu rad patronažnih sestara i pred- stavlja obaveznu komponentu svake pla- nirane patronažne posete od prenatal- nog perioda pa nadalje⁴.

⁴ Stručno metodološko uputstvo jasno naglašava smernice za osiguravanje prisustva očeva, njho- vo uključivanje u aktivnosti tokom svake posete, kao i značaj informisanja i izgradnje veština stara- nja o detetu oba roditelja, dok regulatorni okvir omogućava i progresivne posete onda kada je porodici potrebna intenzivnija podrška u nekoj od oblasti brige o detetu, uključujući i dodatni rad na učešću oba roditelja.

Ipak, nalazi ovog istraživanja pokazuju da su porodice i dalje udaljene od ideala rodno balansirano porodičnog okruže- nja: očeви ređe učestvuju u programima ili sa njima nisu ni upoznati, a komunikaci- ja zdravstvenih radnika, prema njihovom doživljaju, i dalje je pretežno usmerena na majku. Iako deo patronažnih i pedija- trijskih poseta uključuje i očeve, nalazi pokazuju da su obrađene teme tokom tih poseta ograničene i retko podstiču ravnopravnu podelu roditeljskih uloga. Sa druge strane, istraživanje sa patrona- žnim sestrama u Srbiji pokazuje da one sve bolje prepoznaju prepreke za uklju- čenost očeva koje potiču iz stavova i po- našanja majki (regulatorska pozicija maj- ke) (Mihić, Marić Ognjenović i Nedeljković 2020), ali se, prema dobijenim podacima ovog istraživanja, čini da se smernice i sadržaji stručnog metodološkog uput- stva ne sprovode dosledno. Čak i kada se posete organizuju u terminima pogod- nim za očeve, njihova uključenost ostaje ograničena, a njihovo prisustvo se retko koristi za prepoznavanje specifičnih po- treba za podrškom ili razvoj relevantnih znanja i veština, dok su sadržaji i aktivno- sti poseta, prema njihovom iskustvu, i da- lje pretežno namenjeni majkama.

Podaci inostranih istraživanja koji pra- te efekte različitih programa podrške roditeljstvu temeljenih na kućnim pose- tama, pokazuju da je učešće očeva u ak- tivnostima tokom samih poseta veoma korisno. Iako je istraživanja koja prate efekte ovih programa baš na očeve ve- ma malo, rezultati postojećih studija uka- zuju da je angažovanje očeva u kućnim posetama povezano sa boljim efektima programa (u smislu boljih vaspitnih prak- si, veština interakcije sa detetom, boljih znanja o razvoju i staranju o deci), ali i da doprinosi dobitima za dete, kvalitetu roditeljskog saveza i dužem ostanku cele porodice u programu (Lundahl i dr. 2008;

McGinnis i dr. 2019; Burcher i dr. 2021). Zbog toga se nalaze različiti načini da se podrži motivacija očeva da učestvuju u kućnim posetama (Lee i Lee 2023), a predlaže se i redefinisane koncepta „učešće oca u kućnoj poseti“ kako bi se obuhvatili i elementi indirektnog učešća⁵ koji se takođe pokazuju relevantnim i značajnim (Osborne, DeAnda i Benson 2022). Budući da je sama uloga oca zapravo snažno integrisana u kompleksnu mrežu relacija, pogotovu sa majkom (Lewis i Lamb 2007; Pleck i Masciadrelli 2004), ne čudi podatak da uključenost očeva u kućnim posetama značajno zavisi od kvaliteta partnerske veze (Sierau, Brand i Jungmann 2012). Istraživanja beleže, međutim, i veliku ulogu uverenja profesionalaca koji sa očevima rade i odnosa porodice sa njima (Holmberg i Olds 2015). Iako ne postoje istraživanja koja prate efekte rada patronažnih sestara na kompetencije majki i očeva u Srbiji, ovakvi dokazi bi možda mogli doprineti spremnosti patronažnih sestara da doslednije primenjuju stručno metodološko uputstvo i pruže podršku i majkama i očevima, čime bi se dodatno podstaklo stvaranje negujućeg i stimulativnog okruženja za svako dete. Stoga bi naredna istraživanja i praćenje kvaliteta rada polivalentne patronažne službe trebalo usmeriti ka proceni efikasnosti njihove podrške.

⁵ „Učešće oca u kućnoj poseti“ u literaturi se ne odnosi samo na fizičko prisustvo oca tokom posete, već i na oblike indirektnog učestvovanja u aktivnostima poput: informisanja o sadržaju posete od majke (kada nisu prisutni), izrada ili ponavljanje vežbi koje su bile tema posete, učešće na roditeljskim sastancima ili događajima koji su organizovani u okviru programa (tu spadaju i različiti zadaci koje roditelji dobijaju, a koji se preporučuju za rad kod kuće, poput vežbanja roditeljskih veština, stimulacije razvoja deteta ili uvođenja novih rutina), pitanja koja postavljaju preko majke ili direktno.

Uredba o podršci razvoju u ranom detinjstvu (Uredba o nacionalnom programu za unapređenje razvoja u ranom detinjstvu: 22/2016) predviđa niz mera kojim se podstiče uključivanje očeva u zdravstveni sistem počev od prisustva porođaju i prvog kontakta sa bebom (kontakt „koža na kožu“) do učešća u specijalizovanim programima podrške očinskoj ulozi. Tako, novi nacionalni vodič za vaginalni porođaj dodatno naglašava važnost edukacije pratioca, jasno prepoznajući ulogu oca u ovom procesu. Ipak, primenu ovih mera otežavaju nedostatak kadra i preopterećenost zdravstvenih radnika, dok dodatni zahtev predstavljaju i porodice u riziku kojima je potrebna intenzivnija i ciljana podrška što traži dodatna znanja i resurse. Osim intenziviranja rada kroz univerzalno-progresivni model patronažnih poseta, zdravstveni sistem ima mogućnost i upućivanja ka drugim sistemima podrške, što je posebno važno kada postoje izazovi u mentalnom zdravlju roditelja ili ograničeni kapaciteti za brigu o deci. Regulatorni okvir za ovakvu intersektornu saradnju se još uvek razvija i ostavlja prostor za unapređenje⁶.

⁶ Pod „regulatornim okvirom“ podrazumevaju se strateški i zakonski dokumenti u Srbiji koji uređuju intersektornu saradnju u oblasti podrške deci i porodicama (npr. akciona dokumenta u oblasti zaštite dece poput *Zakona o pravima deteta* (Nacrt zakona o pravima deteta i zaštitniku prava deteta 2019). Uz njih, važan je i „Poziv na akciju“ Vlade Republike Srbije (u saradnji sa UNICEF-om) koji nema obavezujuću pravnu snagu, ali je, kao platforma za razvoj i implementaciju programa omogućio pozitivne pomake, poput jačanja patronažnih službi, uvođenja roditeljskih kutaka u domovima zdravlja i unapređenja intersektorne saradnje u zaštiti dece. Ipak, u Srbiji su ovi efekti (kada ih ima) uglavnom opšti i ne naglašavaju očevu ulogu. Slični okviru u drugim državama pokazali su pozitivne efekte, npr. u Švedskoj je povećano korišćenje roditeljskog odsustva od strane očeva, a u Kanadi je zabeleženo veće uključivanje očeva u brigu kroz programe javnog zdravlja.

Teme podrške koje nedostaju. Očevi koji su učestvovali u ovom istraživanju prepoznali su tri glavna segmenta podrške za koje smatraju da su nedovoljno zastupljeni. Budući da je pitanje bilo formulisano opšte, ovi odgovori prevazilaze okvir isključivo zdravstvenog sistema i ukazuju na potrebu jače povezanosti zdravstvene zaštite sa drugim sistemima (poput obrazovnog, socijalnog i pravnog), ali istovremeno obuhvataju i one vidove podrške koji su u samom fokusu zdravstvene zaštite, naročito kada se radi o potrebama vezanim za razvoj i negu deteta. Prvi segment odgovora odnosi se na specifične teme koje obuhvataju očinsku ulogu i emocionalno povezivanje sa detetom, aspekte razvoja i nege deteta, te porodične odnose i partnerstvo. Drugi segment se odnosi na moguće načine pružanja podrške očevima, a koji uključuju radionice i škole jasno namenjene očevima, mogućnost individualnih konsultacija sa stručnjacima, kao i informativnu podršku putem različitih materijala i kampanja. Na kraju, treći segment čine kritike i stavovi u vezi sa institucionalnim pristupom očevima; učesnici istraživanja izveštavaju o osećaju isključenosti iz brige o detetu, percepciji da su programi primarno usmereni na majke, ali uključuju i širi društveni kontekst gde imaju doživljaj da očinstvo još uvek nije dovoljno vidljivo i prepoznato. Dakle, pored toga što očevi jasno uočavaju da njihova uloga još uvek nije dovoljno prepoznata od strane zdravstvenog sistema, isto tako jasno doživljavaju neravnotežu u pristupu, pri čemu razumeju da su programi, usluge i komunikacija pretežno usmereni ka majkama, dok su njihove potrebe i perspektive marginalizovane.

Slični nalazi beleže se i u međunarodnim studijama, gde očevi, čak i u zemljama sa razvijenim sistemima podrške porodicama, navode da je programa

namenjenih njima malo, da se u njihovo informisanje nedovoljno ulaže, kao i da žele fleksibilne i prilagođene oblike podrške poput webinarima, video materijala, telezdravstvenih resursa ili grupa očeva (Lee, Hoffman i Harris 2016; Frank i dr. 2015). Da bi se povećala motivacija očeva za učešće u programima, potrebno je balansirano uključivanje oba roditelja, izbegavanje programa koji preferiraju majke, obezbeđivanje sadržaja prilagođenog očevima i jačanje njihove informisanosti o dostupnim programima u zajednici (Lechowicz i dr. 2019).

Prepreke za učešće očeva. Istraživanja sprovedena u drugim zemljama pokazuju da prepreke za uključivanje očeva mogu biti praktične (npr. nepovoljno vreme poseta, radno vreme očeva), ali i one koje se tiču uverenja o sopstvenoj ulozi u razvoju deteta (Burcher i dr. 2021; Wynter i dr. 2024) ili politika zdravstvene zaštite koje i dalje favorizuju tradicionalne rodne uloge (Wynter i dr. 2024). Zbog toga očevi u datim istraživanjima imaju doživljaj da usluge podrške porodicama nisu namenjene njima, nego primarno majkama (Sicouri i dr. 2018). Konačno, prepreke se mogu odnositi na kompetencije samih praktičara da rade sa očevima (Wynter i dr. 2024) ili na rodni disbalans među pružaocima usluga kao što je slučaj u Srbiji gde programe mahom realizuju žene, dok dostupni podaci govore da programe usmerene ka očevima bolje prihvataju i realizuju muškarci ili timovi koji uključuju muške članove (Raikes, Summers i Roggman 2005). U Srbiji su istraživanja ovog tipa retka, a dostupne informacije uglavnom posredne preko iskustava majki ili narativa o opštem nezadovoljstvu zdravstvenim sistemom u Srbiji (Stanojević 2018; Tomanović, Stanojević i Ljubičić 2016). Dodatno, još jedno istraživanje rađeno u Srbiji potvrđuje da očevi često dolaze do važnih

informacija preko svojih partnerki, što ukazuje na neiskorišćen potencijal za direktnu komunikaciju i podršku očevima (Milošević i Živojinović 2025).

Ključni izazov za zdravstveni sistem leži u promeni paradigme pristupa porodici: sa fokusiranja isključivo na dete ili majku i dete, na podršku celoj porodici koja uvažava oba roditelja. Takav pristup zasniva se na jačanju porodičnih snaga, kvalitetnoj komunikaciji, izgradnji poverenja i aktivnom modelovanju roditeljskih veština. U tom pravcu razvijaju se međunarodne platforme u kojima učestvuju i zdravstveni radnici iz Srbije, poput platforme *Learn ECD* (<https://learnecd.unicef.org/>) ili *Health for ECD* (<https://www.healthforecd.com/>), što su zajednički napor Svetske zdravstvene organizacije (WHO), UNICEF-a, Međunarodne *Korak po korak* asocijacije (ISSA) i nadležnih strukovnih udruženja da doprinesu kapacitetima zdravstvenog sistema u redefinisanoj ulozi od isključivo medicinske (kurativne) podrške, ka podršci usmerenoj na razvoj deteta i građenje kvalitetnih okruženja za odrastanje.

5 ZAKLJUČAK

Nalazi dobijeni ovim istraživanjem ukazuju na veoma veliki raskorak u potencijalima zdravstvenog sistema da pruži podršku očevima u ranom detinjstvu i toga kako zaista izgleda praksa podrške očevima u Srbiji. Iako je većina očeva u ovom uzorku motivisana da učestvuje u brizi o deci, vidi sebe kao dobrog roditelja, ali i izražava potrebu za podrškom, zdravstveni sistem ih sa svoje strane vrlo retko prepoznaje kao ravnopravne u pružanju svojih usluga podrške. Ginekolozi i pedijatri retko pozivaju očeve i angažuju se sa njima u neposrednoj komunikaciji, dok su programi koji postoje u okviru zdravstvenog sistema najčešće

fokusirani na majke. Iako patronažne sestre pokazuju nešto veći potencijal za angažovanje očeva (usled pojačane podrške kompetencijama na ovom polju), prisutna je rodna neravnoteža u temama koje se obrađuju, a naročito u domenima emocionalne veze sa detetom, ranog razvoja deteta, mentalnog zdravlja oca i veština interakcije sa detetom. Očevi jasno ukazuju na teme i informacije koje smatraju važnim, a prepoznaju da sistemski nedostaju: odnos sa detetom, podrška mentalnom zdravlju, informaciona i podrška šire okoline. Dobijeni podaci su u skladu sa nalazima prethodnih istraživanja sprovedenih u Srbiji, kada se radi o uključenosti očeva. Rezultati ukazuju da u praksi i dalje nema značajnijih pomaka ka ravnopravnoj podeli roditeljskih uloga, te da je put ka postizanju rodne ravnopravnosti u porodičnom okruženju i dalje izazovan.

Istraživanja sa jedne strane prate uključenost očeva u dostupne programe podrške, čime doprinose razumevanju odluka očeva da se u iste uključe ili ne. Sa druge strane, prate i potrebe očeva za podrškom i efekte dostupnih programa, čime mogu značajno da usmere prakse i doprinesu kvalitetnijim i dostupnijim resursima za porodice. Takvi podaci mogu da ponude informacije o načinima na koje se očevi mogu informisati ili motivisati da aktivno učestvuju i rade na kvalitetu svog odnosa sa detetom. Osim toga, takvi podaci bi mogli da podignu nivo svesti o potrebama za podrškom, kako kod očeva, tako i kod majki i stručnih radnika i u zdravstvenom i u drugim sistemima, te konačno da informišu donosiocima odluka i usmere politike podrške porodicama otvarajući tako put i za finansiranja i kreiranja novih, dostupnih resursa za očeve i porodice u celini. Ovakva istraživanja u Srbiji još uvek nisu praksa.

Istraživanje prikazano ovim radom ukazalo je, kako na neke od relevantnih oblika podrške, tako i na nedostajuće resurse iz perspektive očeva, kada su u pitanju usluge iz zdravstvenog sistema. Naredna istraživanja bi trebalo da obuhvate i perspektive drugih relevantnih osoba za podršku uključivanju očeva. Ovo se pre svega odnosi na zdravstvene radnike od kojih se očekuje da podršku realizuju i integrišu u svoj svakodnevni rad. Njihova perspektiva trebalo bi da doprinese razumevanju, kako sadržaja i ciljeva rada sa očevima, tako i doživljaja sopstvenih kompetencija za takav rad. Takva perspektiva bi trebalo da pruži uvid i u to kako se potrebe očeva prepoznaju i beleže, koja podrška im je dostupna i/ili koja im nedostaje (bilo u smislu znanja i veština, bilo u smislu supervizije). Istovremeno, istraživanja bi

trebalo da obuhvate i percepciju majki, koje nisu uključene u ovo istraživanje, pre svega sa ciljem razumevanja dinamike u porodicama u kojima očevi odlučuju da koriste dostupne usluge. Dodatno, važno je napomenuti i da uzorak u ovom istraživanju pretežno čine obrazovani i zaposleni očevi, što može ograničiti generalizaciju rezultata. Stoga bi naredna istraživanja trebalo da uključe raznovrsniji uzorak sa aspekta socio-demografskih karakteristika, kako bi se obezbedila veća reprezentativnost nalaza i omogućilo poređenje podgrupa. Konačno, istraživanja bi trebalo da vode građenju sistema kontinuiranog praćenja i razumevanja potreba očeva u zajednici. Na taj način se mogu razvijati programi usmereni na podršku očevima, te pratiti efekti takvih programa na uključenost očeva i šire porodične ishode.

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Podaci su dostupni od autora na zahtev

Doprinosi koautora

Ivana Mihić: konceptualizacija, upravljanje podacima, formalna analiza, istraživanje, metodologija, resursi, supervizija, validacija, pisanje – originalni nacrt, pisanje – revizija i uređivanje;

Katarina Mašić: konceptualizacija, upravljanje podacima, formalna analiza, istraživanje, metodologija, vizualizacija, pisanje – originalni nacrt;

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Barriers to Work-Family Balance in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Gender Implications

Jelena Čeriman¹  Ljiljana Pantović¹  Marija Radovanović¹ 

ABSTRACT

Although laws in Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H) formally guarantee the rights of pregnant women and mothers, their practical implementation is largely absent, preventing women from fully exercising their maternity rights. Women often face dismissals during pregnancy or after childbirth, and labour market discrimination remains unaddressed, particularly in the private sector, where fixed-term contracts hinder maternity leave access. Additionally, unequal wages contribute to disparities in maternity benefits, while paternal leave usage is minimal, reinforcing traditional gender roles in childcare. These structural factors impede the reconciliation of professional and family lives for women, shaping their experiences and perceptions of childbirth and parenting. This paper explores the main challenges women in B&H face in reconciling work and family life, with a focus on systemic, institutional, and cultural barriers. Drawing on a descriptive analysis based on quantitative empirical research conducted with women-working mothers from B&H in 2025, this paper identifies critical limitations on women's participation in the labour market, without inferring causal relationships. Special attention is given to B&H's family model, which heavily relies on women for care and unpaid work, making it difficult to achieve a more equitable distribution of responsibilities between partners. The paper explores potential legal and strategic mechanisms to align parental rights, enhance financial support, and encourage greater paternal involvement in childcare, highlighting implications for gender equality and institutional practice.

KEYWORDS

maternity rights, parental leave, work-life balance, Bosnia and Herzegovina, family policy

¹Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, University of Belgrade, Serbia

Correspondence:

Jelena Čeriman,
Institute for Philosophy
and Social Theory,
University of Belgrade,
Kraljice Natalije 45,
11000 Belgrade, Serbia

Email:

jelena.ceriman@ifdt.bg.ac.rs

1 INTRODUCTION

While the reconciliation of family and professional life, commonly framed as “work-life balance”, is often treated as an individual or organizational concern, this concept is fundamentally shaped by structural, cultural, and normative forces that define the distribution of paid and unpaid labour in society. The concept of work-life balance cannot be understood as a neutral or purely technical matter of time management or organizational efficiency. Rather, it is embedded in broader social relations, institutional norms, and gendered power structures that regulate how societies organize production, reproduction, and care (Gornick and Meyers 2003). The regulation of time and labour across all social spheres reflects prevailing ideologies of gender and citizenship, as well as the state’s role in shaping everyday life through policy and law. Work-life balance is situated at the intersection of productive labour (paid work in the formal economy) and reproductive labour (care and domestic work, often unpaid), a distinction that has been foundational in feminist sociology (Fraser 1994). While both forms of labour are essential for social reproduction, only the former is systematically recognized and regulated. This asymmetry underpins structural gender inequalities and informs the social organization of care. Feminist political economy has long emphasized that the invisibility and undervaluation of care work, disproportionately carried out by women, constitute a form of structural inequality (Fraser 1994). As such, policies aimed at improving work-life balance must be evaluated not only for their formal provisions, but also for their capacity to redistribute care responsibilities in a gender-just manner.

The previous research emphasizes that achieving work-life balance is not merely a matter of offering leave or flexibility to individual workers, but must be understood within institutional care regimes (Esping-Andersen 1999; Daly 2011). These regimes reflect normative assumptions about who should provide care, under what conditions, and with what degree of state support. In many post-socialist societies, including B&H, the retreat of the state from direct caregiving roles has led to the re-familiarisation of care, disproportionately burdening women, particularly in the contexts of weak social infrastructure (Saxonberg and Sirovátka 2006).

Key to the critique of existing work-life balance frameworks is the concept of gendered time – the ways in which men’s and women’s time are socially valued, institutionally managed, and culturally constructed (Bryson 2007). Women’s time is more frequently fragmented, interrupted by caregiving demands, and rendered invisible in dominant economic models. Even when legal entitlements such as parental leave exist, cultural expectations and workplace norms often dissuade men from taking them, reinforcing traditional gender roles (Hobson and Fahlén 2009). Recent EU-level developments, such as the Directive (EU) 2019/1158 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 20 June 2019 on work-life balance for parents and carers and repealing Council Directive 2010/18/EU (2019), reflect an attempt to shift this paradigm by promoting non-transferable parental leave and recognizing caregiving as a shared societal responsibility. This directive underscores the importance of non-transferable parental leave for fathers, flexible working arrangements, and caregiver leave, not only as instruments of social protection,

but as tools for cultural transformation. By mandating non-transferability, this directive aims to disrupt entrenched gender roles and foster more egalitarian caregiving models. However, various studies have highlighted the risk of policy instrumentalism – whereby work-life balance measures are primarily justified through demographic concerns or labour market productivity, framing such policies in terms of economic efficiency or fertility rates rather than as matters of social justice and wellbeing, that is, as commitments to gender equality and the recognition of care as a public value (Kremer 2007). Without a broader transformation of cultural norms and institutional practices, such measures may remain symbolic rather than substantive. While demographic and productivity concerns often motivate state action in this area, an overemphasis on these goals may obscure persistent gendered inequalities and reinforce the commodification of care.

Moreover, intersectional analysis is critical in understanding how class, ethnicity, disability, and geography mediate access to work-life balance. For example, women with low income and in precarious social position, or women from rural areas and/or members of marginalized ethnic groups often lack access to formal protections or are unable to claim their rights due to administrative barriers or fear of retaliation. In fragmented welfare states such as B&H, decentralized governance further exacerbates these inequalities, resulting in uneven access to leave, childcare, and flexible work arrangements. Formal entitlements may be inaccessible in practice due to rigid eligibility criteria, employer discretion, or institutional fragmentation – a particularly salient issue in decentralized systems such as that of B&H.

In sum, conceptualizing work-life balance requires moving beyond technical policy design to engage with the broader social arrangements that govern time, labour, and care. It demands a multidimensional analytical approach – one that links legal entitlements, institutional capacity, cultural norms, and economic structures in shaping both opportunities and constraints. This framework provides a necessary foundation for evaluating the extent to which current policies in B&H support genuine reconciliation of family and professional life, and indicates the way the analysis will be carried out in this paper. Analytical approach to work-life balance demands relational and structural analysis. It calls for examining not only legal entitlements but also lived experiences of parents. Such a lens allows examination of the transformative potential of work-life balance policies in promoting gender equality and social inclusion.

B&H falls under the so-called Southern European model of familistic solidarity (for an explanation of this model, see Tomanović 2017). According to this model, women's emancipation was initiated through the ideological promotion of gender equality primarily through a normative framework, and then by supporting women's transition from the household to the public sphere, the sphere of paid work, to indirectly support changes in the household sphere as well. However, institutional support for parenthood in such a situation in these countries is lacking, so parents often rely on the support of their families of origin (whether in terms of material resources, such as living in an extended family, or in terms of support in caring for children while parents are at work, etc.). However, reliance on the family of origin makes it difficult to move away

from the traditional, learned parental models, that is, to take an active stance towards changing inherited parenting models (such as active involvement of fathers in caring for children). Here, barriers arise from the specifics of familism as the context in which parenting practices in B&H are performed. The number of fathers who use the maternity leave is negligible, while all the burden of caring for children during their early years falls on their mothers. Research conducted in B&H in 2020 shows that the father's role in childcare is supportive compared to the mother's role, and that mothers carry out the more demanding tasks of childcare, while fathers are more involved in leisure activities with the children (Hasanagić and Papović 2020).

This paper offers a critical analysis of the normative framework for gender equality in B&H, with particular emphasis on legal provisions concerning maternity and parental rights. Drawing on this legislative analysis and an online survey of women's experiences in the labour market, the study conducted from January to June of 2025 explores the gap between formal guarantees and lived realities. The central research question guiding this study is: What are the causes of the gap between legal provisions and the practical realization of rights for employed mothers in B&H?

By engaging with scholarly debates that conceptualize gender equality beyond formal legal compliance, framing it instead as a matter of substantive social justice and structural transformation, the empirical insights and legal analysis presented herein aim to deepen the academic understanding of the implementation gap in gender equality frameworks. This paper also offers a foundation for critically reflecting on the structural conditions and insti-

tutional mechanisms necessary for advancing gender-equitable labour practices and social protections in B&H.

In the first section of the paper, an overview of the normative framework in B&H is provided. This is followed by a presentation of the research methodology and key findings from the survey, accompanied by a discussion of the results. The final section offers concluding reflections on the main empirical insights.

2 BETWEEN LEGAL NORMS AND INSTITUTIONAL REALITIES: GENDERED BARRIERS TO WORK-LIFE BALANCE

B&H has formally committed to international obligations in the field of gender equality through the ratification of core human rights instruments such as the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) (1981), and the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995). These global commitments were further reinforced by the ratification of the Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (Istanbul Convention) (2014). While these international frameworks provide critical normative guidance for advancing gender equality and the reconciliation of family and professional life, this analysis focuses primarily on the legal standards derived from the European Union *acquis*, which is particularly relevant in the context of B&H's EU integration aspirations.

EU legislation provides robust protection for gender equality, with specific emphasis on work-life balance. The Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (2012) guarantees equality between women and men in employ-

ment and access to working conditions, including protection against dismissal due to maternity and the right to paid parental leave. The European Pillar of Social Rights (2017) complements this framework by affirming the right of parents and caregivers to access adequate leave, flexible work arrangements, and quality care services. Two key EU directives operationalize these principles: Directive (EU) 2019/1158 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 20 June 2019 on work-life balance for parents and carers and repealing Council Directive 2010/18/EU (2019), and Council Directive 92/85/EEC of 19 October 1992 on the introduction of measures to encourage improvements in the safety and health at work of pregnant workers and workers who have recently given birth or are breastfeeding (tenth individual Directive within the meaning of Article 16 (1) of Directive 89/391/EEC) (1992). Additional relevant instruments include Directive 2006/54/EC of the European Parliament and of Council of 5 July 2006 on the implementation of the principle of equal opportunities and equal treatment of men and women in matters of employment and occupation (recast) (2006), and Council Directive 97/81/EC of 15 December 1997 concerning the Framework Agreement on part-time work concluded by UNICE, CEEP and the ETUC (1997). Directive (EU) 2019/1158 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 20 June 2019 on work-life balance for parents and carers and repealing Council Directive 2010/18/EU (2019) introduces a minimum of four months of parental leave per parent, two of which are non-transferable and paid, as well as at least ten days of paid paternity leave. It mandates five days of annual caregiver leave, flexible parental leave arrangements, and access to re-

duced or flexible working schedules for parents of children under eight. These provisions are intended to foster equal sharing of care responsibilities and enable both parents to participate fully in the labour market. Furthermore, the directive explicitly prohibits dismissal or any unfavourable treatment due to the use of these rights and prescribes effective legal sanctions for non-compliance.

B&H has taken steps to align its national legislation with these standards. The Law on Gender Equality in Bosnia and Herzegovina (2009) and the Law on Prohibition of Discrimination (2016) provide the general legal framework for combating gender-based discrimination. The Law on Equality of Sexes specifically prohibits discrimination in employment and guarantees equal access to parental leave, professional development, and flexible work arrangements. The institutional implementation of these laws is coordinated by the Agency for Gender Equality at the state level, and by the gender centres in the Federation of B&H and Republika Srpska (Law on Gender Equality in Bosnia and Herzegovina 2009: Article 20). By analyzing information on the official websites of parliaments in Bosnia and Herzegovina at different levels, we established that the Parliamentary Assembly of B&H, as well as entity- and canton-level parliaments, have established commissions for gender equality. However, reports and expert assessments indicate that the effectiveness of these bodies varies, particularly at the local level, due to insufficient resources and institutional capacities.

The Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1995), as part of the Dayton Peace Agreement, prioritizes the European Convention on Human Rights, thus providing a formal basis for non-discrim-

ination. Nevertheless, this constitution does not explicitly guarantee parental or maternity rights. Instead, rights relevant to the reconciliation of family and professional life are regulated through a complex set of subnational laws, reflecting the country's decentralized administrative structure. B&H has no unified law regulating maternity and parental benefits. Rather, these provisions fall under the jurisdiction of the entities and the Brčko District and are further devolved to the cantons within the Federation of B&H. This legal fragmentation has produced twelve distinct regulatory frameworks governing maternity and parental leave across the country. In the Federation of B&H, each of the ten cantons has adopted its own social protection laws, resulting in significant disparities in the level and duration of maternity benefits. Replacement rates range from 40% to 100% of the beneficiary's previous earnings, subject to varying eligibility conditions and contribution histories. In some cantons, minimum prior insurance periods are required, and compensation ceilings may apply. In Republika Srpska, maternity leave is more uniformly regulated, offering 12 months of leave (or 18 months in specific cases) with 100% salary compensation, financed through the RS Fund for Child Protection. However, while men can access parts of the leave under certain conditions, the law does not recognize parental leave as a shared and non-transferable right. In the Brčko District, maternity leave is similarly defined as a 12-month paid period with no stated compensation ceiling, administered directly by the district government.

In Republika Srpska, the absence of a dedicated gender equality law and the lack of an updated strategic framework have resulted in critical gaps. Although

some policy documents, such as Women's Entrepreneurship Development Strategy in Republika Srpska (Strategija razvoja preduzetništva žena Republike Srpske za period 2019–2023. godine 2019) and Republika Srpska Social Inclusion Strategy for 2021–2027 (2020), acknowledge gender disparities in employment, they do not provide concrete measures to enhance work-life balance. The Employment Strategy of Republika Srpska (2021–2027) (Strategija zapošljavanja Republike Srpske 2021–2027 2021) similarly omits parental leave reforms or the promotion of flexible work arrangements. Empirical data on the implementation of gender-sensitive employment policies is scarce. By analyzing the official website of the Centre for Gender Equality we conclude that reports analysing discrimination in employment or the distribution of care responsibilities between women and men are not publicly available. This may mean either that such reports have not been developed at all, or that they exist but have not been made publicly accessible.

The Brčko District's strategic documents also lack focus on reconciling family and professional life. Recent work plans and budget proposals do not allocate resources to programs supporting employed mothers or promoting paternal leave. The Brčko District's laws provide a formal legal framework, but practical measures and institutional strategies to promote gender-sensitive employment remain absent.

Across B&H, persistent structural barriers limit women's full participation in the labour market. These include occupational segregation, gender pay gaps, and the disproportionate burden of unpaid care work. Legal inconsistencies across administrative units, combined with weak enforcement mechanisms,

further undermine the effectiveness of existing protections. Without addressing the structural roots of gender inequality and redistributing care responsibilities more equitably, the normative progress achieved to date risks remaining symbolic rather than transformative. Furthermore, greater paternal engagement not only fosters early childhood development, but also allows women to maintain stronger connections to the labour market. In essence, eroding stereotypes are not solely a matter of social justice but also an instrument for broader economic growth and social prosperity. When women remain in or return to paid employment with fewer interruptions, overall household income can rise, boosting productivity and tax revenues.

The analysis of normative framework pointed to several critical gaps in the existing framework:

- **Uneven Standards of Rights Protection:** All labour laws in B&H provide for maternity leave of 12 consecutive months, with the possibility of extending it to 18 months in Republika Srpska and Brčko District for twins, third, and subsequent children. However, inconsistencies exist in the periods of leave for multiple births. The uneven and, in some cases, inadequate maternity benefits further exacerbate inequalities, as parents in similar situations face different conditions depending on their place of residence and employment status.
- **Shortened Maternity Leave:** While all labour laws in B&H allow women to take shorter maternity leave (not less than mandatory 42 days in the Federation of B&H and Brčko District, or 60 days in Republika Srpska, only Republika Srpska explicitly states that this must be based on the woman's voluntary request, ensuring it is not a result of the employer's pressure.
- **Transferability of Parental Leave:** B&H labour laws permit the transfer of maternity leave to fathers after the first 42 or 60 days, depending on the jurisdiction. Fathers can also take leave in cases where the mother is unable to do so. However, B&H legislation does not recognize the concept of a non-transferable portion of parental leave (a minimum of two months), as required by EU standards, which would encourage fathers to actively participate in childcare.
- **Terminology and Concept of Maternity Leave:** The term "maternity leave" used in B&H laws is not gender-neutral like the term "parental leave" recommended by international standards. Moreover, maternity leave is still primarily framed as a right belonging to mothers, with fathers' involvement seen as an exception rather than a norm. Although B&H legislation allows fathers to assume leave entitlements after a specified period, this right is framed as a discretionary transfer rather than a non-transferable entitlement for fathers. In Republika Srpska, additional leave provisions exist for mothers of twins or multiple children, extending the duration of the leave to up to 18 months. However, no entity in B&H legally enshrines a father's independent right to parental leave. In line with the Directive (EU) 2019/1158 of the European Parliament and of

the Council of 20 June 2019 on work-life balance for parents and carers and repealing Council Directive 2010/18/EU (2019), B&H labour laws require amendments to establish non-transferable, adequately compensated parental leave for fathers and equivalent caregivers.

- **Flexible Leave Arrangements:** Current labour laws require that parental leave be taken continuously by one parent. Only the Law on Labour in B&H Institutions allows for partial leave transfer, but flexibility remains limited. International standards encourage allowing employees to take leave in segments or part-time, but B&H legislation does not yet accommodate such arrangements.
- **Paternity Leave:** Paternity leave in B&H is not recognized as a distinct right but is included in broader provisions covering various family-related situations (such as marriage or the death of a family member). The duration of this leave varies between five and seven days, which does not align with the international standards for paternity leave.
- **Leave for Caregivers:** B&H labour laws do not provide separate leave entitlement for caregivers of at least five days, as required by EU standards. Since caregiving responsibilities predominantly fall on women, this absence may negatively impact their participation in the labour market.
- **Flexible Work Arrangements for Parents of Young Children:** Employees in B&H do not have the specific legal right to request flexible working conditions based on

family responsibilities. Some laws allow for part-time work, remote work, or adjusted schedules, but these are linked to job demands rather than family needs. Only in FB&H can a parent of a child under one year (or under two years for multiple births or third and subsequent children) work part-time after the maternity leave. Other jurisdictions provide part-time work only for parents of children with developmental disabilities.

- **Discrimination and Job Security:** Legal protections against discrimination due to pregnancy or parental leave are inconsistent across B&H labour laws. While some laws explicitly prohibit discrimination and dismissal due to pregnancy, parental leave, or flexible work arrangements, not all provide gender-neutral protections covering all employees who are parents. Furthermore, not all laws guarantee the right to return to the same or equivalent position after parental leave.
- **Reassignment to Other Positions:** Labour laws allow for pregnant women and breastfeeding mothers to be reassigned to other positions with their consent. While intended to protect their health, this provision could be abused by employers to justify less favourable treatment, necessitating additional safeguards.

In conclusion, the existing labour laws in B&H provide a foundational framework for maternity and parental leave, but significant differences remain among them. Unequal standards across different jurisdictions create disparities in the protection of rights, and the lack

of gender-responsive measures hinders progress toward true gender equality. The survey presented in the following sections aims to shed light on the discrepancies between legal provisions and their implementation in practice, highlighting the difficulties that employed mothers face in reconciling their professional and family lives.

3 METHODOLOGY

This study builds on the findings of a comprehensive legal analysis by moving into the empirical terrain, seeking to examine how the existing normative frameworks are experienced in the everyday lives of women in B&H. The primary objective of the research is to explore women's perceptions, experiences, and challenges in relation to parental leave, and exposure to workplace discrimination—key dimensions of work-life balance that are often under-implemented despite legal provisions.

To address these questions, a structured survey was designed and administered among a diverse group of women between the ages of 18 and 45 across B&H. Care was taken to include participants from various regions, including both urban and rural areas of the Federation of B&H, Republika Srpska, and the Brčko District. The research also aimed to include the heterogeneity of the female workforce, such as women employed in the public and private sectors, those who were self-employed, as well as women facing additional structural vulnerabilities, such as disability (their own or that of their children), or social marginalization.

The sampling strategy was guided by the recognition that family status shapes labour market participation. The survey thus engaged women at different

stages of motherhood, from those currently pregnant with their second child, to those caring for multiple children, to better understand how care responsibilities intersect with access to employment rights and protections. The data for this study were collected over the course of six months, from January to June 2025.

The data were collected using an online questionnaire designed to probe several interrelated themes. The survey instrument focused on the extent to which women are aware of their legal entitlements and whether they have been able to realize those rights in practice. Respondents were asked to reflect on their experiences with accessing maternity or parental leave, the availability of flexible work arrangements, and institutional support related to childcare. Emphasis was placed on documenting the cases of discrimination linked to pregnancy, motherhood, or care responsibilities, as well as perceptions of whether current policies effectively support equal participation in the labour market. The survey combined quantitative and qualitative elements, using closed-ended questions for consistency and comparability, and open-ended items to capture the nuance and specificity of lived experience.

The analysis of the data collected through the online survey was conducted using descriptive statistical methods. Ethical principles were central to the design and implementation of the study. All participants were informed about the purpose of the research, the voluntary nature of their participation, and the guarantee of anonymity and confidentiality. Given the sensitive nature of the topics addressed, especially in relation to discrimination and labour rights violations, the research was designed

to create a space in which participants could safely share their insights without fear of reprisal. The research received approval from the relevant ethics committee.

Regarding the sample itself, 430 employed women with at least one child over one year of age took part in it. However, after closing the field and screening for completeness, 378 questionnaires remained fully valid and were included in our descriptive analysis. Participants were drawn from all three administrative units of B&H—205 from the Federation of B&H, 162 from Republika Srpska, and 11 from the Brčko District—and represented a mix of urban (280), and peri-urban (75), and rural (23) residents. The survey targeted women aged 18–45 to capture experiences at different stages of motherhood and deliberately included those in the public and private sectors, self-employed women, and individuals facing additional vulnerabilities (e.g., disability etc.).

Most of the respondents work full-time in the public sector, with smaller proportions in part-time, private-sector, or self-employment—reflecting the perceived stability and family-friendly policies of public roles. The religious affiliation mirrors regional patterns: 40% identified as Orthodox, 44% as Muslim, 3% as Catholic, 7% as atheist/agnostic, 0.3% as other Christian, and 7% chose not to disclose. This diversity underscores that work–family tensions transcend religious communities.

Highly educated mothers make up roughly 80 percent of our analytical sample, with 188 women holding bachelor’s degrees and 115 holding master’s or doctoral qualifications (303 of 378). This concentration reflects our snowball sampling approach—anchored in the academic networks of the authors—and

Table 1 Sample Structure presents the structure of the research sample disaggregated by entity affiliation, as well as socio-economic characteristics of the respondents. Due to the sample size, the data given here are presented in absolute numbers.

Structure	Number of mothers
Territorial Distribution	
Federation of B&H	205
Republika Srpska	162
Brčko District	11
Residence	
Urban	280
Peri-urban	75
Rural	23
Education Level	
Primary	9
Secondary	66
Bachelor’s degree	188
Master’s/Doctoral	115
Household Size	
Single-mother’s household	2
2–3 members	142
4–5 members	196
6+ members	38
Child with developmental disability	16
Marital Status	
Married	308
Divorced	41
Cohabiting	20
Widowed	7
Single/Never married	2
Monthly Household Income (in KM)	
< 500	1
500–1 000	12
1 000–2 000	94
> 2 000	217
No response	54
Age of Mother	
18–25	3
26–35	80
36–45	295
Age of Children	
1–6	172
7–14	214
15–19	63
19+	48

the greater likelihood that highly educated women engage with scholarly online content and opt into web-based surveys.

Employment patterns in our sample show a majority of mothers working full-time in the public sector, with a smaller number in private-sector roles, self-employment, or part-time positions. This likely speaks to the relative job stability and family-friendly leave arrangements that public employers in B&H tend to offer.

Eighty-two percent of the respondents (308 of 378) reported being married, which underlines the predominance of formal marital unions. Only 18 percent of the participants fall into other categories (divorced, cohabiting, widowed, or single), suggesting both cultural norms around marriage and possible reluctance to disclose non-traditional family forms.

In terms of household income, approximately 25 percent (94 women) live on 1 000–2 000 KM per month, 4 percent (13 women) on under 1 000 KM, and 57 percent (217 women) on over 2 000 KM. The remaining 14 percent did not report income. Given that the national average net wage per individual was about 1 508 KM in February 2025, these figures suggest that a substantial share of participants live in households at or above the national wage level – an important consideration when assessing the affordability of childcare and other work–family supports.

4 ANALYSIS

This section presents an in-depth analysis of the survey on motherhood and work-life balance in B&H, based on a survey conducted with 378 employed women with at least one child over one

year of age. The respondents come from the Republika Srpska, the Federation of B&H, and the Brčko District. The analysis captures cross-regional and socio-demographic differences in professional status, family responsibilities, institutional support, and perceived discrimination in the working sphere. We divided the analysis into four analytic dimensions, each capturing a key facet of work–family reconciliation:

1. Leave Utilization
2. Awareness of Fathers' Entitlements
3. Attitudes toward Shared Caregiving
4. Experience of Discrimination and Benefit Delivery

Below, we present the descriptive statistics and illustrative qualitative excerpts that illuminate the women's lived realities.

4.1 LEAVE UTILIZATION

Pregnancy sick leave prior to delivery is a vital benefit, giving expectant mothers—particularly those in physically demanding roles—the time to rest and protect their own and their infants' well-being. In our sample, about half of the respondents (51%) took advantage of this leave, indicating a moderate level of uptake. However, usage rates vary markedly by employment type. The women with permanent, full-time positions—especially in the public sector—were far more likely to access this leave, thanks to well-established procedures and more consistent enforcement of legal rights. In contrast, the freelancers and those on temporary or part-time contracts reported far lower use, likely due to the confusion over eligibility and concerns about lost earnings. Notably,

almost none of the self-employed participants made use of pregnancy leave.

In contrast, the majority of women (76% of the respondents) reported utilizing maternity leave, indicating a relatively high level of awareness of and engagement with formal leave entitlements. Among all employment categories, the highest rate of maternity-leave non-use occurs among self-employed women and entrepreneurs, with more than 50% foregoing their leave. In comparison, about 20% of the women in full-time positions, both private and public, also did not take their maternity leave, but no other group comes close to the very high non-uptake seen among the independent workers.

4.2 AWARENESS OF FATHERS' ENTITLEMENTS

Despite the legal possibility to transfer part or all of mother's maternity leave to her partner after the mandatory initial postnatal period (42 days in the Feder-

ation and Brčko District; 60 days in Republika Srpska), only 16 women (4% of 378) reported that their partner actually took any parental leave. The vast majority, 362 respondents (96%), said their partner did not use the leave. Among the 15 couples who did share leave, most fathers took three months or less, underscoring that even when the transfer occurs, it typically remains brief.

Awareness of fathers' entitlements is uneven. While 50% of the women recognize that the law formally grants paternal leave, 20% believe societal pressures still force mothers to carry the caregiving burden alone. A further 15% view legal and practical access as genuinely equal for fathers, whereas 10% feel that men have significantly less opportunity, and 5% remain uncertain. These patterns show that—even where legal rights do exist—cultural and informational barriers limit practical uptake by fathers.

Figure 1 provides a detailed overview of these findings presented in percentages.

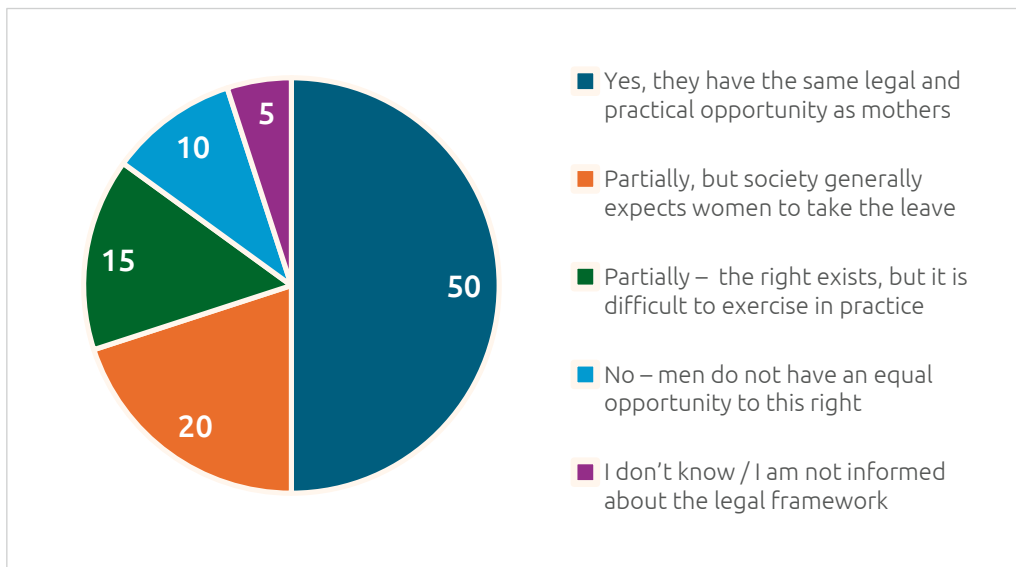


Figure 1 Women's Perceptions of Fathers' Access to and Use of Paternal Leave

When reflecting on fathers' willingness to take parental leave, 31% believe that most men would decline the opportunity even when legally entitled. Nearly half of the respondents (45%) feel that, while some fathers might take leave, the majority continue to regard childcare as the mother's responsibility. A smaller group (11%) is optimistic, perceiving that most fathers would gladly use parental leave if encouraged, and 14% remain uncertain about general paternal readiness.

These data indicate the existence of multi-layered obstacles to fathers exercising the right to parental leave perceived from our respondents – ranging from systemic (legal framework), through institutional (insufficient employer support), to cultural (gender roles stereotypes). The research findings indicate that women's perception of fathers' willingness and motivation to use parental leave reflects the complex socio-cultural dynamics in B&H.

Asked whether a non-transferable portion of leave reserved exclusively for fathers could foster more gender balanced caregiving, 48% women agreed that such a quota would be effective. Nevertheless, a clear majority prefers to leave leave-allocation decisions at the discretion of each family: 39% of respondents resist imposing a universal mandate, arguing that families themselves know best how to divide responsibilities. Only a minority (7%) believe that fathers alone should determine their use of statutory leave, and 6% neither support nor oppose these arrangements.

These findings point to the rooted gender norms that continue to shape parental responsibilities in B&H. While nearly half of the respondents recognize a partial openness among men, they simultaneously highlight that dominant attitudes still construct caregiving as

a predominantly female domain. The fact that nearly a third of the surveyed women perceive widespread reluctance among fathers, even when legal and institutional frameworks allow for leave, underscores the cultural barriers that inhibit policy uptake. Only a marginal share of respondents expressed confidence in a widespread paternal willingness to engage in childcare through parental leave, reflecting the persistence of traditional masculinity norms and the slow pace of change in public perception. These results align with broader literature on gendered care dynamics in post-socialist contexts, which emphasizes the limited visibility and support for active fatherhood despite formal rights being available (Hobson and Fahlén 2009; Duvander et al. 2020).

Such attitudes may have significant implications for both policy and practice: without targeted interventions to promote and normalize paternal leave, gender-equal caregiving remains more of a legal fiction than a social reality.

4.3 EXPERIENCE OF DISCRIMINATION AND BENEFIT DELIVERY

There are significant variations in the perceived regularity of benefit payments and satisfaction with the conditions of the leave. Women in Republika Srpska reported more stable and timely payments, while in the Federation of B&H, the situation appears more fragmented. Overall, only 45% of the respondents received maternity benefits regularly and on time, and almost a quarter (23%) reported not receiving them at all. These disparities are linked to administrative and legal fragmentation across different entities and cantons, even from the standpoint of our respondents. The total

of 52% of women recognize that differences exist in the duration of pregnancy and maternity leave, as well as differences in the number of benefits during these leaves. Among this group of women, 36% consider these differences to be very significant, while 16% consider that these differences are not particularly important. However, 4% think that there is no difference between entities and cantons in B&H and 45% simply do not know. This may point to the insufficient awareness among the women about the lack of uniformity in rights across different parts of the country, but at the same time to the complexity of the administrative system, which makes it difficult to see these differences.

More than a half of the respondents in this study (52%) reported either personally experiencing or directly witnessing unfavourable treatment in the workplace due to pregnancy or upon returning from maternity leave. These findings strongly underscore the persistent gender-based inequalities in the labour market and the systemic nature of discrimination against working mothers.

Qualitative responses provided by the participants point to a spectrum of discriminatory practices. These range from non-renewal of fixed-term employment contracts upon disclosure or discovery of pregnancy, to overt statements by employers framing pregnancy as an impediment to continued employment. Such accounts reflect the ongoing perception of motherhood as incompatible with professional commitment – a hallmark of what Gatrell (2011) terms the “maternal wall bias”. One respondent explicitly recounted that after each of her pregnancies, her contract was not extended, and on one occasion, the employer stated unambiguously that the pregnancy was the reason.

Two pregnancies, and after both the employment contract was not extended. The second time it was even openly said that there would be no contract extension in case of pregnancy.

Even when employment relationships were not formally terminated, women reported facing punitive or degrading conditions upon return to work. These included job reassignments, loss of professional status, and the expectation to revalidate their competence – reflecting broader patterns of institutionalized maternal penalties (Correll, Benard and Paik 2007). As one woman puts it:

“Returning after each maternity leave felt like I was a completely new employee who now had to fight for her status in the company.”

In addition to structural disadvantages, respondents described the prevalence of informal yet harmful practices, such as workplace mobbing, exclusion by peers, etc. all forms of what Williams (2010) classifies as subtle or covert discrimination. Several respondents described a lack of support and understanding from employers and colleagues, including tension around sick leave and vacation after miscarriages. One respondent noted:

One birth, two miscarriages. Returning to work after the miscarriages, especially the second one, was awful. When the time came for me to go on annual leave, there was tension, as if I shouldn't be taking time off because I was already on sick leave.

Others described pressure from employers to return early from leave, or being blamed for taking care of their child during peak work periods. One woman testified:

I was told that it was interesting that my children were always sick when there was most work to be done, while I was in hospital with my son.

One respondent reported being subjected to implicit criticism for taking annual leave following a period of sick leave due to a miscarriage – suggesting a broader cultural deficit in recognizing reproductive health as a part of occupational well-being. Women answered that they also faced coercion to return early from maternity leave, with employers applying direct pressure through frequent calls, or shifting informal agreements. This aligns with findings from another European study which indicates that informal managerial practices can undermine formal entitlements, especially in weakly regulated labour markets (O'Brien and Wall 2017).

These empirical insights reaffirm that maternity-related discrimination in the workplace is not limited to isolated cases but constitutes a systemic issue rooted in normative expectations about women's primary caregiving role and the perceived incompatibility of care responsibilities with ideal worker norms. Legal inequalities across entities also exacerbate financial insecurity. One woman shared:

"I did not receive full maternity compensation due to legal discrimination. Mothers from RS received compensation up to their full salary, but those from FB&H received only canton-level allowances. With a mortgage, I was on the verge of existence due to the birth of a child. I sued my employer and won, but the emotional distress cannot be compensated with money."

Despite these experiences, most women did not report discrimination. The reasons include lack of trust in insti-

tutions, fear of retaliation, lack of knowledge about their rights, and belief that reporting would be ineffective. Additionally, women often choose not to report cases of discrimination out of the fear of possible repercussions on their careers, such as dismissal, isolation, exclusion from the collective, etc. In addition to these most common reasons, women decide not to report cases of discrimination because they believe that the situation will resolve itself, or they are not familiar with their rights and the ways to protect them, or to whom they can turn to in case of discrimination.

Most women see a mixed record when it comes to upholding laws that protect pregnant employees and new mothers. While 52% feel these safeguards are "mostly" enforced, just 4% believe they are implemented in full. Conversely, 26% say the protections are not honoured at all, and 19% say they cannot judge how well the rules work in practice. This disparity between legal guarantees and everyday experience underscores a pressing need for stronger, more consistent enforcement – and helps explain why many women hesitate to pursue formal complaints when they face discrimination. The respondents expressed the greatest scepticism toward employers as agents of change, a stance that can be linked to their experiences of discrimination, lack of support, or inadequate working conditions frequently encountered by women. In contrast, attitudes toward trade unions and state institutions were less critical, reflecting a certain degree of trust that could potentially be strengthened through their active engagement in advancing improvements in this area. The most favourable perception was reserved for the civil society sector, which was viewed as the most credible actor for driving the necessary changes.

5 DISCUSSION

Work-life balance is best understood as a multidimensional concept situated at the intersection of three interrelated policy domains: labour legislation, family policy, and gender equality frameworks. Conceptually, it refers to individuals' capacity to fulfil responsibilities in both paid employment and caregiving, without compromising personal well-being, autonomy, or full social participation (Crompton and Lyonette 2006). While labour laws determine the conditions of paid work, including entitlements to leave and flexibility, family policies provide the infrastructural and financial mechanisms, such as childcare provision and parental leave schemes, which mediate the relationship between caregiving and labour market participation. Gender equality policies, in turn, are intended to ensure equitable access to these mechanisms, addressing structural barriers that inhibit their effective realization for both women and men.

However, the practical effectiveness of these policies is deeply conditioned by prevailing cultural norms and the institutional structures in which they are embedded. Even where parental leave is formally available to fathers, uptake remains limited in the absence of workplace incentives, public support, and cultural validation of male caregiving roles.

Findings from this study illustrate how legal and administrative fragmentation across B&H reinforces such inequalities, leading to material disparities in access to social rights. For example, while employed mothers in the Republika Srpska are entitled to maternity benefits amounting to their full salary, mothers in the Federation of B&H must rely on canton-level benefits, which are in some cases lower than their actual in-

come. This divergence stems from B&H's highly decentralized governance structure, in which responsibilities for social protection, including maternity and parental leave, are distributed across entity and sub-entity levels. As a result, access to social rights is unevenly distributed, not according to need or eligibility, but based on geographic location.

This condition exemplifies what Fraser (1997) terms "maldistribution," wherein unequal access to social entitlements systematically reinforces classed and gendered disadvantages. Rather than alleviating precarity, the welfare system in B&H can exacerbate it, placing the burden of navigating bureaucratic inconsistencies primarily on individual women. In some cases, this results in prolonged legal disputes for benefits that should be universally guaranteed, pointing to the erosion of legal certainty and the inefficacy of the welfare state in safeguarding basic rights.

The case of B&H also exposes a deeper structural contradiction: although the country has ratified international legal instruments such as Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) (1981) and the European Social Charter (1996)—both of which mandate equal protection in the realm of maternity and parental rights—implementation is fractured and inconsistent. This institutional dissonance undermines the principle of legal equality and contributes to citizens' perceptions of systemic injustice. The qualitative data further reveal that this misalignment is not only experienced as administrative inconvenience, but as a factor that actively constrains women's labour market participation and career advancement. Some respondents expressed withdrawal from job competition due to economic insecurity, a find-

ing consistent with broader literature on how instability suppresses women's mobility and long-term planning (Karamessini and Rubery 2018).

Taken together, the findings point to the compounding effects of legal fragmentation, weak institutional support, and entrenched gender norms. These dynamics interact to deepen the stratification of economic risks and reinforce gendered patterns of social reproduction. As such, a harmonization of entity-level legislation with international standards is not merely a legal necessity, but a socio-political imperative. In this way, effective protection of maternal rights is grounded in a systemic approach that affirms caregiving as a socially necessary contribution, rather than relegating it to the individual or family domain.

Motherhood remains closely intertwined with the shaping of women's professional trajectories in B&H, as reflected in the survey data. Despite the presence of developed legal frameworks, the gap between policy and practice remains significant, shaped by regional disparities and cultural expectations. The respondents called not only for stricter enforcement of the existing labour protections but also for broader cultural shifts, most notably, the institutional and discursive promotion of fathers' active involvement in caregiving. They believe that encouragement of men's participation in parental leave and early childrearing—through both policy design and public messaging—is essential to challenging the persistent “double burden” faced by women.

Finally, the implementation of gender equality provisions cannot be isolated from the value orientations of the very individuals and communities meant to benefit from them. As this study shows, formal rights alone are in-

sufficient to ensure substantive equality. Without addressing the institutional, cultural, and normative foundations of gendered caregiving, women in B&H will continue to experience structural limitations to achieving a sustainable and equitable work-life balance.

6 CONCLUSION

This study provides a critical insight into the lived realities of employed mothers in B&H, revealing significant gaps between the normative legal framework and everyday experiences related to maternity and parental leave, workplace discrimination, and gendered care responsibilities. While legal provisions for maternity leave exist across B&H, their implementation is uneven and often fragmented. Variations in eligibility conditions, benefit levels, and administrative practices not only produce material inequalities, but could also contribute to a sense of legal insecurity among mothers.

The findings indicate that although a strong majority of women make use of formal leave entitlements, the burden of childcare continues to fall predominantly on mothers, with very limited uptake of parental leave by fathers. Cultural expectations, limited institutional incentives, and weak enforcement mechanisms reinforce traditional gender roles and discourage shared responsibility for early childcare. Respondents also support non-transferable leave for fathers, suggesting an emerging awareness of the need for systemic transformation in parental norms, yet this remains aspirational rather than realized.

Moreover, the study points to widespread experiences of labour market discrimination. Almost half of the respondents reported either facing or wit-

nessing discriminatory practices related to pregnancy or maternity, ranging from contract termination to demotion and hostile work environments. Particularly concerning is the reluctance to report such violations, driven by a lack of institutional trust, fear of retaliation, and low legal literacy. This speaks to the structural nature of the gender-based inequality at the intersection of care work and labour rights.

Our analysis shows that the gap between legal provisions and the practical realization of rights for employed mothers in B&H stems from a combination of inconsistent institutional implementation, insufficient support mechanisms, and deeply embedded gender norms that continue to assign caregiving re-

sponsibilities primarily to women. Without parallel shifts in workplace culture, public policy, and social expectations – particularly those regarding active fatherhood, the formal entitlements remain only partially effective in practice. While the respondents express moderate optimism that maternity and parental rights may improve in the coming years, this is tempered by the scepticism regarding institutional will and capacity. Civil society organizations emerge as key actors of trust, suggesting their critical role in advocacy and support. Ultimately, advancing gender equality in the work-family domain in B&H requires not only legislative reform, but a broader reconceptualization of care, justice, and social responsibility in all spheres of life.

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Coauthor contributions

Jelena Čeriman: Conceptualization, Data Curation, Formal Analysis, Investigation, Methodology, Project Administration, Supervision, Validation, Visualization, Writing – Original Draft, Writing – Review & Editing.

Ljiljana Pantović: Conceptualization, Data Curation, Formal Analysis, Methodology, Validation, Writing – Original Draft, Writing – Review & Editing.

Marija Radovanović: Conceptualization, Data Curation, Formal Analysis, Methodology, Validation, Writing – Original Draft, Writing – Review & Editing.

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Prepreke usklađivanju rada i porodice u Bosni i Hercegovini: Rodne implikacije

PROŠIRENI SAŽETAK

Ovaj rad analizira iskustva zaposlenih majki u Bosni i Hercegovini kroz prizmu korišćenja roditeljskog odsustva, pristupa institucionalnoj podršci i suočavanja sa diskriminacijom u radnom kontekstu tokom i nakon trudnoće. Empirijsku osnovu rada čine podaci dobijeni putem onlajn ankete sprovedene među zaposlenim ženama različitog starosnog, obrazovnog i socio-ekonomskog porekla.

Rezultati ukazuju na postojanje višeslojnih prepreka u ostvarivanju prava na roditeljsko odsustvo, kao i izražene razlike u tretmanu žena u zavisnosti od entitetske i kantonalne pripadnosti. Dok je većina žena koristila porodijsko ili roditeljsko odsustvo, svega 4% je to pravo delilo sa partnerom. Pravo očeva na odsustvo, iako pravno dostupno u određenoj meri, u praksi se retko koristi zbog institucionalnih, kulturnih i radno-pravnih prepreka.

Posebno je zabrinjavajući nalaz da je 52% žena iskusilo ili bilo svedok diskriminatornog postupanja poslodavaca zbog trudnoće ili povratka sa porodijskog odsustva, odnosno odsustva radi nege deteta. Diskriminatorne prakse uključuju nepružanje podrške, pritiske da se zaposlene ranije vrate na posao, uskraćivanje karijernog napredovanja i nepravilnosti u isplati nadoknada. Analiza pokazuje da zaposlene majke iz našeg uzorka ovakva iskustva retko formalno prijavljuju zbog straha od odmazde i zbog nepoverenja u institucije. Pritom, iskustva ispitanica osvetljavaju i emocionalne posledice diskriminacije, uključujući osećaj izolacije, gubitka profesionalnog dostojanstva i trajne nesigurnosti, koje često ostaju izvan fokusa javnih politika.

Jedan od ključnih nalaza rada jeste i ukazivanje na neujednačenost pravnog okvira unutar Bosne i Hercegovine, konkretno između Federacije Bosne i Hercegovine i Republike Srpske, a delom i Brčko distrikta, što dovodi do sistemske diskriminacije u pristupu naknadama tokom roditeljskog odsustva. Data fragmentacija pravne zaštite, uz neadekvatnu institucionalnu podršku, dodatno pogoršava ekonomski položaj žena, posebno u kontekstu životnih troškova i kreditnih zaduženja. Uprkos formalnoj dostupnosti određenih prava, njihova implementacija ostaje selektivna i često zavisi od mesta stanovanja, poslodavčeve volje i individualne spremnosti žena da se bore za sopstvena prava.

Zaključno, rad ukazuje na potrebu za reformom postojećeg sistema roditeljskih prava, harmonizaciju pravnih propisa na nivou Bosne i Hercegovine, te na afirmaciju rodno ravnopravnog pristupa u politici rada i socijalne zaštite. Konkretno, podrška za uvođenje neprenosivog dela roditeljskog odsustva za očeve, koje bi bilo garantovano zakonom, ističe se kao važan mehanizam za podsticanje rodne ravnopravnosti i redistribuciju odgovornosti u nezi dece. Dati empirijski nalazi predstavljaju doprinos raspravama o rodnoj ravnopravnosti i institucionalnoj odgovornosti u kontekstu Bosne i Hercegovine.

KLJUČNE REČI

majčinska prava, roditeljska prava, ravnoteža između porodice i posla, Bosna i Hercegovina, porodične politike



Employment Policy Measures to Improve the Economic Opportunities of Women in Serbia

Kosovka Ognjenović¹ 

ABSTRACT

The aim of the paper is to analyze the performance of women in the Serbian labor market. The research topic is gaining importance as Serbia is in a mature phase of implementing its strategic framework for employment policy. This paper applies an approach that focuses on analyzing the impact of labor market policies aimed at improving the economic position of women. It analyses labor market statistics, as well as relevant policy documents, previous studies and research findings that show how women are progressing on the scale of measurable indicators of gender equality and whether they are ready to take advantage of economic opportunities in the face of demographic challenges. While women still lag behind men, their labor force participation and employment rates show relative and absolute improvement. The differences in the basic labor market indicators in the population category with tertiary education have narrowed since 2023. The pay gap persists and has been closing slowly, despite the regulations and efforts to help women in the labor market through active measures. The main findings for Serbia are compared with other relevant research findings to derive conclusions based on a comparative analysis supported by recommendations.

KEYWORDS

labor force participation, employment outcome, employment policy, Serbia, women

¹Institute of Economic Sciences, Belgrade, Serbia

Correspondence:

Kosovka Ognjenović,
Institute of Economic Sciences, Welfare
Economics Department,
Zmaj Jovina 12,
11000 Belgrade, Serbia

Email:

kosovka.ognjenovic@ien.bg.ac.rs

1 INTRODUCTION

It is well known that women and men have unequal economic opportunities, but it is less well known how the situation evolves when the right influencing factors are targeted. This paper provides an overview of the current situation on the Serbian labor market. Many previous policies were aimed at empowering women and improving their position in the labor market (Government of the Republic of Serbia 2021a, 2021b). Nevertheless, women still have poorer prospects on the labor market and are more affected by poverty despite being employed (Ognjenović and Pavlović 2021). The gender gap in employment initially widened slightly to 14.8 percentage points in 2021, and then narrowed to 13.1 percentage points in 2024, while the difference in labor force participation rate between men and women in 2021 and 2024 was 15.5 and 14.1 percentage points, respectively (Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia 2025a, 2025b). At the same time, the uncorrected gender pay gap for full-time and part-time employees was 12.1% in 2022 (Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia 2024), making Serbia one of the countries with a relatively high, but still growing wage gap (Eurostat 2025a).

This paper analyzes the performance of women in the Serbian labor market after the introduction of the Employment Strategy for the period from 2021 to 2026. The general objective guiding this strategy paper refers to stable and sustainable employment growth (Government of the Republic of Serbia 2021a). The specific objective of the Employment Strategy, which refers to improving the situation of the unemployed, highlights hard-to-place women as one of the main groups to be incentivized.

Therefore, this paper applies an approach that focuses mainly on analyzing the impact of the policy measures integrated in the Serbian Employment Strategy and the two specifically developed implementation plans (Government of the Republic of Serbia 2021b, 2024). This paper pursues at least two objectives. Firstly, to explain the gender-specific differences in labor market status. And, secondly, to analyze the gender pay gap from a more recent perspective. The two main objectives are considered in the context of the opportunities offered to women through a range of labor market policies.

A number of previous studies for Serbia have focused on key indicators of labor market participation, the gender pay gap and the promotion of the right to equal pay for work of equal value (Vladišavljević, Avlijaš and Vujić 2015; Ognjenović 2021, 2024), while another strand of research has examined the economic resilience of women entrepreneurs (Ognjenović, Pavlović and Bodroža 2022; Babović and Kočović De Santo 2023), and, more generally, the vulnerability of entrepreneurs in times of crises (Ognjenović and Đukić 2023). Compared to previous studies, the novelty of this paper is a comprehensive overview of the main labor market indicators, focusing on the results of the implementation of the existing employment strategies and their implementation plans. Therefore, this paper also presents a situation analysis, focusing on women's achievements in terms of gender equality in the workplace and the exercise of employment-related rights. The realization of the objectives of this paper is guided by the answers to the following questions. What do the main labor market indicators show? Are inequalities between men and women in the labor mar-

ket decreasing? Is the pay gap widening and how is it distributed across economic sectors, indicating the hidden effects of occupation choice? Are labor market policies having the expected effect by including unemployed and hard-to-place women in active measures?

In the continuation of these efforts, the public policy framework for the labor market in Serbia is presented with a comparison to the institutional context of the EU. The theoretical-methodological part presents the theoretical framework developed based on the review of the relevant literature and the results of recent studies, while the methodological part explains the research concept, describes the data sources, defines the indicators and justifies their selection. The results of the descriptive data analysis and their discussion are provided in two separate sections. Finally, the conclusions of the paper are presented with the most important recommendations.

2 FRAMEWORK OF EMPLOYMENT POLICIES

The scope of public labor and employment policies set out in the Employment Strategy of the Republic of Serbia until 2026 (Government of the Republic of Serbia 2021a), is largely based on the Employment Guidelines for EU Member States with regard to cross-sectoral measures to achieve the objectives of improving the quality of labor supply, stimulating labor demand and increasing participation in the labor market. The European Pillar of Social Rights, which essentially comprises 20 key factors, promotes the realization of these rights in practice by creating more and better jobs, improving skills and equal opportunities, as well as better health and social protection and inclusion. The

European Pillar of Social Rights Action Plan sets three main measurable targets by 2030, aiming to increase the employment rate of the population aged 20–64 to 78%, increase the annual education rate of the adult population by at least 60% and reduce the number of Europeans at risk of poverty by at least 15 million, including five million children (European Commission 2021). The Employment Guidelines for the EU Member States were amended twice. Firstly, in 2020 due to the consequences of the COVID-19 crisis (Council Decision (EU) No. 2020/1512 2020) and secondly in 2022, to support the integration of Ukrainian refugees of working age into the European labor market (Council Decision (EU) No. 2022/2296 2022). The revision of the Employment Guidelines builds on the Porto Summit held in May 2021, which emphasized that the European Pillar for the Realization of Social Rights (European Commission 2021) should enable an easier transition (digital, green and fair, inclusive) for the members of the Union and contribute to social and economic convergence, recognizing the importance of demographic changes due to the aging of the population. The key points of the 2022 revision relate to (i) strengthening the demand for labor, (ii) improving labor supply and access to employment, lifelong learning and skills development to facilitate the transition resulting from technological, demographic and environmental change, (iii) improving the functioning of the labor market and strengthening social dialogue, (iv) promoting equal opportunities, social inclusion and combating poverty, with the aim of taking measures that effectively prevent all forms of discrimination and promote equal opportunities and gender equality, in particular the

promotion of disadvantaged groups in the labor market, including women and young people, with a focus on regional and territorial coverage (Council Decision (EU) No. 2022/2296 2022).

The Employment Strategy of the Republic of Serbia for the 2021–2026 period has as a general goal the creation of conditions for stable and sustainable employment growth with continuous improvement of the level of knowledge and promotion of decent work, which is to be achieved through three main objectives: (i) employment growth through cross-sectoral measures to improve supply and stimulate demand for labor, (ii) improving opportunities for the unemployed through fair integration into the labor market, (iii) improving the legal framework for the implementation of employment policies and increasing the capacity of employment service providers (public and private sector) and raising the level of social dialogue between the parties concerned (Government of the Republic of Serbia 2021a). Compared to the previous strategic framework, this document focuses on achieving a smaller number of strategic objectives, but requires cross-sectoral measures to improve labor supply and demand, targets vulnerable groups of labor market participants and provides for a number of measures to improve the economic position of women. In the implementation plans for achieving the Strategy's goals by 2026, activities to improve the position of women in the labor market are proposed as a part of the measures to promote women's employment (Ministry of Labor, Employment, Veteran and Social Affairs of the Republic of Serbia 2022, 2023, 2024). The less favorable economic position of women stems from the observed imbalances resulting from lower labor force

participation and employment rates and lower average wages compared to men, which perpetuate gender gaps in employment, occupation and income.

The objectives of the Strategy in terms of improving the environment for creating equal opportunities for all are realized through the implementation of the Law on Gender Equality (2021), which replaces the former Equality Act (2009) in the domain of preventing discrimination and promoting gender equality through equal treatment of men and women, with the aim of realizing the rights in the areas of work, employment and self-employment. The legal framework implemented in Serbia to promote gender equality is based on the principles of the European Directive on equal opportunities and equal treatment of men and women in employment and occupation (Directive 2006/54/EC 2006). This regulation focuses on the employer and other parties whose actions may restrict access to employment, career development and promotion, and place a disadvantaged group in an unfavorable position. The practical implementation of the principle of equal pay for equal work or work of equal value is the fundamental starting point of the EU directive to achieve greater equality in the labor market, as gender pay gaps and gender segregation are common practice in European countries (European Commission 2020a). The application of this principle was further emphasized in the European legal area by the introduction of the Directive on pay records and pay transparency (Directive 2023/970/EC 2023). The European Strategy for Gender Equality by 2025 is a response to the green and digital transitions, fair inclusion and demographic change, which are all priority actions in the field of labor and

employment and form a part of the European Pillar of Social Rights (European Commission 2020b). In this way, it promotes the concept that gender equality favors the creation of more jobs and supports productivity growth.

3 THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Given the low participation of women in the labor market, the fundamental question has long been how to optimally allocate time between domestic responsibilities and investment in human capital, in order to raise women's market wages to a level that is acceptable if they decide to participate in the labor market in greater numbers (Mincer and Polachek 1974). The main theoretical concept to which the empirical research refers, assumes that gender pay gaps are the result of differences in the individual characteristics of men and women and that the elimination of these differences would lead to a correction of the pay gap, which is one of the central problems of gender equality (Blau and Kahn 2003). Therefore, gender equality policies are mainly based on improving the female labor supply so that the differences between men and women can be attributed to the dissimilarities in their observed characteristics (Rubery, Grimshaw and Figueiredo 2005). Studies conducted in Eastern European countries show that men and women perceive their roles in the household and outside the household differently, with women valuing a fair distribution of household tasks more than men (Fodor and Balogh 2010).

Women's financial vulnerability is largely the result of income inequality between men and women and is there-

fore reflected in women's everyday lives and career progression (Schneebaum et al. 2018; Ognjenović and Pavlović 2021). Regarding women in Eastern European countries, the results of empirical studies also show that less than a third of women hold responsible decision-making positions in political and social life, and that violence against women is disproportionately high, which is illustrated by the finding that one in four women is exposed to violence by the partner (Cuberes, Munoz-Boudet and Teignier 2019).

Company-level research and literature based on public policy analysis in the EU show that pay transparency and pay gap are inversely proportional, confirming the fact that more transparency reduces the gender pay gap (Bennedsen, Larsen and Wei 2023). However, there are also opponents of this hypothesis who point out that pay transparency can affect human freedoms and reduce productivity at company level (Bennedsen et al. 2022). Transparency of wage setting in the EU is a mechanism introduced to encourage companies to reduce the pay gap between women and men, which in turn contributes to the promotion of gender equality (Rubery, Grimshaw and Figueiredo 2005). Although the influence of unionization has declined in the EU, data from women's unions suggest that the secrecy of workers' pay has a significant impact on the pay gap due to the payment of lower wages to women (Bennedsen et al. 2022). Thanks to pay transparency, women may prefer to seek employment in the companies where the pay gap is low. Legislative solutions to promote equal opportunities have helped to change the climate in European companies in favor of women when filling high-paying positions,

which in turn helps to reduce the pay gap (Bennedsen, Larsen and Wei 2023). There is empirical evidence of a statistically significant correlation between the appointment of women to management positions and the pay gap (Theodoropoulos, Forth and Bryson 2022). New studies investigating the impact of robotization on pay gap are also essential. The results do not argue for a reduction in the pay gap, but show that increasing robotization in countries with already high inequalities would likely lead to widening of the pay gap. More precisely, a 10% increase in robotization would enlarge the pay gap by 1.8% on average (Aksoy, Özcan and Philipp 2021: 10).

Empirical research does not lead to a uniform conclusion when it comes to how much of the difference in earnings between men and women can be explained by job-related characteristics or personal traits, and how much is due to gender discrimination. In the Western Balkans (WB), including Serbia, men earn on average up to one fifth more than women, and the evolution of the pay gap depends on numerous factors, such as the observation period, the type of microdata and the methods of analysis used (Ognjenović 2021, 2024). The pay gap falls below 10% if characteristics of an employee, the workplace and the employer are considered (Vladislavljević Avlijaš and Vujić 2015). The intensity of gender inequality changes over the course of working life and is usually negatively correlated over time.

Empirical results from the comparison of gender inequality in the labor markets of the WB, Turkey and the EU show that the largest gender gap is in the labor force participation rate (twice as high as in the Union countries), while the gender gap in self-employment is close to the Union average.

Using the occupational choice model, Cuberes, Munoz-Boudet and Teignier (2019: 87) show that the loss of average income due to current gender inequalities would be up to 20%, and 6% only due to the gender gap in self-employment. When analyzed by age cohort, the largest gender differences in labor force participation rates are found among older people, the largest differences among employers are found with middle-aged people, while the self-employed differ significantly when looking at young cohorts. Forecasts on the development of skills supply and demand in WB labor markets until 2030 indicate that the current trend of simultaneous skills shortages and skills obsolescence will change direction (Leitner 2022), inducing a negative impact on the pay gap if there is no response from companies and policy makers.

3.2 METHODS

The paper analyses synthetic indicators of the labor market status, as they capture and represent the changes most fully. As emphasized at the beginning of the paper, the aim is to place the entire analysis of labor market participation by sex in the context of the implementation of the Employment Strategy in Serbia, and evaluate its potential impact on the employment of women, especially from vulnerable groups, which is included in the paper through participation in active labor market policy measures. The time frame of the analysis for most of the selected indicators is limited to the period 2021–2024. Another explanation for the choice of this time frame are the changes in the methodology of the EU Labor Force Survey (EU-LFS) conducted by Eurostat (2021), which were also adopted by the Statistical Office of the

Republic of Serbia (SORS). In 2021, the EU-LFS methodology was adapted to the recommendations of the EU bodies, to align with international labor standards. From 2023, the weights used for the Serbian Labor Force Survey (LFS) data are estimated using demographic trends in population growth based on the 2022 Census. For reasons of comparability, the figures analyzed in this paper therefore refer to the data after the 2021 revision (Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia 2021).

The paper uses the standard method for calculating the indicators of labor force dynamics segregated by sex. Three groups of harmonized synthetic labor market indicators are used for the analysis of differences between men and women: (i) the labor force participation rate for men and women (the share of male and female labor force in the corresponding subset of the working age population), (ii) the employment rate for men and women (the share of employed men and women in the corresponding subset of the working age population), and (iii) the unemployment rate for men and women (the share of unemployed men and women in the corresponding subset of the labor force).

The population framework used in connection with the calculation of selected indicators comprises the population aged 15 to 64, i.e. the working age population. An additional methodological explanation for the choice of the working age contingent as a statistical framework for the calculation of standard labor market indicators is the fact that it is particularly relevant in the context of countries where the activity level of the post-employment contingent is low, as is the case in Serbia.

On the basis of these indicators, the differences between the indicators cal-

culated for men and women are presented as gender-specific differences in labor force participation, employment and unemployment rates, and interpreted as changes in percentage points. The analysis is extended by two important characteristics of men and women, which are embodied in their age and level of education. Thus, a tripartite division is made in each segment, dividing the participants into three age groups (15–24; 25–54 and 55–64). In order to systematize educational attainment into comparable groups, the ISCED levels of the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) from 2011 are grouped, expressing primary and lower education, secondary (general and vocational) and tertiary education. Additional explanations are provided further in the paper.

Several data sources were used to derive the research results presented in this paper. First, as already mentioned, the data from the continuous, regularly conducted surveys of the SORS, including the LFS, the Structure of Earnings Survey (SES) and other publicly available data on labor market trends were used (Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia 2020, 2025a, 2025b, 2024). These data were combined with the Eurostat labor market statistics to make comparisons more meaningful (Eurostat 2025a). Finally, data from the register of unemployed persons and recipients of active labor market policy measures published by the National Employment Service (NES) in its annual reports were used (National Employment Service 2023a). The Employment Strategy for Serbia promotes active labor market policies that would lead to greater equality in performance between men and women and creates the basis for a critical review of what has been achieved so far.

4 DESCRIPTIVE DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 GENDER DIFFERENCES IN LABOR MARKET STATUS

The starting point for defining the framework for employment policy measures is the existence of significant inequalities in the labor market, which are primarily identified by statistically examining the differences in measurable outcome indicators for men and women. Therefore, regulatory and incentive measures have been envisaged, that are primarily aimed at improving the economic situation of women. The economic status of women has not improved significantly since the start of the transitional reforms. Given the significant economic backwardness of women, which was due to the restructuring of the real sector and the decline of industrial enterprises where many women worked, as well as the fact that new jobs required skilled labor and workers who are in productive age, many women retired rather than returned to work. The focus of the real sector, on the other hand, was on conquering the market and increasing competitiveness, which was foreseen by systemic changes and the new legal framework (Ognjenović 2015). Technological progress has facilitated the return of younger female cohorts to the labor market, as their educational structure has also visibly improved (Gligorijević and Bakić 2022). Nevertheless, the employment rate of women is significantly lower than that of men, and women from the so-called “disadvantaged” groups are more likely to work in the informal sector and as contributing members of households and family businesses. This picture is unique across the WB region and is slowing the countries’ convergence towards the EU average (Atoyan and Rahman

2017). At the same time, each “global” crisis, including the last one caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, slows them down further. Poorer countries are less generous in terms of all forms of aid and need more time to return to their previous economic path (Ognjenović and Đukić 2023).

Figure 1 shows that men and women in Serbia differ in terms of their economic activity and that these differences persist. Based on the LFS data in a short time span, it is not possible to determine whether anything significant has changed between 2021 and 2024 and whether the impact of employment policies has influenced the reduction of the gender gap. In fact, the difference in the labor force participation rate (population 15–64) in 2024 is slightly smaller than in 2021, which is because men have entered the labor market in greater numbers than women. In relative terms, the labor force participation rate of men increased by 1.8 percentage points in 2024 compared to 2021 and that of women by 4.3 percentage points, so that the gap is still high at 11.7 percentage points, but is decreasing. In the EU-27, this difference is smaller and amounts to 9.3 percentage points with a female labor force participation rate of 70.7% in 2024. A similar trend can be observed in the development of gender differences in employment. For women in Serbia, there is a slight upward trend in the employment rate of 60.8% in 2024, compared to 54.8% in 2021, while the employment rate for men is 71.7% (narrowing the gender gap by 2.9 percentage points compared to 2021). For the same age population in the EU-27, the employment rates for men and women in 2024 were 75.3% and 66.2% respectively, resulting in a gender gap of 9.1 percentage points (Eurostat 2025a).

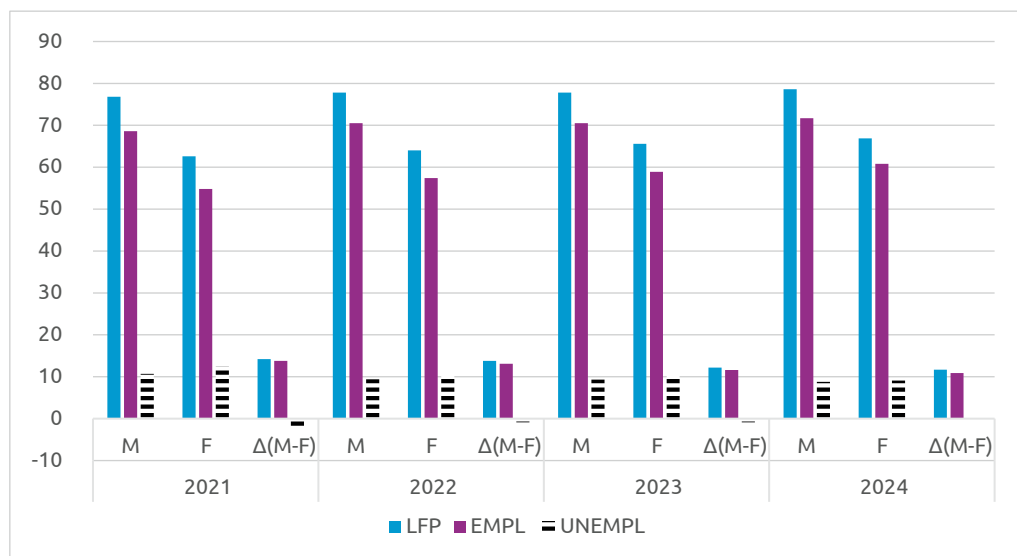


Figure 1 Labor force participation (LFP), employment (EMPL) and unemployment (UNEMPL) rates for men and women in Serbia, 2021–2024

Notes: M stands for “male”, F for “female”, while $\Delta(M-F)$ denotes the difference in the values of the indicators for men and women. Working age population 15–64 years.

Source: Eurostat (2025a) and Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia (2021, 2025a, 2025b).

The unemployment rates of men and women have “converged” in recent years, so that the gender gap in 2024 was 0.3 percentage points, which is due to the higher unemployment rates of women. According to EU-LFS data (Eurostat 2025a), the gender gap in the unemployment rate in 2024 at EU-27 level was 0.5 percentage points, with unemployment rates for men (5.8%) and women (6.3%) being lower on average than in Serbia (8.8% and 9.1% respectively).

The bigger gender differences in the labor force participation rate of young people (15–24 years) result from the age structure of activity among the working age population, so they are likely to be larger among those characterized by low levels of economic activity due to pursuing education. In addition, census data show that the gender differences in labor force participation can be observed through different patterns of behavior

of girls and boys in relation to education. General trends show that girls are more oriented towards higher education than their male peers, so they are likely to enter the labor market only after completing their education (Devedžić and Šobot 2025).

The gender differences in the labor force participation rates of the prime-age population (25–54 years) are the smallest, which is supported by the fact that women are present in the labor market at this age and most of them are employed. The labor force participation rate of women decreases faster with age than that of men, with the largest gap in the 54+ age group (Figure 2). In 2021, the difference in the labor force participation rate between men and women in the 55–64 age group was 21.4 percentage points, i.e. 5.2 percentage points more than in 2024, indicating a slight tendency for the gap to narrow, which

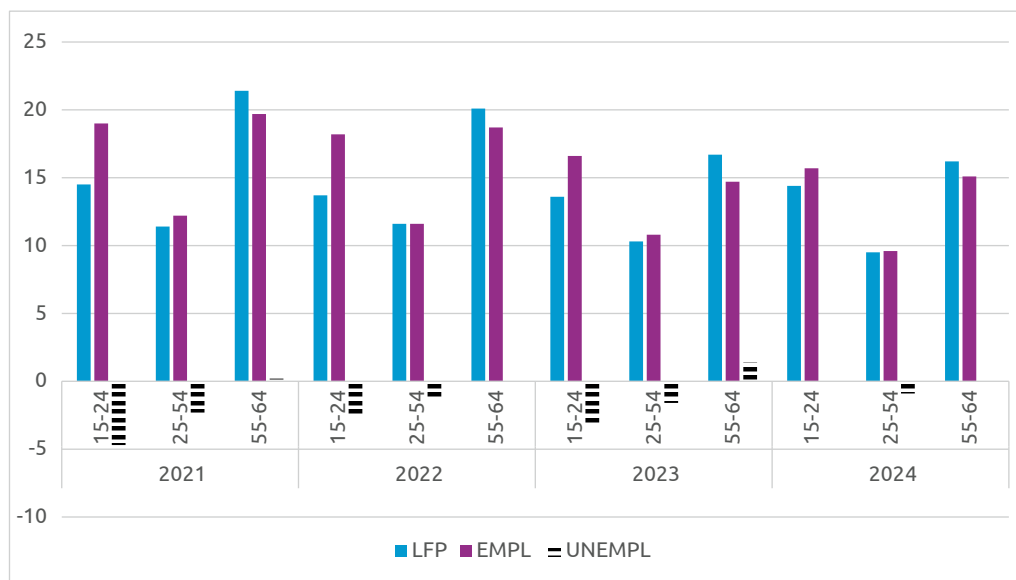


Figure 2 Differences in labor force participation (LFP), employment (EMPL) and unemployment (UNEMPL) rates by sex and age groups in Serbia, 2021–2024

Notes: Working age population 15–64 years.

Source: Eurostat (2025a) and Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia (2021, 2025a, 2025b).

is a sign that women are present in the labor market for longer due to, among other things, the postponement of the retirement age and the expected higher returns to work experience.

The gender gap in the employment rate of young men and women (15–24 years) is decreasing (it was 15.7 percentage points in 2024) and is approaching the difference between the employment rates of workers at the upper end of the age distribution (55–64 years), which was 15.1 percentage points in 2024. In the 25–54 age group, the gender gap in employment is primarily determined by the employment rate of women, which increases during the observed period. The time frame of this study is too short to adequately explain the existing divergence in the employment rate by sex.

The gender gap in the unemployment rate of the oldest group of workers de-

creases over the years, but the unemployment rates of young women and men still differ significantly, confirming that young women have less chance of finding employment than men immediately after leaving school, even if their educational attainment improves. The exception is the year 2024, in which the unemployment rates of young men (23.0%) and women (23.1%) have equalized, narrowing the gap. However, these data are not consistent with the NES data for 2024 on the duration of unemployment among young women, which show that three-fifths of all women registered as unemployed are looking for their first job. The difference is caused by the NES only keeping data on registered unemployed persons. However, the higher unemployment rates of women in the 25–54 age group are present throughout the period analyzed, which certainly slows down the decline in the

gender gap among people of the most productive working age (National Employment Service 2025). While this finding is worrying, it is not possible to obtain more precise answers on the basis of observing developments over a period of four years.

The economic activity of the working age population in Serbia by education level is shown in Figure 3 for the male population and in Figure 4 for the female working age population. In order to obtain a more comprehensive structure for the needs of the analysis, a methodological tripartite division was made according to the highest completed school level (primary, secondary and tertiary education). The labor force participation and employment rates of women with the primary school qualification are the lowest compared to other levels of education, but they are also

lower than the labor force participation rates of men, which contributes to the gap in their status in the labor market. As illustrated in Figures 3 and 4, in 2024, the labor force participation and employment rates of women and men at this level of education were 34.6% and 29.5% (women) and 50.9% and 43.9% (men), respectively. The gender gap in labor force participation (16.3 percentage points) and employment rates (14.4 percentage points) is therefore also the greatest among those with primary education or less, indicating that either the supply of low-skilled women is thin, or that these women have left the labor market because the demand (supply of jobs) is low. Women are also less likely than men to take part in in-company trainings to acquire the qualifications they lack on the labor market and ensure employment stability (Ognjenović 2023).

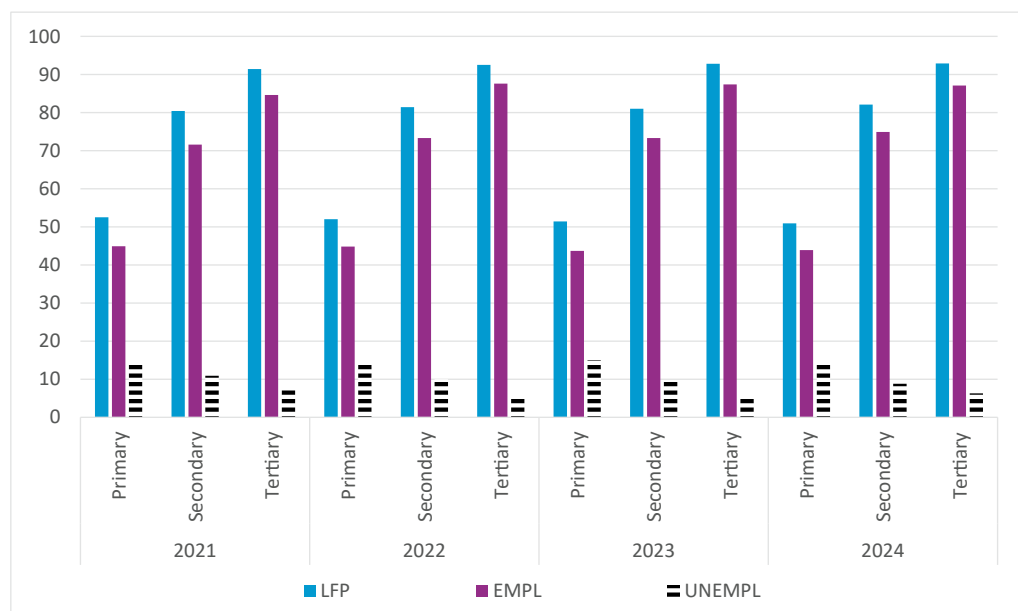


Figure 3 Male labor force participation (LFP), employment (EMPL) and unemployment (UNEMPL) rates by educational attainment in Serbia, 2021–2024

Notes: Male working age population 15–64 years.

Source: Eurostat (2025a) and Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia (2021, 2025a, 2025b).

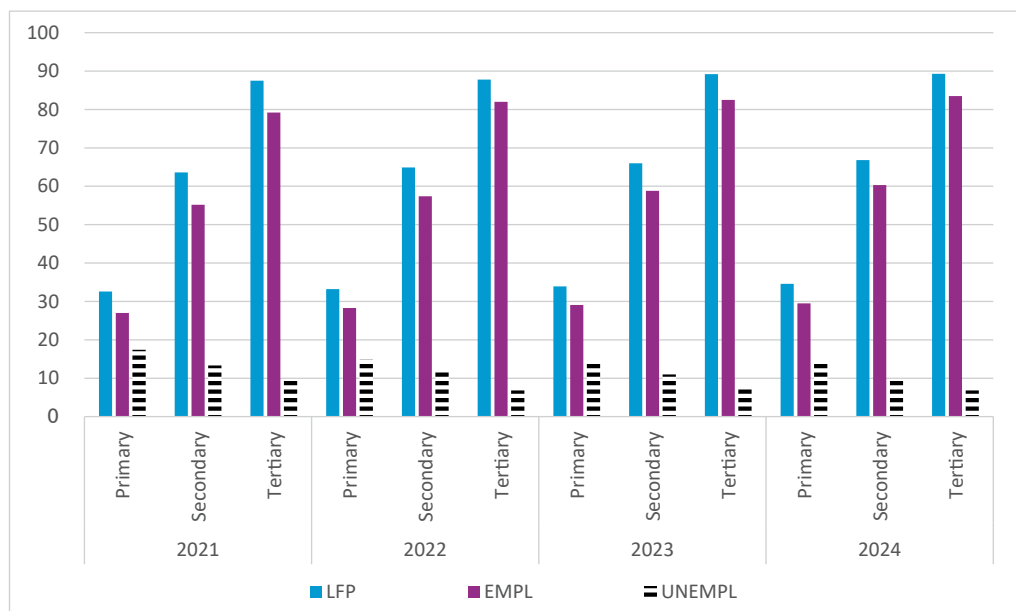


Figure 4 Female labor force participation (LFP), employment (EMPL) and unemployment (UNEMPL) rates by educational attainment in Serbia, 2021–2024

Notes: Female working age population 15–64 years.

Source: Eurostat (2025a) and Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia (2021, 2025a, 2025b).

Although the labor force participation and employment rates of women with secondary school qualifications are higher, they are not yet sufficient to significantly reduce the gender gap. A high percentage of women with a tertiary education make up the female labor force. Nevertheless, there is still a difference in the employment rate of men and women with tertiary education, which amounted to 15.3 and 14.6 percentage points respectively in 2024. The employment rates of women with a tertiary education are rising faster. In the period 2021–2024, the rate has increased by 4.3 percentage points (women) and 2.5 percentage points (men), respectively. The difference between the rates will turn into an advantage for women in the coming years, in the sense that the employment rates of women with tertiary education will exceed those of men. This

can also be explained to a certain extent by slight differences in the current unemployment rates, which in 2024 were 6.8% for women and 6.3% for men with tertiary education.

Of particular concern are the high rates and significant differences in early school leaving indicators among 18–24 year olds and young people (15–24 years) not in education, employment or training (NEET), as shown in Table 1. Young men drop out of education more often than young women, which is confirmed by the better long-term educational structure of women, despite the differences in the main labor market indicators. The LFS data in Table 1 do not indicate that young people of this age drop out of school to find a job, but there are other reasons as well, and when they do find a job, they usually work in the informal sector, in jobs that offer a low

Table 1 Early school leavers and NEET population in Serbia by sex, 2021–2024

Year	Indicator	Men	Women
2021	Early school leavers (18–24), %	8.7	6.6
	NEETs (15–24), %	17.1	17.0
2022	Early school leavers (18–24), %	6.5	5.0
	NEETs (15–24), %	13.4	13.3
2023	Early school leavers (18–24), %	5.8	5.9
	NEETs (15–24), %	12.7	12.2
2024	Early school leavers (18–24), %	6.8	5.7
	NEETs (15–24), %	13.1	12.6

Source: Eurostat (2025a) and Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia (2021, 2025a, 2025b).

level of security (Ministry of Labor, Employment, Veteran and Social Affairs of the Republic of Serbia 2022, 2023, 2024).

The NEET indicator is almost equally unfavorable for young men and women. Due to the volatility, no clear downward trend can be identified over the years. The rates of 13.1% for men and 12.6% for women, which represented a difference of 0.9 percentage points in 2024, suggest that young men need more support to be successful in the labor market (Table 1). Both groups of young people belong to a particularly vulnerable group that is entitled to combined support measures to help them integrate into the labor market, including training to improve their skills. In 2024, the NES launched the “Youth Guarantee” pilot program (National Employment Service 2023b), which has aimed to improve the situation of young people at risk. This group of labor market participants usually forms the category of self-employed out of necessity, whose survival rate on the market is lower compared to other entrepreneurs (Ognjenović, Pavlović and Bodroža 2022).

Countries with high unemployment rates at almost all levels of education demonstrate the need to integrate the unemployed into active labor market policies through additional education

and training measures or subsidized employment. Above all, however, they show that the labor market and the demand for occupations cannot keep the pace with the current supply. This means that the labor market is functioning inadequately, partly due to an insufficient supply of skills, and partly because the pool of unemployed people who cannot find work is generally stacked up in long-term unemployment. NES data show that more than three-fifths of the registered jobseekers are long-term unemployed (National Employment Service 2025). Another current problem is overqualification, which in Serbia stood at 23.2% (22.6% for women) in 2024 (Eurostat 2025b).

In the EU-27, the structure of unemployment by level of education is similar to that in Serbia, although the unemployment shares and the differences in the rates for men and women are greater in Serbia (Figure 5). This is particularly evident in the differences in unemployment rates by sex among those who finished primary school. Another curiosity is the unemployment rates of both sexes at the secondary vocational education level (5.2% for men and 6.1% for women in EU-27), which are half as low, probably due to the practical skills acquired during schooling to get people into the

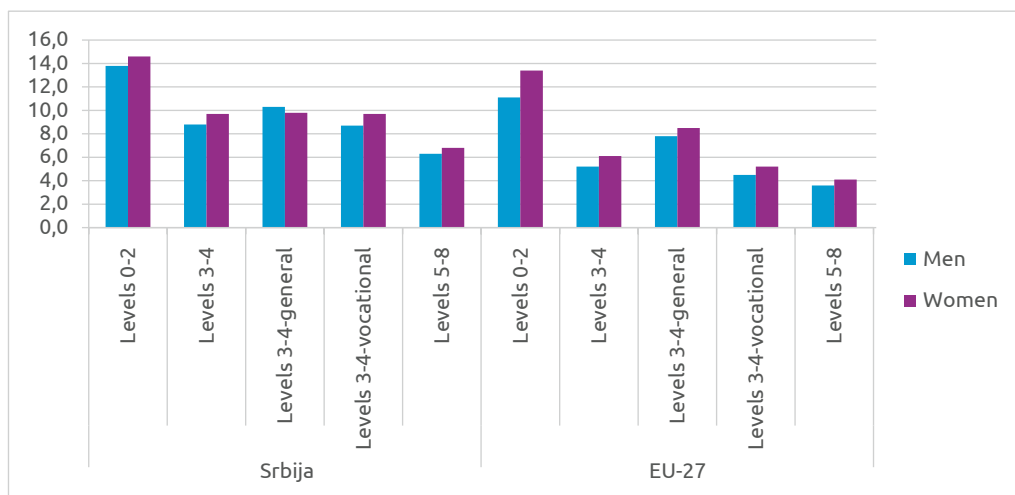


Figure 5 Unemployment rates of men and women by level of education in %, Serbia and EU-27, 2024.

Note: Working age population 15–64 years. The ISCED level stands for the International Standard Classification of Education from 2011.

Source: Eurostat (2025a).

labor market after leaving school. In Serbia, the highest unemployment rates are recorded among people with primary education, while the unemployment trend is similar for people with general and vocational secondary education. In the group of people with general secondary education, the unemployment rate is slightly higher for men (10.3%) than for women (9.8%) (Eurostat 2025c), even though a higher percentage of girls (33.5%) than boys complete grammar schools in 2024 (22.9%) (Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia 2025c). Their unemployment rate can be partly explained by the fact that they have not been trained for vocations at grammar schools. When they fail to continue their education or to accept the jobs on offer, they remain unemployed. The problem of overqualification, on the other hand, is partly a consequence of unemployment in the group of people with tertiary education, which places the burden

on them to work in professions for which they have not been trained.

4.2 THE GENDER PAY GAP AND ACTIVE EMPLOYMENT POLICY

The uncorrected gender pay gap in Serbia, derived from the 2022 Structure of Earnings Survey data, is 12.1% (8.8% in 2018) (Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia 2024). The gender pay gap is calculated for employees in companies with ten or more employees and does not refer to the activities of households as employers and non-territorial organizations and entities, which characterizes Serbia as a country with a “persistent” and “increasing” gender pay gap. This rate is higher than in North Macedonia (8.3%, 2014), Slovenia (6.5%, 2022) and Croatia (7.3%, 2022), while the EU-27 average in 2022 was 12.0%, excluding public administration, defense and statutory social security (Eurostat 2025a).

Figure 6 shows the uncorrected pay gap between women and men by economic sector in Serbia, calculated from the 2018 and 2022 Structure of Earnings Survey data. The finance and insurance sector is the extreme with the highest pay gap, while the construction sector is the other extreme with the lowest pay gap. Activities with a higher proportion of working men, including manufacturing (19.2% in 2018 and 19.6% in 2022) and energy supply (15.1% in 2018 and 11.2% in 2022), also show larger pay gaps. In these sectors, there are major differences in the level of average earnings. In the finance and insurance sector, where wages are above average, the pay gap (20.1% in

2018 and 20.6% in 2022) is due to the high wages of people in management positions, which are more commonly men and whose total income includes not only the basic salary but also management bonuses. The pay gap is also above average in other service sectors, such as healthcare, information and property. A surprising increase in the pay gap in the information and communication sector was estimated at 20.3% in 2022. In contrast, construction (-10.9%), transport (-6.0%), administration (-0.7%), mining (-0.5%) and water supply (-0.3%), showed a reverse unadjusted pay gap. These sectors account for a smaller share of total employment; the dispersion of wages around

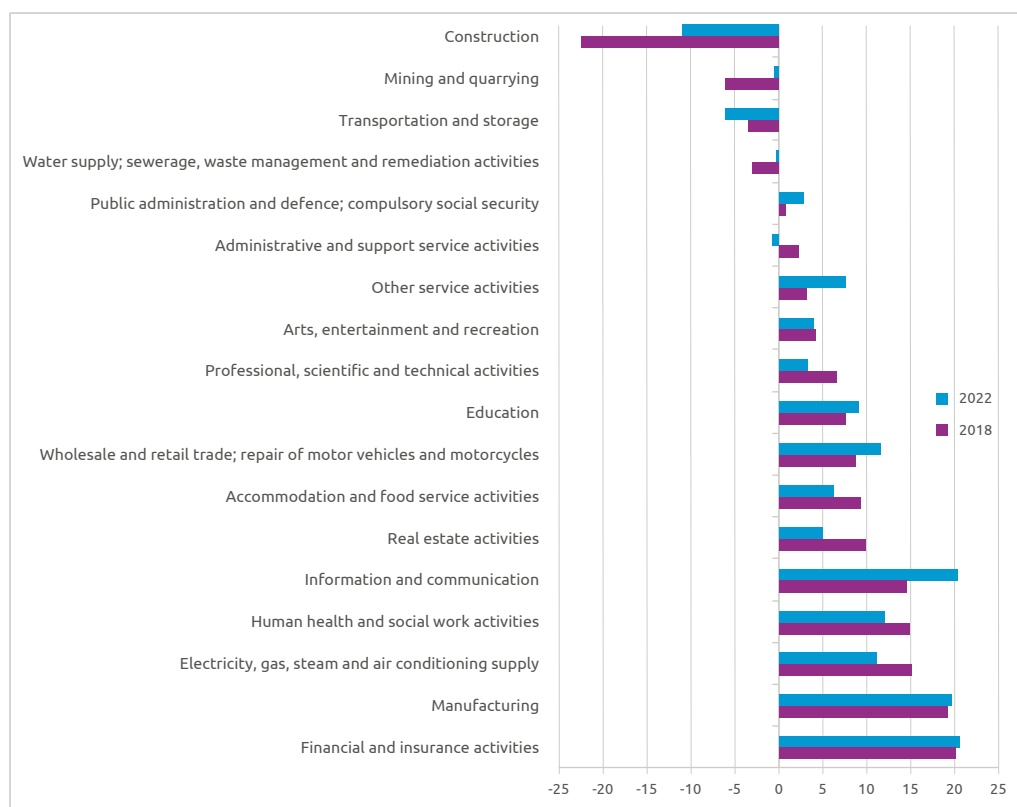


Figure 6 The unadjusted pay gap by economic activity in Serbia in %, 2018, 2022

Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia (2024).

the average is denser and consists mainly of low wages. However, considering that the start of the Employment Strategy measures almost coincided with the implementation of the 2022 Structure of Earning Survey, the interpretation of the results and the conclusions drawn from them regarding the effectiveness of the measures in the area of wages, are limited, while only a new cycle of research based on the Survey will be able to shed light on the pay gap trends.

The focus of active labor market policy (ALMP) measures is on the hard-to-place categories of unemployed people. Women in this group are considered more difficult to place in the labor market and have been allocated special measures in the Strategy's Implementation Plan.

The proportion of women participating in active job search measures is high both in the group of all beneficiaries and in the particularly vulnerable groups. This allows flexibility in women's job search, but the intention to complete training to pursue an entrepreneurial activity is less pronounced. As men are more likely to choose an entrepreneurial career, it is to be expected that women are more likely to participate in subsidized entrepreneurial training. The proportion of women receiving financial measures for self-employment is 51.7%, with the proportion of women from vulnerable groups falling to 42.9% (National Employment Service 2023a).

Only two-fifths of women took part in further training at the request of the employer in 2022. Although this measure is relatively modest, it is still significant, as it offers a high probability that a participant will be hired by the employer. The same applies to the unemployed people who have taken advantage of the practical skills training program – only

42.3% of women who were difficult to place took advantage of this program. In the "My first salary" program, young women have been represented above average in all categories. This program aims to make the transition to their first job easier for young people. The employment of people with disabilities via the wage subsidy measure for people without work experience has been realized with an equal participation of women and men. In 2022, however, only 39.8% of particularly vulnerable women with disabilities took advantage of this measure.

5 DISCUSSION

The aim of this paper is to examine the economic opportunities of women and men, to identify the differences in selected indicators of labor market status and to determine the pay gap. The analysis was developed around several research questions. The first two were discussed through a comprehensive descriptive analysis of selected summary indicators of labor market development with a focus on gender differences. In response to the questions raised, it has been shown that trends in labor market indicators are converging, leading to a narrowing of the gap, but that new challenges such as overqualification have also been emerging. Statistically at least, the position of women in the labor market is improving, but the persistence of the pay gap points to latent factors that still prevent a significant improvement in a financial sense. This observation is significant in that the market needs labor and the increase in women's economic activity is precisely the channel that could replace the shortage of labor in the long term, given the increasingly pressing demographic challenges.

Studies on women's education highlight various economic and societal challenges, as well as the impact on the family (De Hauw, Grow and Van Bavel 2017; Gligorijević and Bakić 2022).

Over the years, women have attained the educational structure that, for a long time, enabled men to choose an adequately paid job in line with their qualifications and occupations. Thus, the educational structures of women and men no longer differ to the extent that could determine unequal employment opportunities, and education and work experience can no longer be blamed for the unequal pay of women's work compared to men's (Blau and Kahn 2003). In addition to the entrenched gender pay gap, the differences in the structure of full-time and part-time employment between men and women are becoming increasingly apparent. The literature suggests this as one of the factors influencing the extent of the pay gap (Rubery, Grimshaw and Figueiredo 2005; Atoyan and Rahman 2017; Theodoropoulos, Forth and Bryson 2022). In Serbia, there is a similar pattern of correlation between women's education and their participation in the labor market as in other European countries. Flexibility in choosing different forms of employment, including part-time, remains insignificant.

Empirical studies have moved away from the standard patterns and introduced new perspectives as possible causes for the existence of the pay gap, despite the institutional context that protects women's rights and opens up new economic opportunities. For Serbia, either no gender-disaggregated data are available or no such measures have yet been taken. In response to one of the questions around which the structure of this paper was developed, it can be

stated that the pay gap has widened. In the 2022 Structure of Earnings Survey, the gender pay gap was estimated at 12.1% (8.8% in 2018) (Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia 2024). However, in the context of the implementation of the new strategic framework, it is still too early to draw conclusions about the impact of the measures in the area of wages on the economic position of women.

In addition, comparative studies show that the correlation between the type of labor contract, the employment rate and the degree of trade union participation has different effects on employment outcomes and the pay gap (Bertola, Blau and Kahn 2007). The Scandinavian countries have the highest membership rates in trade union organizations, indicating a strong culture of social dialogue. Although the data for Serbia go back quite far, i.e. to 2010, it shows that one third of employees are members of a trade union. In the EU, it is 26.9% in Slovenia (2016) and 20.8% in Croatia (2018), while in the other countries of the region it is highest in Albania (36.8%, 2017) and Bosnia and Herzegovina (30.0%, 2012), and lowest in Montenegro (25.8%, 2012) and North Macedonia (16.7%, 2019) (International Labor Organization 2023). The data do not include the trade union participation rates of women. Recent studies analyzing the (positive) impact of the legislation introducing transparency in wage setting in EU countries (Directive 2023/970/EC 2023) show that greater transparency of pay policies at company level contributes to reducing the pay gap (Bennedsen, Larsen and Wei 2023).

In 2022, 46.1% of unemployed women from the NES register were employed, which was below the planned rate (49%). However, the annual rate of

participation of women in ALMP measures (56.3%) exceeds the share from the strategy's implementation plan by 0.3 percentage points (Ministry of Labor, Employment, Veteran and Social Affairs of the Republic of Serbia 2023). This is a positive signal, indicating that women's employment could increase if the implementation of the ALMP measures continues from one year to the next. Considering that women are more likely to be unemployed than men, this dynamic of implementing the ALMP measures would also increase employment from the NES register.

6 CONCLUSION

This paper complements existing labor market studies by analyzing gender differences in the statistical indicators created to monitor the status of women, examining the pay gap and assessing the potential impact of active labor market policies. Equally important is the assessment of the potential representation of (in)active women in future policies, but also of women who are discouraged and whose reintegration into the labor market should be of particular interest for policy planning. The paper applies an approach that focuses on the implementation of employment policies integrated into the framework of the Employment Strategy of the Republic of Serbia for the period 2021–2026. Statistical methods of analysis are applied to data from recent studies and other available data sources, and the situation of women in Serbia is compared with the countries in the region and the EU using harmonized indicators. The present economic situation of women is less favorable than that of men, due to lower average wages and difficulties in exercising other social rights, but is improving.

Due to the gender gaps in labor force participation and employment rates, Serbia is one of the countries with persistent inequalities between men and women. All employment policies to date are aimed at equalizing the participation and employment rates of women and men, but the differences persist, and each subsequent crisis has a deeper negative impact on the economic system and the performance in the business sector, and affects the functioning of the labor market. If one were to generalize the recommendations for the three segments of the analysis presented in this paper, they would be as follows: it is necessary to promote and establish a coherent economic and social policy approach, to set up mechanisms that allow timely monitoring of the impact of the employment policies implemented, to improve measures to attract discouraged people and people who leave the education system without qualifications and whose prospects in the labor market are modest, and to increase their economic independence.

The paper has its limitations. First, the short time frame in which the dynamics of labor market indicators have been analyzed has a limited impact on the analysis of gender differences. In addition, the uncorrected pay gap has been used as a measure of pay for work of equal value and the results of the Structure of Earnings Survey, which was last conducted in 2022, have been used. In the context of monitoring the impact of the implementation of the Employment Strategy up to 2026, a much better insight would be gained by extending the time horizon and possibly adding a quantitative dimension to the analysis of inequality in the realization of economic opportunities, which is still the subject of further research. All in all, this work is part of the

medium-term assessment of the results of the current employment policies.

The pay gap between men and women persists even when differences in the characteristics of human capital, workplace and employer are considered, as numerous studies cited in this paper show (Ognjenović 2021, 2024; Vladislavljević, Avlijaš and Vujić 2015). However, the differences in the former features

have a negative impact on the pay gap and lead to its reduction, which means that the causes of the persistent pay gap are to be found in other characteristics that are beyond women's control. As the legislative framework in this area evolves, one of the ways to improve the economic position of women is to further promote gender equality and pay transparency.

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Mere politike zapošljavanja za unapređenje ekonomskih mogućnosti žena u Srbiji

PROŠIRENI SAŽETAK

Cilj rada je analiza učinka žena na tržištu rada u Srbiji. Tema istraživanja dobija na značaju, jer se Srbija nalazi u zreloj fazi sprovođenja svog strateškog okvira u oblasti politika zapošljavanja. U ovom radu primenjuje se metodološki pristup koji se fokusira na analizu uticaja mera politike tržišta rada usvojenih radi poboljšanja ekonomskog položaja žena. Planovi sprovođenja politike zapošljavanja sadrže pokazatelje za merenje ostvarivanja strateških ciljeva u svakoj fazi strateškog perioda i čine osnovu za praćenje ostvarivanja rodne ravnopravnosti. Važno je videti kako žene ostvaruju svoja prava na tržištu rada u poređenju sa muškarcima, ali je diverzifikacija po različitim individualnim karakteristikama takođe važna zbog direktnog uticaja na rezultate koje žene ostvaruju na tržištu rada. Statistika tržišta rada analizira se paralelno sa relevantnim dokumentima za realizaciju politike u oblasti zapošljavanja, prethodnim studijama i nalazima istraživanja koji pokazuju kako žene napreduju na skali merljivih pokazatelja rodne ravnopravnosti i spremne su da iskoriste ekonomske mogućnosti suočene sa demografskim izazovima. Rezultati analize pokazuju da, iako žene i dalje zaostaju za muškarcima, njihovo učešće u radnoj snazi i zaposlenosti beleži relativno i apsolutno poboljšanje. Razlike u osnovnim pokazateljima tržišta rada u kategoriji stanovništva sa visokom stručnom spremom brže se smanjuju od 2023. godine. Platni jaz i dalje postoji i polako se menja, uprkos propisima i naporima da se pomogne ženama na tržištu rada kroz aktivne mere. S obzirom na povoljniju obrazovnu strukturu mladih žena, očekivano je da češće učestvuju u merama za sticanje praktičnih veština i programima za pripravnike sa višim obrazovnim kvalifikacijama. U posebno kreiranom programu zapošljavanja mladih „Moja prva plata“, mlade žene su zastupljene iznad proseka. Ova mera usmerena je na poboljšanje položaja mladih na tržištu rada i olakšavanje njihovog prelaska na prvo zaposlenje, ali i na unapređenje statistike na osnovu koje se prati sprovođenje mera aktivne politike na tržištu rada za mlade. Pilot faza programa „Garancija za mlade“, koja je počela 2024. godine, takođe ima za cilj poboljšanje stanja, ali ranjivih grupa mladih. Zapošljavanje osoba sa invaliditetom putem mere subvencionisanja plata za osobe bez radnog iskustva ostvaruje se uz podjednako učešće žena i muškaraca. U radu se ključni nalazi za Srbiju upoređuju sa nalazima drugih relevantnih istraživanja kako bi se izveli zaključci zasnovani na uporednoj analizi potkrepljenoj preporukama.

KLJUČNE REČI

učesće u radnoj snazi, ishodi zapošljavanja, politike zapošljavanja, Srbija, žene



Gender and Its Impact on Work Engagement and Research Productivity of University Teachers in Serbia

Ivana Simić¹  Biljana Đorđević¹  Sandra Milanović Zbiljić¹ 

ABSTRACT

This study investigates the impact of gender on work engagement and research productivity among university teachers in Serbia, with an additional focus on the potential mediating role of work engagement. Grounded in international literature that identifies persistent gender disparities in academic careers, particularly in research performance, the study explores whether similar patterns are evident in the Serbian context. Utilizing a quantitative approach, data were collected via a structured questionnaire, from 263 academic staff across four major public universities. Work engagement was assessed using the Utrecht Work Engagement Scale (UWES-9), while research productivity was measured by the number of publications indexed in SCI, SSCI, and ESCI databases. Statistical analyses, including t-tests, correlation, and mediation analysis using PROCESS macro (Model 4), revealed no significant gender differences in either work engagement or research productivity. However, a modest but statistically significant positive correlation was found between work engagement and research productivity. Although work engagement significantly predicted productivity, it did not mediate the relationship between gender and research output. These findings suggest that, while Serbia may exhibit greater gender parity in academia than some international counterparts, subtle forms of inequality may persist and suggest the need for further exploration through expanded and more nuanced research methodologies.

KEYWORDS

gender, work engagement, research productivity, university teachers, Serbia

¹Faculty of Economics,
University of Niš, Niš, Serbia

Correspondence:

Ivana Simić,
Faculty of Economics,
University of Niš, Trg kralja
Aleksandra Ujedinitelja 11,
18105 Niš, Serbia

Email:

ivana.simic@eknfak.ni.ac.rs

1 INTRODUCTION

Perceived as a social and cultural construct that differentiates the attributes of men and women and defines their respective roles and responsibilities (UNICEF 2017), *gender* has gained particular prominence in recent decades, driven by the growing recognition of gender equality as “one of the basic principles of human rights” (Vujadinović et al. 2020: 17). This principle entails “a situation where women and men have equal conditions for realizing their full human rights and potential, and are able to contribute to and benefit equally from political, economic, social, and cultural development” (Inclusive Security and DCAF 2017: 8).

Although the foundation for gender equality was established as early as 1948 with the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations 1948), its importance has since been reaffirmed through numerous international and European legal and policy instruments. These include the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (United Nations 1979), the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (United Nations 1995), Directive 2006/54/EC on the implementation of the principle of equal opportunities and equal treatment of men and women in matters of employment and occupation (European Union 2006), and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (United Nations 2015), all of which explicitly uphold the principle of gender equality (Petrušić and Vujadinović 2018).

Growing public awareness of and concern for gender equality, particularly in more developed societies, has contributed to an intensified academic focus on this issue (Górska 2023). Since

the late 1960s, a substantial body of research has been produced within the higher education sector (Mählck 2003; Aiston and Jung 2015; Drew and Canavan 2020; Fagan and Teasdale 2021; Morris et al. 2022). Researchers’ interest in gender equality within higher education stems from the contradictory position of universities: on the one hand, they are powerful promoters of gender equality, diversity, and inclusion, not only within academia but also in society at large; on the other hand, they remain environments where gender-based imbalances, segregation, stereotyping, and issues such as sexual harassment and assault are still prevalent (Aiston and Jung 2015; Rosa and Clavero 2021). As Mott (2022: 5) points out, “Despite HE [higher education] systems being a driver for the promotion of equality and empowerment, the evidence shows that they also reproduce discrimination against women, often ‘by default rather than design.’”

Within the context of gender equality, research in higher education primarily focuses on various aspects of academic careers. Key themes include recruitment, selection, career advancement, salary disparities, promotion opportunities, work-life balance, leadership and decision-making, educational and research practices, student evaluation, and instances of harassment and assault (Rosa and Clavero 2022; Mott 2022). These and numerous other variables may be shaped, either directly or indirectly, by gender-based differences.

In addressing global challenges related to gender inequality, Mott (2022) highlights the persistence of discriminatory and exclusionary practices in academic hiring, selection, and promotion processes. She notes that men tend to receive more opportunities and higher discretionary payments, are rated more

favorably by students, and are more likely to cite other male scholars in their publications. Moreover, they cite their own work 70% more often than women and are awarded academic prizes, especially prestigious ones, at significantly higher rates than expected.

Similarly, Fagan and Teasdale (2021) argue that despite increased participation of women in academia, they continue to be underrepresented in the highest-ranking academic positions. They further contend that while promotion criteria, based on research funding and publication output, are formally meritocratic and gender-neutral, they nonetheless privilege research over teaching and administrative tasks, the latter of which are more frequently undertaken by women. Their analysis further indicates that although gender gaps in publication productivity are narrowing, subtle disparities remain, with men still disproportionately occupying the most prestigious authorship positions.

This paper examines work engagement and research productivity as critical aspects of academic careers that have either been insufficiently explored from a gender perspective (particularly work engagement), or have evolved over time and vary across different national contexts (a pattern common to both work engagement and research productivity). The aim is to examine the impact of gender on the academic careers of university teachers in Serbia, with a specific focus on differences in work engagement and research productivity between men and women.

Work engagement is increasingly recognized as a critical construct within academic careers (Lee et al. 2016; Crome et al. 2019; Telu and Potnuru 2024). It is commonly defined as a “positive, fulfilling, work-related state of mind that is

characterized by vigor, dedication, and absorption” (Bakker et al. 2008: 188), or alternatively, as “the attachment employees feel towards their work that results in higher levels of performance, commitment, and loyalty” (Chandel 2023: 26). Numerous empirical studies have identified a variety of positive outcomes associated with heightened levels of work engagement, including enhanced job performance, greater proactivity, reduced absenteeism and turnover, improved mental and physical health, the expression of positive emotions, as well as increased innovation, creativity, productivity, and profitability (Tshilongamulenzhe and Takawira 2015; Schaufeli 2018).

Despite its importance, the body of research examining the factors influencing work engagement remains relatively limited and fragmented (Schaufeli 2018; Sharma and Rajput 2021; Žnidaršič and Marič 2021). In this context, a cross-national study conducted by Schaufeli (2018) across 35 European countries is particularly noteworthy. His findings suggest that work engagement at the national level is influenced by various economic, governance-related, and cultural factors.

Among the underexplored factors of work engagement, gender occupies a prominent position (Banihani, Lewis and Syed 2013). Additionally, the limited number of studies on this topic has resulted in inconsistent findings and interpretive challenges. For example, Banihani, Lewis and Syed (2013) argue that work engagement is often conceptualized and studied as a gender-neutral construct, implying equal opportunity for both men and women to exhibit engagement in the workplace. Nevertheless, the authors introduce a conceptual framework that challenges this assumption.

tion, suggesting that work engagement is, in fact, gendered, more readily accessible to men than to women.

The gendered nature of work engagement, as articulated by Banihani, Lewis and Syed (2013), stems from organizational processes and interactions that favor male experiences. These mechanisms foster greater psychological meaningfulness for men, thereby contributing to higher engagement, while women are often disadvantaged by disproportionate responsibilities in domestic spheres, including childcare, meal preparation, and other forms of housework. Drawing on a United Nations (2010) report, the authors further emphasize that women globally endure a “double burden” of paid work and domestic responsibilities, which cumulatively leads to significantly longer total working hours compared to men.

Within the higher education sector, gender differences in work engagement have also been explored. Based on a study involving 123 academic staff members from three universities in the Kashmir region of India, Gulzar and Teli (2018) report that female academics demonstrated significantly higher levels of work engagement compared to their male counterparts. In contrast, a study by Tshilongamulenzhe and Takawira (2015), involving 154 employees at a South African university, found no statistically significant gender differences in work engagement. Similar results were reported by Sood and Sharma (2023), who investigated engagement levels among 263 college teachers in India and found no notable gender-based disparities.

Research productivity is another important variable of academic career. Defined as “the output of a research process” (Nguyen 2015: 35), it constitutes

a fundamental measure of academic success, progression, and recognition (White et al. 2012; Jalal 2020). It also plays a critical role in global university rankings (e.g., Academic Ranking of World Universities; Times Higher Education). Although various indicators can be used to quantify research productivity (Heng, Hamid and Khan 2020), the most common metric remains the number of peer-reviewed journal publications (Aiston and Jung 2015).

Numerous factors influence research productivity. For example, Dundar and Lewis (1998) categorize these factors into individual and institutional. Jalal (2020) similarly categorizes them as personal and institutional, while Heng, Hamid and Khan (2020) expand this framework by introducing national-level factors, thereby adding another layer to the analysis of research productivity. Within the category of individual or personal factors, gender is frequently cited as a key factor.

Almost universally, a consistent finding across the literature is the existence of a gender gap in research productivity (Xie and Shauman 1998), often referred to as the gender productivity gap (Asteigiano, Sebastián-González and Castanho 2019). This gap is characterized by women producing fewer publications than men. Stack (2004) highlights that over 50 studies have confirmed that male scientists publish nearly twice as many articles as female scientists. Aiston and Jung (2015) investigated this phenomenon across Japan, Hong Kong, Germany, the USA, and Finland, finding the gender gap to be present in all contexts. The most significant disparities were observed in Japan and Hong Kong, with only a marginal difference in the United States. They also noted that the gap is more pronounced among senior

academics compared to those in early career stages. Similarly, Lone and Hussain (2017) corroborate these findings, noting that the gender gap in research productivity persists across countries and has remained largely unchanged over time, although it is gradually narrowing due to improvements in women's research activity. However, some studies report contrasting results, indicating either minimal or no significant gender disparities in research output (Teodorescu 2000; Chen, Gupta and Hoshower 2006; Webber 2011).

Multiple factors contribute to the gender gap in research productivity (Stack 2004; Aiston and Jung 2015; Lone and Hussain 2017). These include a range of challenges that negatively impact women's academic careers. For instance, women often assume greater family responsibilities than men, which limits their time and resources for academic work. Additionally, they face difficulties in integrating into male-dominated professional and social environments and have fewer opportunities for collaboration and co-authorship. Structural barriers within academia further exacerbate the gender imbalance. Women are also less likely to receive substantial research funding, more likely to hold lower academic ranks, and are underrepresented in leadership positions within universities. The organizational culture of academia often privileges masculine norms and practices, reinforcing gendered hierarchies. Furthermore, academic gatekeeping, through selection processes, recruitment, and promotion, frequently disadvantages women, either slowing their career progression or excluding them from senior positions. Additionally, female academics typically bear greater teaching and administrative responsibilities, leaving them with less time for

research. These roles, though essential, are generally undervalued compared to research-oriented activities typically undertaken by their male counterparts. Furthermore, the lack of mentors and professional networks further marginalizes women, limiting their opportunities for career advancement and professional development.

Given the broadly positive correlation between work engagement and employee outcomes documented in the literature (Banihani, Lewis and Syed 2013; Nešić et al. 2020; Ji 2021), it is plausible to assume a similar link between work engagement and research productivity among university teachers. Gulzar and Teli (2018: 1) argue that "work engagement leads to improved employee productivity because engaged employees are energized and passionate about the work they do," suggesting that enthusiasm and commitment translate into tangible academic outputs. Consequently, they advocate for institutional efforts to foster work engagement, as this is likely to enhance both individual and institutional productivity. Similarly, based on research involving 242 employees at public universities in northern Malaysia, Hanaysha (2016) identified a significant positive correlation between work engagement and employee productivity.

To ensure a comprehensive review of existing academic literature on gendered aspects of work engagement and research productivity within Serbian higher education, a systematic search was conducted using the Google Scholar database (López-Cózar, Orduna-Malea and Martín-Martín 2019). The search strategy employed key terms such as "gender," "gender equality," "university teachers," and "higher education," systematically combined with "work engagement" and "research productivity."

This approach generated a substantial number of search results: 35,600 for “gender and work engagement of university teachers in Serbia,” 63,300 for “gender and work engagement in higher education in Serbia,” and 25,400 for “gender and research productivity of university teachers in Serbia,” along with similar counts for related variations.

However, when the “Advanced Search” function was applied, no articles were found that precisely matched any of the predefined keyword combinations.

The literature selection process involved eliminating duplicate and irrelevant results. The remaining articles were initially screened based on their abstracts, and full texts were reviewed only if the abstracts indicated strong thematic relevance and the articles were available online.

It is important to note that in Serbia, gender equality is a fundamental human right explicitly guaranteed by Article 15 of the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia (Službeni glasnik RS 2006). In addition to constitutional provisions, gender equality is further reinforced through a comprehensive legal and strategic framework, including the Law on Gender Equality (Službeni glasnik RS 2009a), the Law on the Prohibition of Discrimination (Službeni glasnik RS 2009b), the National Strategy for Gender Equality (Službeni glasnik RS 2016a), and the Strategy for the Prevention and Suppression of Gender-Based Violence Against Women and Domestic Violence (2021–2025) (Službeni glasnik RS 2021).

In the context of higher education, gender equality is also embedded in sector-specific policies. The Law on Higher Education (Službeni glasnik RS 2017) prohibits discrimination, including on the basis of gender, thereby indirectly promoting gender equality within academ-

ia. Additionally, the Strategy for the Scientific and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia (2016–2020) – Research for Innovation (Službeni glasnik RS 2016b) explicitly addresses gender equality in science and innovation, underscoring the importance of equal opportunities in research and technological advancement.

Gender equality within Serbia’s higher education sector remains an under-researched area (Manić, Joksimović and Zarić 2018). Only in recent years has the topic gained some attention, though it is still insufficiently explored (Lazarević-Moravčević, Mosurović Ružičić and Minović 2023).

The so-called “university boom” (Petrušić and Vujadinović 2018: 315) that occurred in Serbia during the 1970s, characteristic of all former Soviet bloc countries, as also noted by Schaufeli (2018), was marked by the mass inclusion of women in higher education. As a result, the number of women among university academic staff increased, leading to near parity between men and women in the academic workforce (Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia 2024). However, this did not eliminate existing gender disparities in the academic profession.

According to Petrušić and Vujadinović (2018: 321), despite certain emancipatory advancements in higher education, “the reality of higher education is still far from the expected and required process of gender mainstreaming.” They emphasize that the persistence of patriarchal social models, historically rooted gender inequality, and authoritarian governance structures continues to sustain horizontal and vertical segregation, gender imbalance in leadership roles, and gender-blind curricula within Serbian universities.

Lazarević-Moravčević and colleagues likewise highlight ongoing issues of gender-based segregation in Serbian education and science. In addition to pronounced horizontal segregation, evident, for example, in the underrepresentation of women in STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics) fields, they also point to the presence of vertical segregation. This is most evident in the extremely low participation of women in leadership roles at research institutes and faculties. According to the authors, this situation is shaped by a dominant patriarchal model, whereby “female scientists in Serbia, in addition to doing science, still take on most of the family and household duties... consult more with their partners and seek their support... are aware of their lower vertical mobility,” among other factors (Lazarević-Moravčević, Mosurović Ružičić and Minović 2023: 149).

Manić, Joksimović and Zarić (2018) similarly point out vertical segregation in Serbian higher education, noting that women are underrepresented in the highest academic ranks compared to men. Other studies have also confirmed the existence of segregation in the higher education sector in Serbia (Šobot 2019; Babović, Drašković and Popović 2019).

Analyzing the general status of women scientists in Balkan societies, including Serbia, Blagojević (2009) notes that the already unfavorable conditions for scientific work in the region (e.g., low salaries, poor infrastructure, lack of access to international networks, and outdated academic promotion systems), disproportionately affect women due to their underrepresentation in decision-making positions and enduring vertical segregation. She also observes that although women begin their careers on par with

men, they tend to “lag behind” once they start families, with career interruptions clearly associated with childbearing and child-raising. Regarding the gender gap in research productivity, she notes that male researchers in Balkan countries tend to publish more, especially internationally, and are more likely to speak multiple foreign languages.

In light of the preceding discussion, several hypotheses are proposed in this study.

Building on the conceptual framework of gendered work engagement (Banihani, Lewis and Syed 2013) and findings from the selected empirical studies involving academic staff (e.g., Gulzar and Teli 2018), the first hypothesis is:

H1: *Male university teachers in Serbia are expected to exhibit higher levels of work engagement than female university teachers.*

Drawing on previous research on gender disparities in research productivity (Xie and Shauman 1998; Stack 2004; Aiston and Jung 2015), the next hypothesis is:

H2: *Male university teachers in Serbia are expected to exhibit higher levels of research productivity than female university teachers.*

Finally, in line with prior studies exploring the relationship between work engagement and research productivity (Banihani, Lewis and Syed 2013; Hanaysha 2016; Gulzar and Teli 2018; Ji 2021), the following hypotheses are:

H3: *The work engagement of university teachers in Serbia has a positive impact on their research productivity;*

H4: *Work engagement mediates the relationship between teachers' gender and research productivity.*

To visually summarize the theoretical framework and the formulated hypothe-

ses, the conceptual model (Figure 1) has been developed to illustrate the expected relationships between gender, work engagement, and research productivity.

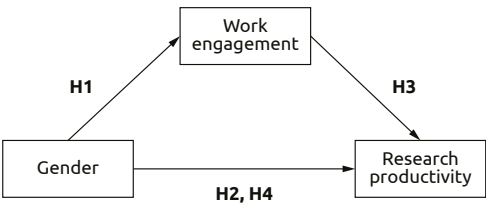


Figure 1 Conceptual model and hypotheses

2 METHOD

According to the National Entity for Accreditation and Quality Assurance in Higher Education (Nacionalno telo za akreditaciju i obezbeđenje kvaliteta u visokom obrazovanju 2025), Serbia continues to have nine public and eleven private accredited universities. The World Bank Group and UNICEF highlight the dominance of four public universities, University of Belgrade, University of Novi Sad, University of Niš, and University of Kragujevac, not only in terms of student enrolment (more than 70% of all tertiary education students are enrolled at these four institutions) but also with regard to research output (World Bank Group and UNICEF 2022). Accordingly, the present study focused on these four public universities and their affiliated faculties.

Moreover, considering that research productivity, one of the primary variables examined in this study, was quantified by the number of publications in journals indexed in the SCI, SSCI, and ESCI databases, and given the relatively long time required for publishing such results, the study included only the academic staff holding professorial titles (i.e., full, associate, and assistant profes-

sors), excluding teaching assistants and other early-stage researchers.

The research was conducted between December 2024 and April 2025. Data collection was carried out using a structured questionnaire, which was distributed to respondents via their official email addresses, publicly available on the websites of the faculties where they were employed. The Google Forms web application was used for survey administration. The collected data were analysed using SPSS software, version 23.

The initial sample comprised 850 individuals to whom the survey link was distributed. One month later, a reminder email was sent to all potential participants, encouraging them to complete the questionnaire if they had not already done so. A total of 266 responses were received. After data screening and validation procedures, 263 responses were retained as valid and formed the final sample. Table 1 presents the key demographic and academic characteristics of the respondents.

Table 1 Sample characteristics

Characteristic	N	%
Age	31–45	114 43.3
	46–60	121 46.0
	> 60	28 10.6
Sex	Male	115 43.7
	Female	148 56.3
Title	Full professor	105 39.9
	Associate professor	81 30.8
	Assistant professor	77 29.3
Total	263	100.0

Source: Authors' calculations.

As shown in Table 1, the majority of respondents were aged between 46 and 60 (46.0%), followed by those aged 31 to 45 (43.3%). In terms of sex distribu-

Table 2 Summary statistics by sex

Variable	Group	N	Mean	SD	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper
Work Engagement	Overall	263	3.973	.652	3.894	4.053
	Male	115	3.935	.716	3.803	4.068
	Female	148	4.003	.599	3.906	4.100
Research Productivity	Overall	263	25.939	34.130	21.795	30.083
	Male	115	29.348	40.930	21.787	36.909
	Female	148	23.290	27.582	18.810	27.771

Source: Authors' calculations.

tion, there were more female (56.3%) than male (43.7%) respondents. With respect to academic rank, 39.9% of the sample consisted of full professors (46.7% male; 53.3% female), 30.8% were associate professors (35.8% male; 64.2% female), and 29.3% were assistant professors (48.0% male; 52.0% female).

The questionnaire comprised three main sections. The first section focused on demographic characteristics of respondents, including age, sex, and academic title. Sex, as an independent variable in the conceptual model, was dummy coded with male coded as '0' and female as '1'. The second section assessed research productivity, operationalized as the number of scientific publications in journals indexed in the SCI, SSCI, and ESCI databases. The third section evaluated respondents' levels of work engagement. To measure this construct, the Utrecht Work Engagement Scale - UWES-9 (Schaufeli, Bakker and Salanova 2003) was used (Appendix 1). This instrument includes nine items grouped into three dimensions. A seven-point Likert scale was applied, ranging from 1 (never) to 7 (always), to assess the degree of agreement with each item. An example of an item used is: "My work inspires me." The reliability of this measurement instrument was confirmed by a Cronbach's alpha

coefficient of 0.899, indicating excellent internal consistency. Detailed summary statistics for key variables by sex are shown in Table 2.

Appropriate statistical procedures were employed to test the proposed hypotheses. Descriptive statistics, including means, frequencies, and standard deviations, were computed. Consistent with Field (2018), the reliability of all multi-item measures was assessed using Cronbach's alpha, with 0.70 set as the minimum acceptable threshold.

To test Hypotheses 1 and 2, independent samples t-tests were conducted. Prior to performing these tests, assumptions of normality and homogeneity of variance were examined. As Field (2018) notes, with large sample sizes, statistical tests may suggest deviation from normality even when the distribution is sufficiently normal for parametric testing. Thus, this study relied on the central limit theorem to assume approximate normality. The homogeneity of variance was assessed using Levene's test. If the p-value exceeds 0.05, the null hypothesis of equal variances is not rejected, and the assumption is considered satisfied.

To test Hypotheses 3 and 4, and to assess the effect of the independent variable (i.e., gender) on the dependent variable (i.e., research productivity)

through a mediating variable (i.e., work engagement), a mediation analysis was performed using the PROCESS macro (Model 4), developed by Hayes and Rockwood (2017). Bootstrapping with 5,000 samples and a 95% confidence interval was employed to evaluate the significance of the indirect effect. Mediation was considered significant if the confidence interval did not contain zero. All necessary assumptions for conducting regression analysis, including independence, normality, linearity, multicollinearity, and homoscedasticity, were checked and met.

3 RESULTS

To test the first and the second hypotheses, an independent samples t-test was conducted (Table 3).

An independent samples t-test was conducted to examine gender differences in work engagement and research productivity among university teachers. For work engagement (WE), Levene’s test indicated that the assumption of equal variances was met, $F(1, 261) = 3.265, p = .072$. The t-test revealed no

statistically significant difference between male and female participants, $t(261) = -0.835, p = .405$, with a negligible mean difference of -0.068 . Furthermore, Cohen’s d was calculated to provide a standardized measure of the magnitude of the difference between groups (or lack thereof) by using G*power program. Its value is -0.104 . The negative sign means just that males scored slightly lower than females, while the magnitude (0.10) is very small, suggesting a negligible difference in practical terms. For research productivity (RP), Levene’s test indicated a violation of the equal variances assumption, $F(1, 261) = 4.271, p = .040$; therefore, results were interpreted using the corrected degrees of freedom. The analysis again revealed no significant gender difference, $t(190.27) = 1.364, p = .174$, with a mean difference of 6.057 . Cohen’s d value is 0.0017 . Therefore, the difference between males and females in this variable is statistically and practically negligible. These findings suggest that gender does not play a statistically significant role in determining either work engagement or research productivity in this sample

Table 3 Independent samples t-test results

Independent Samples Test							
		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means			
		F	Sig.	t	Df	Sig.	Mean Difference
WE	Equal variances assumed	3.265	.072	-.835	261	.405	-.068
	Equal variances not assumed			-.816	220.913	.415	-.068
RP	Equal variances assumed	4.271	.040	1.431	261	.154	6.057
	Equal variances not assumed			1.364	190.272	.174	6.057

Source: Authors' calculations.

of university teachers, whereas research hypotheses 1 and 2 were not confirmed.

To test the third and fourth hypothesis, firstly, the correlation coefficient was assessed. The results of a bivariate correlation analysis are presented in the following table (Table 4).

Table 4 Correlation analysis

Variable	Mean	SD	Gender	WE	RP
Gender	-	-	1		
WE	3.973	.652	.052	1	
RP	25.939	34.130	-.088	.119*	1

Note: * $p < 0.1$. Source: Authors' calculations.

Pearson correlation coefficients were computed to examine the relationships involving gender, work engagement, and research productivity among university teachers. The mean score for work engagement was 3.97 ($SD = 0.65$), while the mean for research productivity was 25.94 ($SD = 34.13$), indicating high variability in research output. Gender was weakly and positively correlated with work engagement ($r = .052$) and negatively correlated with research productivity ($r = -.088$); however, both correlations were negligible and not statistically significant. A small but statistically significant (at 10% level) positive correlation was found between work engagement and research productivity ($r = .119$, $p < .10$), suggesting that higher levels of engagement are modestly associated with greater research output. This is relatively lenient threshold and the small

effect size indicate a weak relationship that should be interpreted with caution. Overall, the results indicate a limited role of gender in predicting either work engagement or research productivity, while highlighting a slight yet meaningful link between engagement and productivity.

In the second step, mediation analysis was conducted. By applying PROCESS macro (model 4), it was tested whether work engagement mediates the relationship between gender and teachers' research productivity (Table 5).

The indirect effect (Table 5) was $\beta = .439$ with a 95% bootstrap confidence interval of $[-.583, 1.798]$, which includes zero, indicating that the mediating effect of work engagement between gender and research productivity was not statistically significant. These findings suggest that work engagement does not serve as a significant mediator in the relationship between gender and research productivity. Furthermore, both direct and total effects of gender on the research productivity of the university teachers are not statistically significant.

Following the results of the mediation analysis, Figure 2 interprets the relationship between the independent, mediating, and dependent variables.

As illustrated in Figure 2, the effect of gender on the university teachers work engagement (a path) is positive ($\beta = .068$) but not statistically significant ($p > .05$). On the other hand, the effect of work engagement on the research

Table 5 Results of mediation analysis

Relation	Effect	SE	t	p	CI
Indirect effect of X on Y ($a \times b$)	.439	.594			$[-.583; 1.798]$
Direct effect of X on Y (c')	-6.497	4.215	-1.541	.124	$[-14.796; 1.803]$
Total effect of X on Y (c)	-6.057	4.234	-1.431	.154	$[-14.395; 2.280]$

Source: Authors' calculations.

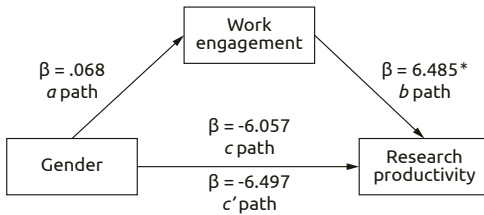


Figure 2 Work engagement as a mediator between gender and research productivity

productivity of university teachers (*b* path) is positive ($\beta = 6.485$) and statistically significant ($p < .05$), while 2.3 percent of the dependent variable is explained by the independent variable. Therefore, while work engagement significantly predicts research productivity, it does not mediate the relationship between gender and research productivity in a statistically meaningful way. Therefore, research hypothesis 3 is confirmed while research hypothesis 4 is not confirmed. Even though work engagement is a predictor of a research productivity, its role as a mediator between gender and research productivity is not confirmed.

4 DISCUSSION

The findings of this study provide insight into the complex relationship among gender, work engagement, and research productivity with university teachers in Serbia. While several prior studies conducted in international contexts have identified significant gender differences in academic careers, particularly in terms of research productivity (Xie and Shauhan 1998; Stack 2004; Aiston and Jung 2015), and to a lesser extent in work engagement (Banihani, Lewis and Syed 2013; Gulzar and Teli 2018), the present results indicate no statistically significant differences between male and female respondents across either of the two

examined domains within the context of public universities in Serbia.

Based on the t-test analysis, the first two hypotheses proposed in this study were not confirmed. These findings suggest that, within the sample of 263 university teachers, there is no convincing evidence that gender constitutes a determining factor in shaping either professional engagement or research productivity, as measured by the number of publications indexed in the SCI, SSCI, and ESCI databases. Such results, however, should be interpreted with caution and situated within the specific contextual and methodological framework of the study.

From a contextual standpoint, one possible explanation for the absence of significant gender differences may lie in the relatively balanced representation of men and women in academic positions in Serbia (Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia 2024). This balance has been shaped by distinctive historical and social circumstances, most notably the substantial increase in women's participation in higher education since the 1970s (Petrušić and Vujadinović 2018). The predominance of females in our sample, both overall and across academic ranks, indicates that the absence of significant gender differences in professional engagement and research productivity is not due to underrepresentation of women. In addition, the existence of a relatively well-developed legal and strategic framework for gender equality, which explicitly promotes equal opportunities within the higher education sector, may have contributed to mitigating potential disparities (Ćeriman and Fiket 2019).

At the same time, certain methodological aspects may have influenced the results. The study focused exclusively

on professors (assistant, associate, and full), while junior academic staff, such as teaching assistants and early-career researchers, were not included. This is a relevant limitation, given that younger academics frequently face the dual pressures of establishing a career and starting a family, the factors that previous studies suggest may disproportionately affect women (Blagojević 2009; Lazarević-Moravčević, Mosurović Ružičić and Minović 2023).

Finally, it should be noted that research productivity in this study was operationalized solely through the number of publications indexed in SCI, SSCI, and ESCI databases. While this bibliometric indicator is widely accepted and highly relevant, it represents only one dimension of academic performance. Future studies would benefit from incorporating additional indicators, such as participation in research projects, access to international networks, doctoral supervision, success in obtaining competitive research grants, and the extent of international collaborations. Evidence from some previous work shows that gender often shapes opportunities across these dimensions, with women frequently facing structural disadvantages (Šobot 2019; Babović, Drašković and Popović 2019; Ćeriman and Fiket 2019).

On the other hand, the findings from the correlation and mediation analyses provide additional insights. While gender did not significantly correlate with either work engagement or research productivity, a weak but statistically significant positive correlation was observed between work engagement and research productivity.

This finding supports the third hypothesis (H3), as it reveals a statistically significant positive relationship between work engagement, measured here as

self-perceived vigour, dedication, and absorption (UWES-9), and research productivity. However, the practical significance of this relationship appears limited. The correlation between the two variables was statistically significant but relatively weak, and the amount of variance in research productivity explained by work engagement was modest. Although this result aligns with the previous literature suggesting that engaged employees tend to be more productive (Hanaysha 2016; Gulzar and Teli 2018), the small effect size observed in this study calls for cautious interpretation. These findings indicate that, while work engagement may contribute to research output, it is likely only one of several factors influencing productivity (Heng, Hamid and Khan 2020).

However, the mediation analysis did not confirm the fourth hypothesis (H4), as work engagement did not significantly mediate the relationship between gender and research productivity. This result is partly due to the absence of gender differences in engagement and productivity within the observed sample.

From a theoretical standpoint, these findings do not indicate that gender is irrelevant. Scholars of higher education in Serbia and wider region, consistently point to subtle yet enduring gender inequalities, such as vertical segregation, unequal allocation of administrative tasks, and persistence of patriarchal cultural norms, that may hinder women's career advancement in academia (Petrušić and Vujadinović 2018; Šobot 2019; Tašner and Antić Gaber 2019; Lazarević-Moravčević, Mosurović Ružičić and Minović 2023). These forms of inequality, though not always captured by quantitative metrics such as publication numbers, still require scholarly and institutional attention.

The results of this study should be interpreted in light of several limitations. The sample was restricted to academic staff holding professorial ranks, thereby excluding teaching assistants and other early-career academics. Furthermore, the study focused exclusively on public universities in Serbia, omitting private institutions. Future research could benefit from adopting a broader quantitative and qualitative scope. For instance, it would be valuable to investigate whether teaching and junior assistants, who represent a younger and potentially more vulnerable category, are more affected by gender-based barriers than their more established counterparts. Additionally, as research productivity in this study was measured solely by the number of publications indexed in the SCI, SSCI, and ESCI databases, other relevant forms of academic contribution were not considered. Subsequent studies should aim to adopt a more comprehensive approach. Finally, incorporating qualitative methods, such as interviews, could provide a deeper understanding of how gender differences manifest in everyday academic life.

5 CONCLUSION

This study aimed to investigate the influence of gender on work engagement and research productivity among university teachers in Serbia, as well as to consider the potential mediating role of work engagement in the relationship between gender and scientific output. Building on contemporary theoretical frameworks and international research findings that highlight notable gender disparities in academic careers, particularly in terms of research performance and work engagement, this study formulated four hypotheses, which were

empirically tested on a sample of 263 university professors employed at four public universities in Serbia.

Employing a quantitative research design and standardized instruments (including the UWES-9 scale to assess work engagement), the analysis included independent samples t-tests, correlation analysis, and mediation analysis using the PROCESS macro (Model 4). The results revealed no statistically significant differences between male and female respondents with respect to either work engagement or research productivity. The first two research hypotheses (H1 and H2), which posited that male university teachers in Serbia would exhibit higher levels of work engagement (H1) and higher research productivity (H2) compared to their female counterparts, were not confirmed.

In contrast, the third hypothesis, which proposed a positive correlation between work engagement and research productivity, was confirmed, aligning with relevant theoretical assumptions and previous research. The fourth hypothesis, which suggested that work engagement mediated the relationship between gender and research productivity, was not supported. Although work engagement has a positive effect on productivity, this effect does not appear to be influenced by gender.

These results should be interpreted with caution within the specific contextual and methodological framework of the study. They may reflect Serbia's progress in institutionalizing gender equality, potentially due to the historical inclusion of women in higher education and existing legal and strategic frameworks promoting equal access to academic and research positions. At the same time, the sample structure (the study focused exclusively on assistant, associate, and full

professors), and the chosen measure of productivity (assessed solely through publications indexed in SCI, SSCI, and ESCI databases), may potentially limit the scope of the findings. However, the absence of gender differences in quantitative indicators does not preclude the existence of subtler forms of inequality within the higher education sector, as suggested by prior research.

Accordingly, the value of this research lies not only in providing empirical insight into the current state of gender dynamics in Serbian higher education but also in opening opportunities for future investigation. Subsequent studies should adopt a broader research scope by including early-career academic staff, private higher education institutions, a wider range of research productivity indicators, and qualitative methods capable of uncovering deeper aspects of academic life and potential gender-based challenges.

Ultimately, the results of this study may provide a foundation for institutional and public policies aimed not only at maintaining and further promoting gender equality in Serbian higher education,

but also at strengthening the academic capacity of universities in Serbia. Institutional measures could include transparent procedures for hiring and promotion, mentorship and career development programs for all academic staff, regular monitoring of gender representation, and initiatives supporting work-life balance. Additionally, institutions should consider measures to strengthen work engagement among university teachers, such as offering professional development opportunities, staff awards, and supportive work environments, as well as initiatives to enhance research productivity, including internal research grants, collaborative projects, and access to international networks, regardless of sex. Public policies might focus on sustaining and enhancing national legal frameworks for gender equality, encouraging balanced participation in research projects and academic committees, and supporting research on subtler forms of inequality that may not be captured by quantitative indicators. These proactive policies can help ensure that equal opportunities and conditions are preserved for all academic staff.

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Data Availability Statement

Data are available from the authors upon request

Coauthor Contributions

Ivana Simić: Conceptualization, Investigation, Validation, Visualization, Writing – Original Draft;
Biljana Đorđević: Investigation, Validation, Writing – Review & Editing;
Sandra Milanović Zbiljić: Methodology, Data Curation, Formal Analysis.

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APPENDIX 1

UWES-9 Scale

Subdimensions of Work engagement	Item
Vigour	At my work, I feel bursting with energy.
	At my job, I feel strong and vigorous.
	When I get up in the morning, I feel like going to work.
Dedication	I am enthusiastic about my job.
	My job inspires me.
	I am proud of the work that I do.
Absorption	I feel happy when I am working intensely.
	I am immersed in my work.
	I get carried away when I'm working.

Source: Schaufeli, Bakker and Salanova (2003).

Rod i njegov uticaj na radno angažovanje i istraživačku produktivnost univerzitetskih nastavnika u Srbiji

PROŠIRENI SAŽETAK

U radu se ispituje uticaj roda na radno angažovanje i istraživačku produktivnost univerzitetskih nastavnika u Srbiji, uz analizu potencijalne medijatorske uloge radnog angažovanja u odnosu između roda i naučne produktivnosti. Istraživanje je utemeljeno na savremenim teorijskim pristupima i brojnim međunarodnim studijama koje ukazuju na postojanje rodne nejednakosti u okviru akademskih karijera, a sprovedeno je na uzorku od 263 univerzitetska nastavnika sa četiri najveća državnih univerziteta u Srbiji. Podaci su prikupljeni putem strukturisanog upitnika i analizirani su korišćenjem statističkog softvera SPSS (verzija 23). Radno angažovanje je mereno uz pomoć validirane skale UWES-9 (Utrecht Work Engagement Scale), dok je istraživačka produktivnost operacionalizovana brojem naučnih radova objavljenih u časopisima indeksiranim u relevantnim bazama. Za obradu podataka korišćeni su: deskriptivna statistika, t-testovi, korelaciona analiza i analiza medijacije putem PROCESS makro modela 4. Rezultati pokazuju da ne postoje statistički značajne razlike između muškaraca i žena ni u pogledu radnog angažovanja, ni u pogledu istraživačke produktivnosti. Muški univerzitetski nastavnici nemaju ni viši nivo radnog angažovanja, niti višu istraživačku produktivnost u poređenju sa svojim kolegicama. Međutim, utvrđena je pozitivna i statistički značajna, ali slaba korelacija, koja ukazuje da su angažovaniji univerzitetski nastavnici ujedno i produktivniji u naučnom smislu. Takođe, radno angažovanje jeste značajan prediktor produktivnosti, ali ne i medijator za uticaj roda na istraživačku produktivnost. Dobijene nalaze tumačimo u kontekstu višedecenijskog intenzivnog uključivanja žena u visoko obrazovanje, relativno razvijenog normativnog okvira koji promoviše jednakost, ali i izabranog metodološkog okvira. Ipak, odsustvo statistički značajnih razlika ne znači da su rodne nejednakosti u visokom obrazovanju u Srbiji iskorenjene. Potrebna su istraživanja koja bi uključila mlađe akademske kadrove, privatne visokoškolske ustanove i kvalitativne metode da bi se bolje razumeli svakodnevni izazovi zaposlenih u akademskoj zajednici. Dobijeni rezultati mogu poslužiti kao osnova za kreiranje institucionalnih i javnih politika u funkciji rodne ravnopravnosti u visokom obrazovanju u Srbiji, ali i jačanju akademskih kapaciteta univerziteta. Institucionalne mere mogu uključiti transparentne procedure zapošljavanja i napredovanja, redovno praćenje rodne zastupljenosti i ravnopravnosti na svim nivoima, inicijative za balans između privatnog i poslovnog života, kao i podsticanje radnog angažovanja i unapređenje istraživačke produktivnosti, kroz nagrađivanje, podršku profesionalnom i istraživačkom razvoju, pristup istraživačkim grantovima i međunarodnim mrežama. Javne politike mogu biti usmerene na unapređenje nacionalnih pravnih okvira za rodnu ravnopravnost, podsticanje ravnomerne zastupljenosti u istraživačkim projektima i akademskim komisijama, kao i podršku istraživanjima o suptilnijim oblicima nejednakosti koje nisu obuhvaćene kvantitativnim indikatorima. Ove proaktivne politike mogu doprineti očuvanju jedinstvenih šansi i uslova za sve akademske radnike.

KLJUČNE REČI

rod, radno angažovanje, istraživačka produktivnost, univerzitetski nastavnici, Srbija

Članci

Articles



Building-Level Binary Dasymetric Mapping and Spatial-Statistical Analysis of Population Change in Rural Serbia

Ivan Potić¹ 

ABSTRACT

This study primarily implements a building-level Binary Dasymetric Mapping (BDM) framework to analyse population change between 2011 and 2022 in Barje Čiflik, a rural settlement in southeastern Serbia experiencing long-term depopulation. It extends the analysis with spatial and classical statistical methods. High-resolution ancillary data—including manually digitised building footprints, the number of storeys, and building function, all field-verified with abandoned dwellings identified during survey work—were integrated with census counts to allocate population using volume-based weighting.

Population estimates were assigned to each residential building to derive indicators of absolute and relative change, as well as density variation. The analysis combines spatial statistics (Global Moran's I and Getis-Ord Gi*) with classical statistical techniques (Ordinary Least Squares regression, Spearman's rank correlation, and LOWESS smoothing) to detect clustering, structural correlates, and spatial patterns of demographic change.

Results show that depopulation is spatially clustered, particularly in peripheral areas of the village, and that larger and multi-storey dwellings are more prone to decline. While density change was modest and statistically dispersed, the study highlights nuanced household-level transformations that remain obscured in aggregated data. The findings demonstrate that integrating BDM with statistical analysis provides a replicable and cost-effective tool for fine-scale demographic research in rural environments with limited data availability, thereby supporting methodological development and spatial planning.

KEYWORDS

population change, dasymetric mapping, building-level disaggregation, rural depopulation, spatial statistics

*¹Institute of Social Sciences,
Belgrade, Serbia*

Correspondence:

Ivan Potić,
Institute of Social Sciences,
Centre for Demographic
Research, 45 Kraljice
Natalije, 11000 Belgrade,
Serbia

Email:

ipotic@idn.org.rs

1 INTRODUCTION

Accurate, spatially detailed population data are essential for demographic analysis, urban planning, and risk assessment, particularly in rural areas facing depopulation. Conventional choropleth maps, which aggregate population counts into administrative units, often obscure critical local variations and introduce spatial artefacts due to the modifiable areal unit problem (MAUP) (Mennis 2009; Mennis and Hultgren 2006; Zandbergen 2011). Dasymetric mapping techniques overcome these limitations by redistributing population data to more precise spatial units using ancillary datasets that reflect potential residential capacity (Baynes, Neale, and Hultgren 2022; Mennis and Hultgren 2006).

Among the established approaches, binary dasymetric mapping (BDM) remains a practical method in data-scarce contexts due to its low data requirements and transparency. It assumes a uniform distribution of population within residential zones while excluding uninhabited areas based on ancillary land use or building data (Cartagena-Colón, Mattei, and Wang 2022; Mennis and Hultgren 2006). Although this assumption introduces potential errors in heterogeneous areas, recent studies have shown that integrating high-resolution ancillary data, such as building footprints, floor counts, and land use classifications, can significantly enhance the accuracy of population allocation (Pirowski and Szypuła 2024; Zandbergen 2011).

Beyond simple allocation, combining dasymetric mapping with spatial statistical analysis enables a more profound insight into demographic processes at fine spatial scales. Methods such as Moran's I, OLS regression, and hotspot analysis al-

low the identification of spatial patterns, clusters, and correlates of population change, which are particularly relevant in rural environments. Recent studies have widely adopted these approaches to refine demographic modelling and support targeted spatial interventions (Baynes, Neale, and Hultgren 2022; Chen 2021; Wooditch et al. 2021).

Despite growing methodological advances, studies that explore building-level population change over time remain limited, particularly in rural contexts. A recent study by Pajares et al. (2021) demonstrated the feasibility of combining top-down dasymetric disaggregation with bottom-up population estimation at the building level, using flexible, open-source tools adapted to data availability. However, such frameworks have yet to be fully implemented in rural settlements with declining populations, where the precision of allocation and spatial analysis of demographic dynamics are crucial.

Wan et al. (2023) also explored the use of landscape metrics as ancillary data in dasymetric mapping. Their research revealed that landscape metrics, which quantify spatial patterns of land use and land cover, often outperform traditional ancillary datasets in predicting population distribution. By incorporating these metrics, the study achieved higher accuracy in population estimations across diverse geographic contexts, emphasising the value of innovative ancillary data sources in dasymetric mapping.

These recent studies collectively demonstrate the ongoing evolution and refinement of dasymetric mapping techniques. The integration of high-resolution ancillary datasets, whether through detailed building information or advanced landscape metrics, continues to

enhance the accuracy and applicability of population distribution models, particularly in areas where traditional data sources may be limited or outdated.

In Serbia, dasymetric mapping has been increasingly utilised to enhance the spatial resolution of population data, particularly for applications in risk analysis and spatial planning. Researchers have developed national- and regional-level population models using soil sealing degrees, digital elevation models, and various GIS techniques, producing gridded outputs with substantially higher spatial fidelity than conventional choropleth maps (Krunić, Bajat, and Kilibarda 2015). Further studies have applied dasymetric mapping techniques to analyse demographic processes and their spatial manifestations. For instance, Krunić et al. (2018) employed dasymetric methods to examine the spatial aspects of demographic processes in Serbia, highlighting the importance of integrating statistical and spatial data for effective urban and regional planning. Additionally, Bajat et al. (2011) utilised dasymetric mapping to model population change indices in Southern Serbia from 1961 to 2027, demonstrating the influence of environmental factors on population dynamics. In urban contexts, dasymetric modelling using soil-sealing data and building-height information has been demonstrated in Belgrade, where census data from 2002 and 2011 were allocated to finer spatial units through detailed urban ancillary inputs (Bajat et al. 2013). Gajić, Krunić, and Protić (2021) proposed a classification framework for rural areas in Serbia, integrating multivariate analysis and GIS tools to delineate rural and urban areas, thereby facilitating targeted spatial planning and policy development.

This study advances methodological approaches by implementing a temporally comparative, building-level BDM framework to analyse the demographic change in Barje Čiflik, a rural settlement in southeastern Serbia undergoing long-term depopulation. Detailed ancillary data—derived from field surveys, satellite imagery, and volumetric attributes—were integrated with the census counts from 2011 and 2022 to enable volume-preserving population disaggregation at the scale of individual buildings. Beyond disaggregation, the study combines spatial statistics (Global Moran's I and Getis-Ord G_i^*) with classical statistical methods (Ordinary Least Squares regression, Spearman's rank correlation, and LOWESS smoothing), providing a comprehensive examination of spatial clustering and structural correlates of change. The findings demonstrate that this multi-method framework enhances the spatial precision of population modelling and offers a replicable, data-efficient tool for capturing micro-scale demographic dynamics, with direct implications for rural planning and demographic policy in data-scarce contexts.

2 MATERIALS AND METHODS

2.1 AREA OF INTEREST

The study area is Barje Čiflik, located in the Pirot Municipality in southeastern Serbia. The administrative boundary of the settlement covers an area of 9.014 km², while the populated area occupies 0.39 km² (Figure 1).

The selection of Barje Čiflik as the case study location was motivated by clear long-term depopulation trends observed at the municipal and settlement levels. Between 1948 and 2022,

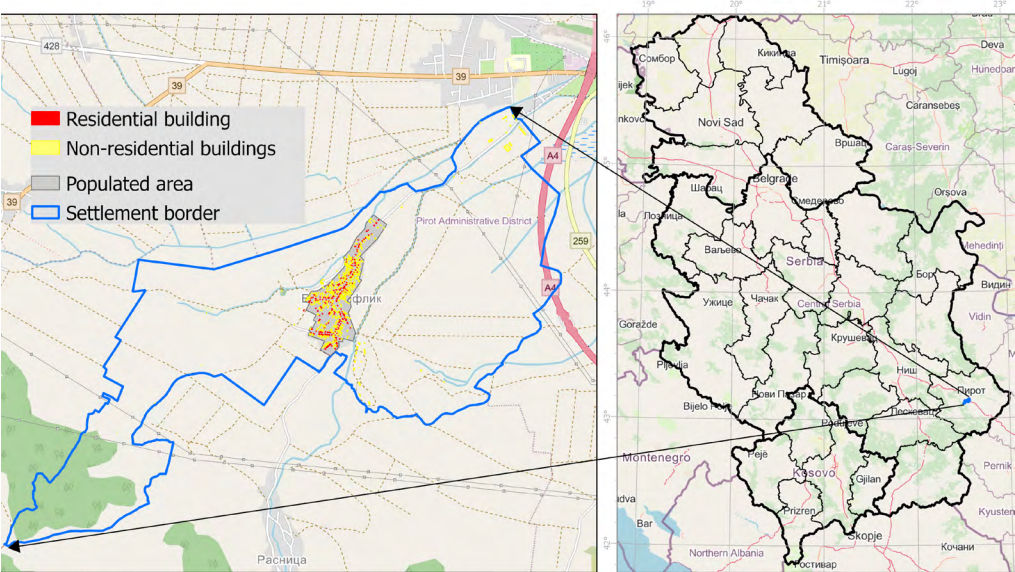


Figure 1 Study Area.
Source: OpenStreetMap Contributors (2017), adapted by Author

the population of the Pirot Municipality decreased by nearly 30%, while the broader Pirot District lost more than a half of its inhabitants. Within this regional context, Barje Čiflik exemplifies a rural settlement experiencing continuous demographic decline, with its population reduced by 38% over the past seven decades. The pace of decline accelerated after 2002, when the settlement experienced a sharper loss of residents (Table 1). Such demographic dynamics make Barje Čiflik a representative and analytically valuable example of rural depopulation in southeastern Serbia,

offering insight into spatial patterns of demographic change at the micro-scale.

2.2 METHODOLOGY

The methodological approach of this study integrates BDM with advanced spatial and statistical analyses to assess temporal population change at the building level. The workflow encompasses four main phases: data preparation (including census data compilation, spatial data acquisition, and field verification), population allocation to individual buildings, temporal

Table 1 Historical population trends for the City of Pirot and the village of Barje Čiflik (1948–2022).

	1948	1953	1961	1971	1981	1991	2002	2011	2022
Pirot District	160,285	157,360	145,789	136,008	127,427	116,926	105,654	92,479	76,700
Pirot Municipality	70,049	69,210	68,073	69,285	69,653	67,658	63,791	57,928	49,601
Barje Čiflik	820	790	775	765	782	788	693	594	507

Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia (2024)

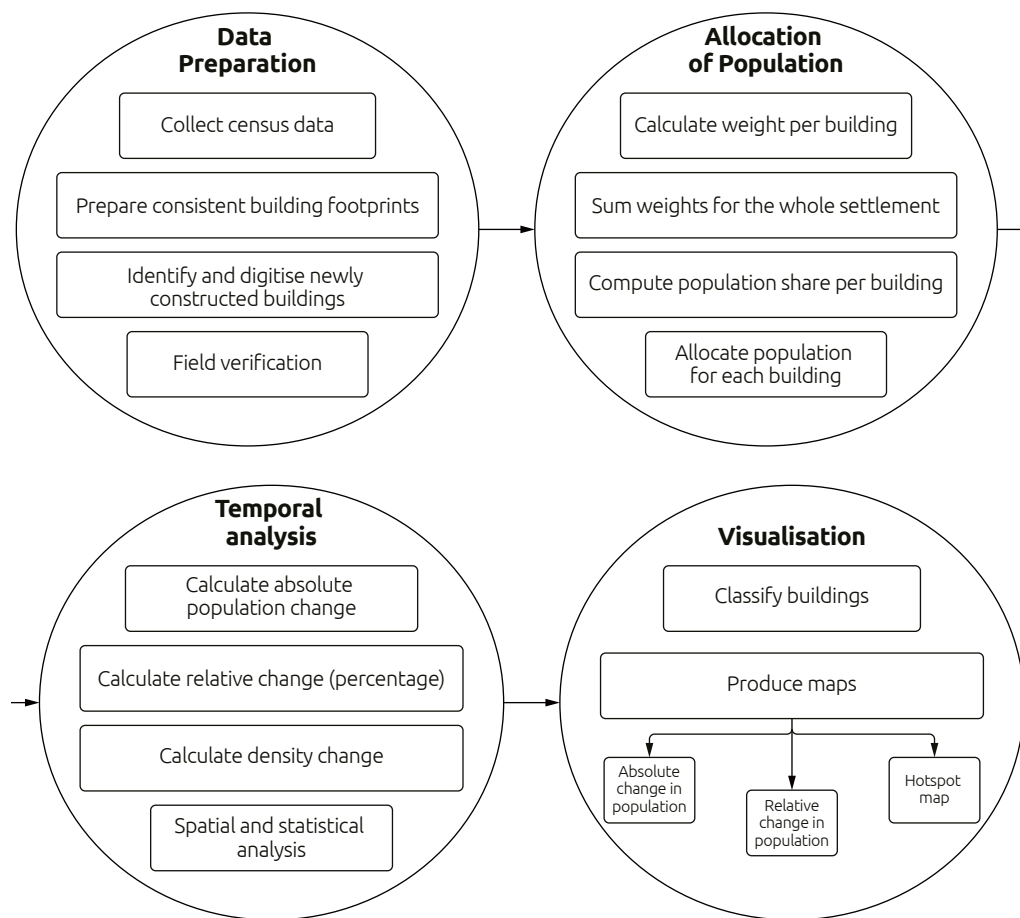


Figure 2 Workflow diagram for building-level dasymetric mapping and statistical analysis of population change

and spatial-statistical analysis of demographic indicators, and cartographic visualisation (Figure 2).

The data collection and spatial data compilation were performed using QGIS version 3.14 (QGIS Development Team 2024) and Google Earth Pro version 7.3 (Google 2020), while all statistical and spatial analyses were conducted in Python version 3.12 (Van Rossum and Drake 2009). The final cartographic visualisation and map layouts were produced in QGIS.

2.2.1 Data Collection

Population data were sourced from the Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia and represented official census figures for 2011 and 2022 (Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia 2024). Building footprints were digitised using QGIS and historical imagery from Google Earth Pro, dated November 2013 and July 2023, complemented by OpenStreetMap data (OpenStreetMap Contributors 2017). The field surveys, con-

ducted in May 2025, were carried out to verify the number of storeys, and identify abandoned or demolished residential buildings.

All spatial data were processed within the QGIS 3.14 environment. Digitised vector layers were saved in shapefile (.shp) format, and attribute tables—including census and building metadata—were stored as comma-separated values (.csv) files. The coordinate reference system EPSG:32634 (UTM Zone 34N) was applied to all spatial layers to maintain projection consistency throughout the analysis.

Despite field verification, classifying uninhabited structures may contain uncertainties, particularly in intermittently occupied or seasonally used dwellings. These limitations reflect common challenges in verifying building status in rural areas and underscore the importance of supplementary validation sources, such as cadastral data, utility records, or community-based reporting, for improving future population allocation accuracy.

2.2.2 Population Allocation

The population allocation to individual buildings followed a multi-step procedure based on the BDM method, as introduced by Mennis and Hultgren (2006). First, a weighting factor was calculated for each residential building by multiplying its ground floor area by the number of storeys, as verified during fieldwork. This factor served as a proxy for potential residential capacity and has been widely adopted in previous studies using building-based dasymetric models (Pirowski and Szypuła 2024; Zandbergen 2011). All calculations and proportional allocations were implemented in Python using the Pandas (The pandas development team 2024) and NumPy libraries,

enabling reproducible and transparent processing of census and building data.

Geometric attributes were calculated to support the dasymetric allocation. The ground floor area of each building was derived from polygon geometry using GeoPandas (Jordahl et al. 2020), while the distance from the settlement centre was computed by identifying the average centroid of all buildings and measuring the Euclidean distance of each object to that point using Shapely (Gillies et al. 2024). These spatial metrics served as explanatory variables in subsequent statistical models, thereby enhancing the spatial disaggregation framework.

Subsequently, the total weight was summed across all residential buildings within the settlement to establish a reference value for proportional distribution. Each building's population share was then determined by dividing its weight by the total settlement weight, following the principle of volume-preserving spatial disaggregation (Baynes, Neale, and Hultgren 2022).

Based on this share, population counts from the 2011 and 2022 censuses were proportionally allocated to each building, generating building-level population estimates for both periods. This disaggregated data formed the basis for further temporal and spatial analyses, consistent with dasymetric allocation approaches that have been proven effective in both urban and rural contexts (Cartagena-Colón, Mattei, and Wang 2022).

2.2.3 Temporal, Spatial, and Statistical Analysis

Temporal and spatial statistical analysis were conducted to comprehensively evaluate demographic change at the building level between 2011 and 2022.

Following the proportional allocation of census population to individual residential buildings, a suite of derived indicators was computed for each building to capture spatial and temporal dynamics:

a) Absolute population change (Δpop), defined as the difference in the estimated population between 2022 and 2011, was calculated for each building. This metric provides a direct measure of demographic increase or decline, and is often used as a baseline for identifying spatial clusters of change (Mennis and Hultgren 2006; Zandbergen 2011);

b) Relative population change ($\Delta\%$) was computed as the percentage change relative to the 2011 baseline, with conditional logic applied to prevent division by zero for the buildings with zero initial population. The calculation was performed according to Equation 1:

$$\Delta\% = \left(\frac{\Delta\text{pop}}{\text{pop}_{2011}} \right) \times 100 \quad (1)$$

Conditional logic was implemented to avoid division by zero, a standard approach in dasymetric modelling, where some buildings may have a baseline value of zero (Cartagena-Colón, Mattei, and Wang 2022);

c) Population density metrics were calculated for both years by dividing the estimated population by the building footprint area, yielding density 2011 and density 2022 attributes. The change in population density (Δdens) was subsequently derived as the difference between these two values.

A combination of spatial-statistical and classical statistical procedures was applied to the building-level indicators.

Spatial autocorrelation was assessed using **Global Moran's I statistic** to determine whether patterns of population change or density change exhibited significant clustering, dispersion,

or randomness at the local scale (Chen 2021). The analyses were performed using the Python Spatial Analysis Library's (PySAL) submodule Exploratory Spatial Data Analysis (esda) (Rey et al. 2015).

Hotspot analysis using the Getis-Ord G_i^* statistic was applied to Δpop and Δdens . For Δpop , the G_i^* test was used in an exploratory manner to provide a visual representation of potential localised clusters of depopulation, serving primarily as a complementary cartographic tool. For Δdens , the G_i^* analysis was implemented as a formal statistical procedure to identify significant local clusters of intensification (hotspots) or decline (coldspots). The Getis-Ord G_i^* is a spatial statistic that evaluates each feature in the context of its neighbouring features, detecting clusters where high or low values are spatially concentrated (Ord and Getis 1995; Rey et al. 2015). The analyses were performed using the esda library in Python and verified in QGIS.

The G_i^* value for each feature is calculated as follows in Equation 2:

$$G_i^* = \frac{\sum_j w_{ij} x_j - \bar{X} \sum_j w_{ij}}{S \sqrt{\frac{n \sum_j w_{ij}^2 x_j - (\sum_j w_{ij})^2}{n-1}}} \quad (2)$$

where x_j is the attribute value for feature j , w_{ij} is the spatial weight between features i and j , $\bar{X}$ is the mean of all attribute values, S is the standard deviation, and n is the total number of features (Ord and Getis 1995).

In addition to spatial statistics, classical statistical methods were employed.

Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression was employed to identify building-level factors influencing population change, incorporating variables such as building area, number of floors, and distance from the settlement cen-

tre. The OLS provides a global model that estimates the relationship between the dependent variable and one or more independent variables, offering insights into the factors that contribute to population dynamics (Wooditch et al. 2021). Model fitting and diagnostics were performed in Python using the statsmodels package (Seabold and Perktold 2010).

Spearman's rank correlation coefficient was calculated to examine the association between population change and distance from the settlement centre. This non-parametric measure is suitable for assessing the strength and direction of monotonic relationships between ranked variables (Lloyd 2010; Sheskin 2020). It was used to test whether the buildings located further from the settlement centre experienced different patterns of population change compared to those closer to the centre. The analysis was implemented using Python's scipy library (Virtanen et al. 2020).

2.2.4 Visualisation

The visualisation phase encompassed the cartographic and statistical representation of the population dynamics at the building level between 2011 and 2022. Multiple map layers and plots were generated to facilitate the spatial interpretation of the demographic change and its correlates:

- An Absolute Population Change Map illustrates the net change in the population per building, highlighting spatially differentiated patterns of growth and decline.
- The Relative Population Change Map presents the percentage change in the population for each building, normalising demographic shifts relative to the 2011 baseline.
- An Exploratory Hotspot Analysis of Δpop , based on the Getis-Ord G_i^* statistic, provides a complementary visualisation of potential localised clusters of depopulation.
- The Spatial Residual Map displays the standardised residuals from the Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression model, enabling the detection of over- or under-predicted values for building-level population change.
- A Scatter Plot with LOWESS Curve visualises the relationship between the absolute population change and distance from the settlement centre, incorporating a locally weighted regression to capture potential non-linear spatial trends.
- Population Density Maps depict the spatial distribution of the building-level population density for 2011 and 2022 and the resulting Δdens , thereby identifying the zones of residential intensification and decline.
- A Hotspot Analysis of Δdens , performed using the Getis-Ord G_i^* statistic, identifies the statistically significant clusters of density increase (hotspots) and decrease (coldspots), offering further insight into localised demographic reconfiguration.

All maps were created using QGIS 3, employing consistent classification schemes and symbology to ensure visual comparability. Python-based visualisations were implemented using Matplotlib (Hunter 2007) and Seaborn (Waskom 2021) libraries, facilitating static map-

ping and exploratory data analysis. The resulting visual outputs are critical for interpreting demographic shifts and formulating spatial policy.

3 RESULTS

In 2022, the total area covered by buildings was 62,716.78 m², comprising 889 structures. Residential buildings accounted for 17,084.76 m², with no observed spatial changes during the study period, and included 211 structures. Non-residential buildings increased slightly from 659 (44,093.91 m²) in 2011 to 678 (45,632.02 m²) in 2022.

A significant population loss was recorded at the building level for 55 of the 211 residential buildings, each los-

ing one inhabitant. Relative population change varied, with one building showing a 100% decrease, while most buildings (156) experienced stagnation. The spatial distribution of the population change revealed depopulation clusters, predominantly in the settlement's peripheral areas. The maps of absolute and relative changes (Figure 3 and Figure 4) effectively highlighted these spatial patterns.

The spatial autocorrelation of the building-level population change between 2011 and 2022 was assessed using Global Moran's I statistic. For Δpop , Moran's I value was 0.1953, with a z-score of 6.62 and a p-value of 0.0010. These values indicate a statistically significant positive spatial autocorrelation, suggesting

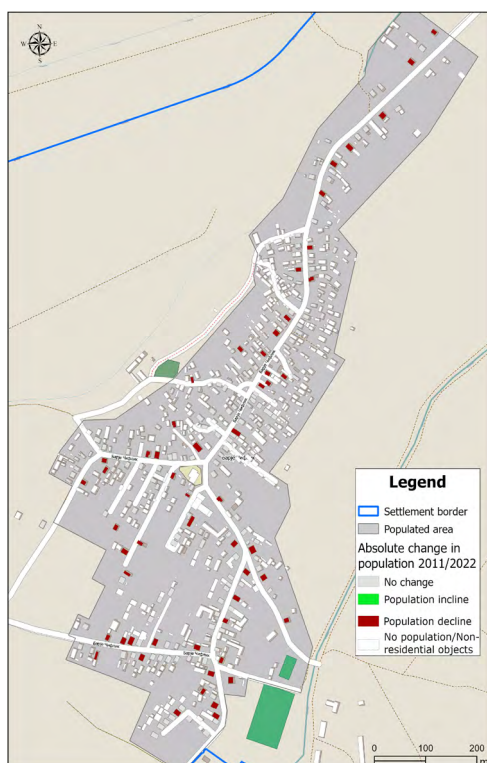


Figure 3 Absolute population change at the building level between 2011 and 2022

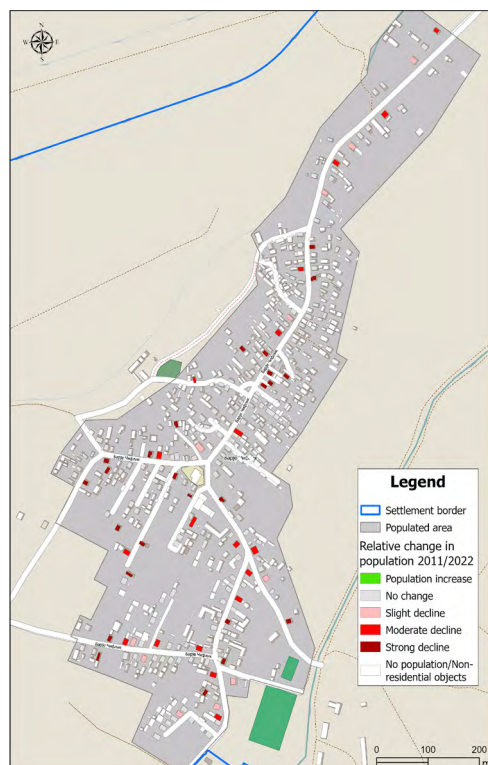


Figure 4 Relative population change per building (2011–2022)

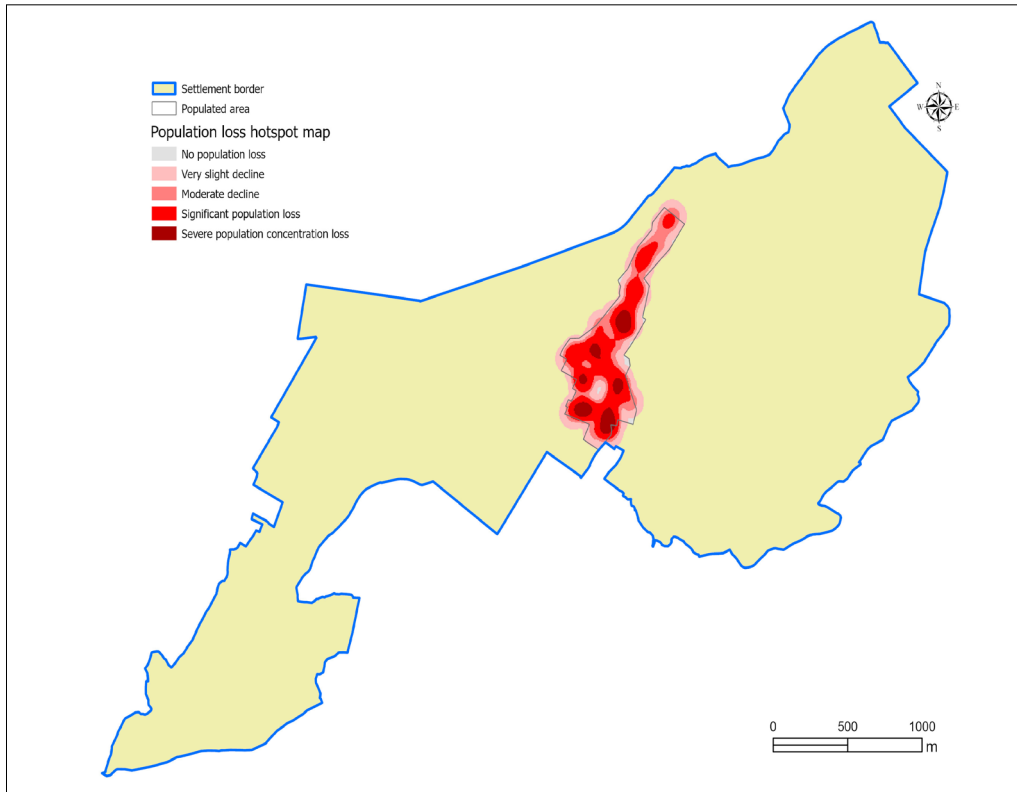


Figure 5 Hotspot map of building-level population decline (2011–2022)

that buildings experiencing similar magnitudes of population change tend to cluster spatially. Likewise, the change in population density per building (Δdens) exhibited a Moran's I value of 0.1301, with a z -score of 4.22 and a p -value of 0.0020, reflecting significant spatial clustering. These results demonstrate that absolute and relative (density-based) demographic shifts were not randomly distributed, but spatially structured within the study area.

In addition to the global measure of spatial autocorrelation, an exploratory hotspot analysis using the Getis–Ord G_i^* statistic was applied to Δpop . This analysis served as a complementary visualisation, highlighting localised clusters of depopulation at the building level.

The results (Figure 5) illustrate the areas where population loss appeared spatially concentrated, complementing Moran's I findings of significant spatial autocorrelation.

Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression was conducted to identify the factors influencing building-level population change between 2011 and 2022 (Figure 6).

The model included building area, number of floors, and distance from the settlement centre as explanatory variables. The analysis revealed that both the number of floors and the building area were significantly and negatively associated with population change, indicating that larger and multi-storey buildings were more likely to experience a

Table 2 Ordinary Least Squares Regression Results for Building-Level Population Change (2011–2022)

Variable	β (coef)	Std. Err.	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	95% CI
Intercept	0.4374	0.011	40.795	0.000	0.416 – 0.459
area	–0.0050	0.0000986	–50.417	0.000	–0.005 – –0.005
floors	–0.3996	0.008	–51.654	0.000	–0.415 – –0.384
dist_center	0.0000115	0.0000149	0.772	0.441	–0.0000178 – 0.0000408

population decline. Distance from the settlement centre was not a statistically significant predictor. The model as a whole was highly important, with the included variables explaining nearly all of the variance in building-level population change (Table 2).

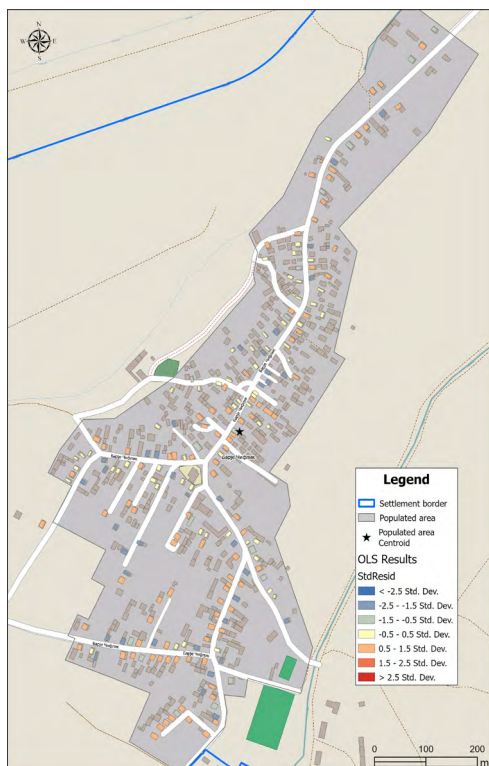


Figure 6 Spatial distribution of standardised residuals from the OLS regression model for building-level population change (2011–2022) in Barje Čiflik

The relationship between population change and distance from the settlement centre was assessed using Spearman's rank correlation coefficient. The analysis revealed a statistically significant negative association ($\rho = -0.273$, $p < 0.001$), suggesting that the buildings located further from the settlement centre were more likely to experience population decline than those closer to the centre. The scatter plot (Figure 7) illustrates the relationship between the building-level population change (2011–2022) and the distance of each building from the settlement centre. Each point represents a residential building, while the red LOWESS curve provides a smoothed visualisation of the overall trend. The observed distribution reveals considerable variability; however, a gradual downward slope in the trend line suggests a negative relationship. This graphical pattern is consistent with Spearman's rank correlation analysis results, which indicated a statistically significant negative association ($\rho = -0.273$, $p < 0.001$). These findings imply that the buildings located further from the settlement centre were more likely to experience a decline in population during the observed period.

The population density was computed exclusively for residential buildings, as non-residential structures do not accommodate a permanent population.

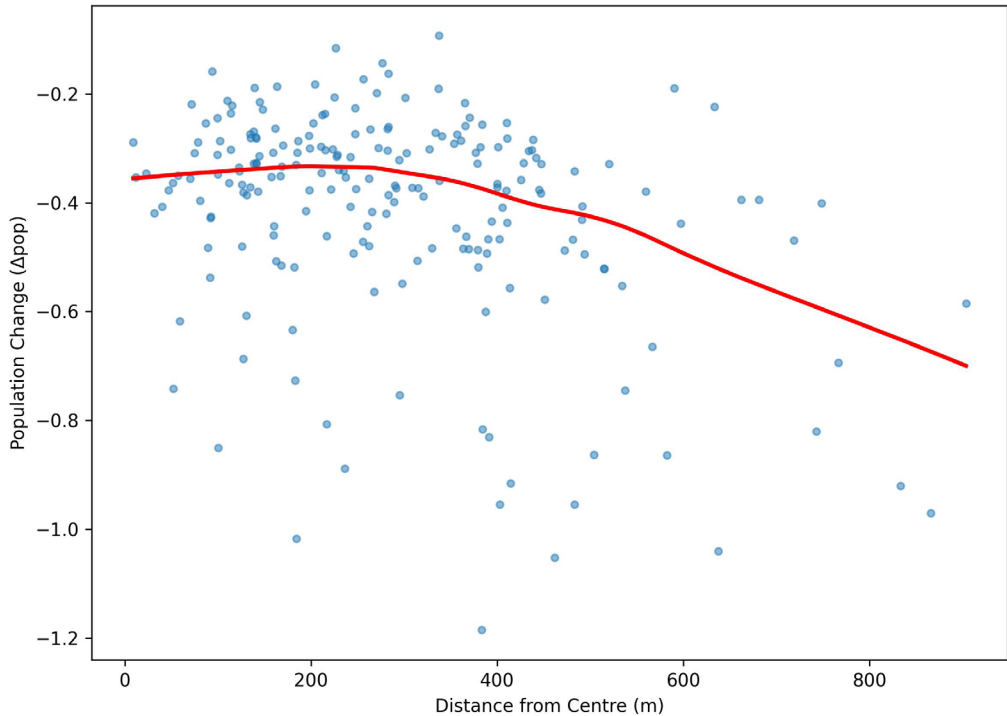


Figure 7 Scatter plot of absolute building-level population change (2011–2022) versus distance from the settlement centre. Each point represents a residential building, and the red curve shows a locally weighted regression (LOWESS) trend.

Since the number, footprint area, and number of storeys of the residential buildings remained unchanged between 2011 and 2022, all observed changes in population density per building are attributable solely to demographic dynamics, rather than to physical transformation or land use change (Figure 8). This allows for a focused analysis of population redistribution, depopulation, or intensification within the existing residential stock.

While the spatial distribution of Δdens illustrates potential areas of residential intensification or decline (Figure 8), additional statistical testing is required to determine whether these patterns exhibit

significant spatial clustering. Therefore, a hotspot analysis using the Getis–Ord G_i^* statistic was conducted.

The results indicate a complete absence of statistically significant spatial clusters: all residential buildings were classified as non-significant ($G_i\text{_Bin} = 0$), suggesting that the observed changes in density were randomly distributed and did not form spatially coherent patterns. This outcome is consistent with the narrow distribution of Δdens values (mean = -0.0032 , median = 0), confirming that the demographic changes during the observed period were diffuse, rather than concentrated within specific residential zones.

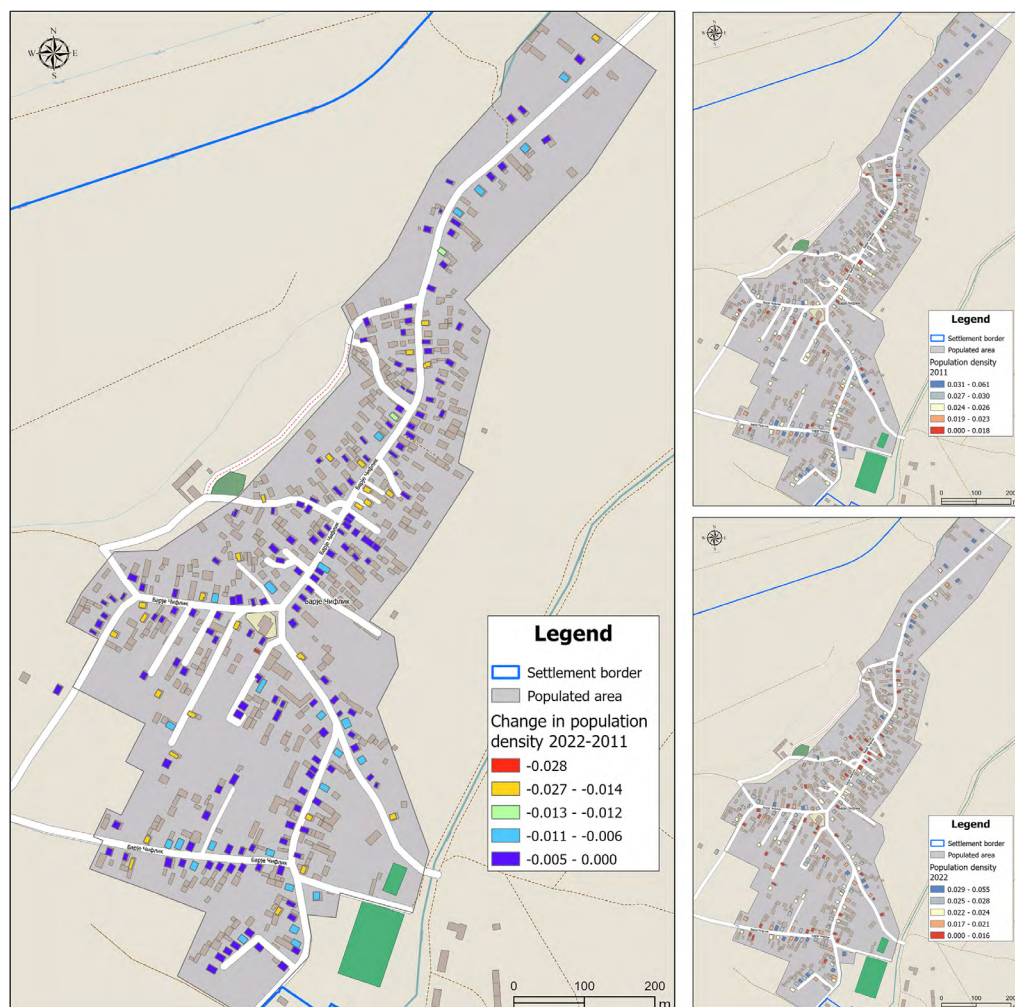


Figure 8 Spatial distribution of population density per building in 2011 and 2022, and change in density at the building level. The diverging colour scale highlights areas with the most significant intensification or decline in residential use.

4 DISCUSSION

The results of this study reveal a nuanced pattern of population change at the building level in Barje Čiflik between 2011 and 2022. While the overall number of residential buildings remained constant, 55 out of 211 exhibited a decrease in population, reflecting a partial manifestation of the broader

depopulation process. The statistically significant positive spatial autocorrelation (Moran's $I = 0.1953$ for Δpop) suggests that population loss is not random but clustered, particularly in peripheral parts of the village. These findings align with the established rural depopulation patterns in southeastern Serbia, where demographic decline is spatially uneven and conditioned by location and

infrastructure (Bajat et al. 2011; Krnić, Bajat, and Kilibarda 2015). The exploratory Gi hotspot analysis of absolute population change (Figure 5) provides additional visual confirmation of this pattern, highlighting localised clusters of depopulation at the building level in line with the significant spatial autocorrelation identified by Moran's I.

Nevertheless, the interpretation of these results requires caution. Based on floor area and number of storeys, the volumetric weighting factor provides a robust proxy for residential capacity; however, it assumes a consistent household size and occupancy across all structures. This assumption may oversimplify demographic behaviours, especially in rural contexts marked by seasonal migration, informal housing use, or partial abandonment. Additionally, the absence of statistically significant hot or cold spots in the Getis-Ord Gi* analysis for Δ dens indicates that density shifts are diffuse and lack intense local concentration, potentially reflecting the slow, household-level character of demographic change in rural Serbia. While building volume may not perfectly capture household size in rural settings where occupancy is more uniform, it provides a transparent and field-verified proxy that enables systematic allocation at the building level in the absence of household microdata. This limitation is acknowledged but does not undermine the value of comparing relative spatial patterns of change. A central limitation of this research is that official census data are only available at the settlement level, with no disaggregation to individual households. The absence of household-level population counts and detailed dwelling structures necessitates an estimation procedure based on building volume as a proxy for these data.

While this approach involves assumptions, it offers a replicable solution for micro-scale analysis in data-scarce environments. The demanding fieldwork required to verify storeys, functions, and occupancy further highlights the challenges of extending such analyses to larger settlements. In the future, advances in remote sensing and alternative ancillary datasets may offer more efficient ways to refine this methodology in contexts where input data remain limited.

Furthermore, only two census benchmarks (2011 and 2022) were used, which limits the temporal depth of the analysis, while socio-economic covariates were not included as contextual controls. The absence of statistically significant Gi* hotspots for Δ dens suggests that demographic shifts were diffuse and weakly concentrated locally, consistent with the gradual, household-level character of rural depopulation in Serbia.

The results of the classical statistical analyses provide further insight. Contrary to expectations, larger and multi-storey buildings were more likely to experience population decline, suggesting prior overestimation of capacity or disproportionate outmigration from structurally dominant dwellings. The significance of building area and number of floors in the OLS model reflects their role in the allocation framework itself. Rather than serving as an independent validation, the regression results highlight the structural correlates embedded in the dasymetric logic, confirming that larger dwellings are disproportionately affected by population decline. Meanwhile, distance from the settlement centre was not a statistically significant predictor in the OLS model, despite the Spearman correlation indicating a modest negative

association. This discrepancy highlights the potential for non-linear or contextual factors—such as road access, land ownership, or family ties—to mediate the spatial logic of rural depopulation, which warrants deeper ethnographic or multivariate exploration. Where feasible, it would also be valuable to test the spatial autocorrelation of residuals (for example, applying Moran's *I* to OLS residuals) to evaluate potential spatial dependence not captured by the global regression model.

The methodological framework adopted in this study builds directly on the BDM approach developed by Menis and Hultgren (2006) while expanding its temporal dimension and enhancing spatial resolution. The integration of ground-verified building data and volumetric attributes, combined with spatial statistical tools, distinguishes this study from earlier BDM applications based solely on land use/land cover overlays (Cartagena-Colón, Mattei, and Wang 2022; Zandbergen 2011). The focus on building-level disaggregation across two census years allows for a rare micro-scale temporal comparison in a rural context, addressing a gap noted by Pajares et al. (2021), who called for more implementations of flexible, open-source frameworks for historical disaggregation.

Concerning research in Serbia, this study offers a significant advancement over prior approaches. While Bajat et al. (2011) and Krunić, Bajat, and Kilibarda (2015) demonstrated the utility of dasymetric mapping for national and regional assessments, their models were based on gridded data with resolutions of 100 × 100 m or higher, relying primarily on soil sealing proxies. The present study departs from these raster-based frameworks by allocating the population at the level of individual buildings us-

ing volume-preserving disaggregation, thus achieving greater spatial specificity. Furthermore, applying spatial statistical methods (Global Moran's *I*, Getis-Ord *G*_i^{*}) together with classical statistical techniques (OLS regression, Spearman correlation) contributes a more analytically rich interpretation of demographic processes than the models focused solely on spatial redistribution.

The study by Pirowski and Szypuła (2024) provides a particularly relevant benchmark, as it demonstrates the efficacy of building volume in improving population allocation accuracy. However, their work is oriented towards urban settings with dense and diverse building stock. By contrast, the current research tests the same principle in a sparsely populated rural settlement, broadening the empirical applicability of the volume-based dasymetric allocation. Similarly, Wan et al. (2023) advocate for integrating landscape metrics into population disaggregation; yet, such metrics are less effective in low-density, morphologically homogeneous villages. In this context, building-level ancillary data—field-verified and temporally differentiated—remain the most effective tool for capturing subtle demographic dynamics.

Ultimately, this research provides a reproducible and resource-efficient methodology for fine-scale demographic analysis in rural environments where traditional data sources may be outdated or insufficient. The approach is well-suited for monitoring depopulation, guiding rural revitalisation policies, and providing input for targeted spatial planning. A methodological limitation concerns the interpretation of very small residential units. In dwellings with only one or two inhabitants, the departure or loss of a single individual formally results

in a 100% decline. While this outcome is statistically correct, it may exaggerate the perceived magnitude of the change. This artefact is a common challenge of fine-scale dasymetric approaches and should be viewed as a statistical amplification rather than as a direct reflection of demographic processes.

These conclusions primarily reflect the studied local context and time frame; broader generalisations require further validation across diverse rural morphologies and socio-economic environments.

5 CONCLUSION

This study demonstrates the potential of temporally comparative, building-level BDM for analysing population change in rural settlements. By allocating the census data from 2011 and 2022 to individual residential buildings based on volumetric weighting factors, the research provides a high-resolution depiction of demographic dynamics in Barje Čiflik, southeastern Serbia. Integrating spatial methods (Global Moran's I, Getis-Ord Gi* hotspot analysis) with classical statistical techniques (OLS regression, Spearman correlation) offers additional insights into the spatial structure and determinants of population change.

The findings reveal that the population decline is spatially clustered, particularly in peripheral zones, and larger and multi-storey buildings are disproportionately affected. Although no significant density-based hotspots were identified, the observed trends suggest a diffuse and gradual pattern of rural depopulation. The results underscore the importance of integrating dasymetric mapping with spatial analysis for small-area demographic research, particularly in data-limited contexts.

Beyond methodological contributions, the study expands the applicability of BDM approaches to low-density rural contexts and highlights the importance of building-level ancillary data for capturing micro-scale demographic transformations.

This study also faced several limitations. One limitation of the analysis is that relative changes in small households may appear disproportionately large, as the loss of a single resident can represent a significant proportion of the entire population in that unit. This effect is inherent to micro-scale approaches and should be taken into account when interpreting the results. In addition, the classification of uninhabited or seasonally occupied houses, although field-verified, may involve uncertainties typical of rural contexts. These limitations should be considered when interpreting the results. The conclusions presented here are based on modelled building-level estimates rather than direct household counts. This approach reflects a trade-off between data availability and spatial precision. While it cannot fully capture household heterogeneity, it enables a fine-scale analysis of relative spatial patterns of change that would otherwise remain invisible. The most fundamental limitation arises from the availability of census data only at the aggregate settlement level, without disaggregation at the household level. This constraint necessitated a modelled allocation approach, which represents an estimation rather than direct measurement. Despite this, the integration of volumetric proxies and field verification enabled the generation of fine-scale insights that would otherwise remain inaccessible. This trade-off between precision and feasibility underscores both the contribution and

the challenge of applying building-level dasymetric methods in rural demographic research.

Future work should explore the integration of socio-economic indicators, dynamic housing characteristics, and alternative validation sources to refine

population modelling further and support rural policy development. These conclusions primarily reflect the specific local and temporal context analysed here; broader generalisations require validation across diverse rural settings and socio-economic conditions.

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Data Availability Statement

The datasets generated and/or analysed during this study are available from the following link: <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.15870007>

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Binarno dasimetrijsko mapiranje i prostorno-statistička analiza promene broja stanovnika na nivou objekata u ruralnoj Srbiji

PROŠIRENI SAŽETAK

Ovaj rad primarno primenjuje binarno dasimetrijsko mapiranje (BDM) na nivou objekata radi analize promena u broju stanovnika u seoskom naselju Barje Čiflik u jugoistočnoj Srbiji u periodu između dva popisa (2011–2022), dok analizu dodatno proširuje primenom prostornih i klasičnih statističkih metoda. Osnovni cilj istraživanja je razvoj metodološki pouzdanog i replikativnog pristupa koji omogućava preciznu procenu mikrodemografskih promena u uslovima ograničene dostupnosti podataka.

Stanovništvo je raspoređeno na pojedinačne stambene objekte primenom volumenskog indeksa – proizvoda prizemne površine i broja spratova – koji je verifikovan terenskim obilaskom, prilikom kojeg su identifikovani i napušteni objekti. Prostorni podaci su prikupljeni ručnim digitalizovanjem na osnovu satelitskih snimaka visoke rezolucije i OpenStreetMap slojeva, dok je obrada izvršena u QGIS okruženju uz primenu koordinatnog sistema WGS 84 / UTM zona 34N. Tabelačni podaci iz popisa stanovništva integrisani su sa prostornim slojevima radi alokacije stanovništva na nivou objekata.

Na osnovu tako dezagregiranih podataka izračunati su indikatori apsolutne i relativne promene broja stanovnika i promene gustine. Prostorne i klasične statističke metode – Global Moran's I, Getis-Ord G_i^* , regresija običnih najmanjih kvadrata (OLS), Spirmanova korelacija i LOWESS analiza – primenjene su radi identifikacije obrazaca grupisanja, strukturnih faktora i prostornih tokova demografskih promena.

Rezultati pokazuju da je depopulacija prostorno grupisana, naročito u perifernim zonama naselja, dok su objekti veće površine i višespratnice češće beležili pad broja stanovnika. Uočene su i razlike u intenzitetu promena između centralnog jezgra i rubnih delova naselja, gde manji, prizemni objekti pokazuju veću stabilnost stanovništva. Promene gustine pokazuju visoku disperziju i nisku statističku povezanost, ali ukazuju na suptilne transformacije na nivou domaćinstava koje ostaju nevidljive u agregiranim podacima, naročito u slučajevima sezonskog boravka ili delimične napuštenosti objekata. Prostorna autokorelacija potvrđuje postojanje lokalnih žarišta demografskog opadanja, što naglašava potrebu za mikroanalitičkim pristupima u demografskom istraživanju ruralnih područja i ukazuje na značaj integrisanja prostornih i društvenih faktora u daljim analizama.

Istraživanje predstavlja metodološki doprinos u primeni BDM u ruralnim područjima sa ograničenim podacima, pri čemu se postiže visoka prostorna rezolucija i omogućava procena dinamike stanovništva na nivou objekta. Kombinacija detaljnih prostornih podataka, statističkih metoda i terenske verifikacije pokazuje da predloženi okvir pruža donekle ekonomičan, replikativan i naučno utemeljen model pogodan za praćenje depopulacije i podršku prostornom planiranju u okruženjima sa ograničenim podacima.

KLJUČNE REČI

promena broja stanovnika, dasimetrijsko mapiranje, dezagregacija na nivou objekata, depopulacija ruralnih prostora, prostorna statistika



Intra-settlement Redistribution of Daytime and Nighttime Population

Marko Filipović¹  Nikola Krunić² 

ABSTRACT

This study analyses the spatial–temporal differences between daytime and nighttime populations in Serbia’s largest urban centres—Belgrade, Novi Sad, and Niš—using data from the 2022 Population Census and 2018 Urban Atlas land-use classifications. The Diurnal Population Change Index (Idpc) was applied to identify areas with predominantly work-oriented or residential functions. Results show that Belgrade attracts nearly 147,000 inbound commuters daily, accounting for 18.5% of all commuting workers in Serbia, while Novi Sad and Niš exert strong but regionally confined influences. The greatest differences between day and night population densities occur in continuous urban fabric and industrial–commercial zones, highlighting the dominant role of central business areas. Integration of census, functional, and geospatial data allowed for a more precise interpretation of functional structures and commuting patterns. The study also demonstrated the analytical potential of combining Urban Atlas classifications with 3D visualisation for identifying daytime “hotspots” and communicating urban dynamics. The findings underline the importance of incorporating temporary population models into urban planning, transport management, and emergency preparedness, and provide a methodological basis for further research on temporary populations and commuting in the context of spatial and functional urban analysis.

KEYWORDS

daytime, nighttime, commuters, Urban Atlas, intra-settlement

¹ *Geographical Institute “Jovan Cvijić” of Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Belgrade, Serbia*

² *Institute of Architecture and Urban & Spatial Planning of Serbia, Belgrade, Serbia*

Correspondence:

Marko Filipović,
Geographical Institute
“Jovan Cvijić” of Serbian
Academy of Sciences and
Arts, Djura Jakšić str. 9,
11000 Belgrade, Serbia

Email:

m.filipovic@gi.sanu.ac.rs

1 INTRODUCTION

In recent decades, the phenomenon of daily population mobility has gained increasing attention in demographic and spatial studies, especially through the concept of temporary population (Charles-Edwards 2016; Brollo and Celata 2022). This concept encompasses individuals who are present in a given area during the day but reside elsewhere during the night, a dynamic that profoundly affects urban structure, infrastructure load, and service provision (Mileu and Queirós 2022). The most significant and quantifiable component of the temporary population is the group of commuters—individuals who travel daily for work from their place of residence to a different location (Lukić 2011a; Tošić 2018).

Most population data are derived from censuses, which offer only static snapshots and fail to reflect short-term spatiotemporal dynamics, especially those caused by commuting flows (Panczak, Charles-Edwards and Corcoran 2020). Consequently, there is a growing need to bridge this gap through the integration of demographic data with geospatial datasets and functional land use models (Qi et al. 2015).

In the context of Serbia, the spatial and functional restructuring of settlements over recent decades has been strongly influenced by commuting patterns (Lukić 2011b). Rapid urbanization, regional disparities in employment opportunities, and limited access to affordable housing in central urban areas have fostered complex daily mobility systems (Filipović, Krunić and Zhelenkova 2022), especially around major employment hubs such as Belgrade, Novi Sad, and Niš (Miletić 2022; Kokotović Kanažir, Panić and Drobňaković 2024). These

systems generate significant differences between daytime and nighttime population levels, with implications for urban planning, transport policy, and emergency response capacity (Krunić 2012).

This study aims to analyse the extent and spatial patterns of daily population change in selected urban settlements in Serbia, with particular focus on intra-settlement redistribution driven by commuting. The study area comprises the three most important urban centers in the territory of Serbia: Belgrade, Novi Sad, and Niš, each representing a distinct region. In addition to their demographic and territorial dominance within Serbia's geosystem, it is essential to emphasize their functional significance, as their influence extends beyond the boundaries of their administrative areas (Tomašević and Sokolovska 2017; Živanović et al. 2019; Filipović, 2020; Živanović et al. 2021). Using data from the 2022 Population Census (additionally processed data on commuting) and the Urban Atlas, the research combines demographic statistics with land use classification to model spatiotemporal population distributions and identify zones of dominant employment and residential functions. An important focus is placed on quantifying the diurnal¹ population change index as a tool for distinguishing between employment centres and "bedroom communities" (Jolley, Lane and Brun 2011).

The primary objective of this study is to conduct a preliminary investigation into the potential application of the Urban Atlas (UA) and origin–destination

¹ Since this paper analyses the number of inhabitants during certain periods, as well as the change between them, special terms have been assigned for easier distinction. For the number of inhabitants, the established terms, daytime and nighttime population, have been used, while the term diurnal is used for the change.

data on commuting, with the aim to enhance the understanding of daily human mobility patterns and shifts in population density. The research findings are expected to contribute to advancing further studies on the interrelationship between land-use dynamics and population distribution within urban areas, thereby supporting the development of more effective models and tools for urban planning of commercial, residential, and mixed-use zones, as well as for intra- and inter-urban transportation systems. Moreover, the results may prove valuable for specialized research efforts in the fields of urban sustainability, emergency management and prevention, infrastructure load modelling, environmental impact assessment, and related domains.

The subsequent section presents the theoretical framework, i.e., a review of the most relevant literature for the research. This is followed by a delineation of the spatial framework and description of the methodology employed in calculating the temporary population, as well as the measurement of differences and change indices between nighttime and daytime populations, together with the procedure for determining the intra-settlement distribution of population by land-use categories. The results section provides an overview of the analysed indicators at the national level, followed by a detailed examination of Belgrade, Novi Sad, and Niš. For each settlement and its constituent parts, the analysis includes the spatiotemporal distribution of population based on absolute and index measures, as well as land-use classifications, with both standard and 3D visualizations. The discussion compares and interprets the findings, offering critical remarks and proposals for further research. The paper concludes with a synthesis of the final considerations.

2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

When defining variations and modalities of spatiotemporal manifestations of functional-urban and metropolitan regions and regional systems, the importance of commuting is particularly emphasised (Tošić 2018). Daily labour mobility is one of the fundamental elements used to determine the immediate functional area of a city (Duarte and Fernández 2017). Commuting depends mainly on the development of employment capacity and conditions in the city, the volume and structure of the available labour force in the surrounding areas and the development of transportation between the city and its surroundings. This type of relationship is significant for studying demographic, social, economic and other factors (Choorat et al. 2025). Daily mobility can be utilised to alleviate the pressure and mitigate housing, communal, educational and other problems in urban settlements (Ilić 1970). The process of commuting, especially of the economically active population, considering its strong connection to demographic development, economic development, transportation, settlements, as well as labour market and real estate market development, has broad implications in all spheres of life and work, both for residential and employment settlements (Lukić 2011a).

Disproportions in the spatial-demographic structure of Serbia, as a consequence of the spatial development model and transformations within the settlement network over the past decades, are manifested in the concentration of population within a limited geographical area, i.e., large urban centres (Vojković, Živanović and Magdalenić 2018). Serbia's current urban system is marked by asymmetry and incoherence,

and is dominated by the capital of Belgrade, indicating that the urbanization process has not been controlled (Živanović et al. 2019; Miljanović, Vuksanović-Macura and Doljak 2023). The factors that initiate the development of daily mobility in our region are primarily of socio-economic nature. In Serbia, the commuting process has gained significant proportions with the onset of industrialisation and agrarian depopulation (Matijević 2009). In more recent periods, external spatial and economic factors have a predominant influence on the direction, volume and the structure of daily mobility. They reflect the uneven economic development of territorial units at different levels and the concentration of functions in specific centres or cities. The most common reason for deciding to engage in commuting in Serbia are difficulties in resolving housing status in the employment settlements due to high housing prices and property costs in areas with a higher number of functions (Lukić 2011a). The structure of commuting flows by economic sectors reflects the existing quantitative and qualitative mismatch of the economically active population and the local needs of business subjects (Lukić 2022). In addition, the intensity and direction of commuting for fulfilling various socio-geographic functions are determined by the consistency and development of the distribution of public-social services and their users (Tošić 2018).

The latest research on commuting in the region mainly analyses the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic, as well as the post-Covid period. Studies from Greece, particularly in Thessaloniki and Athens, document short-term shifts in travel preferences during the pandemic, with increases in walking and cycling, and a

partial return to car use after restrictions were lifted. More recent research for Athens offers evidence-based proposals on how to sustain these “active” modes of travel in the long run (Politis et al. 2021; Mexis, Tsigdinos and Spyropoulou 2025). Analyses from Belgrade covering 2020–2021 confirm strong pandemic impacts on mobility habits, describing a “modal shock,” changes in trip frequency and purpose, and providing guidance on how transport planning can adapt to crisis conditions (Simić et al. 2022; Glavić et al. 2023). In Bosnia and Herzegovina, a survey showed significant shifts in mode preferences during and after the pandemic, including reduced trust in public transport safety and a greater inclination toward private cars and walking (Čaušević 2023). Complementing these perspectives, a study of labour commuters in the north-western Romania explains the patterns at the micro level, including the role of industrial clusters, strategic commuting routes, and worker motivations—serving as a useful counterpoint to top-down statistics (Ferent 2023).

Recognising the significance of temporary population has grown in the majority of the world in recent decades, although a standardised methodology for their estimation still needs to be established (Charles-Edwards 2016). Temporary population refers to individuals who reside in a specific place for a limited time, without changing their place of residence (ONS 2023). Temporary population has been studied within Chinese cities, where rural migrants constitute a significant portion of the temporary population (Shen 2002; Qi et al. 2015). Additionally, similar studies have been conducted in the territory of South Korea (Jo, Lee and Kim

2020), Australia (Charles-Edwards et al. 2020), United States of America (Bian and Wilmot 2015) etc. The phenomenon of temporariness has also been analysed in the German context, particularly within the frameworks of multi-local living (Willecke 2025). In a study conducted in Italy, temporary populations, including non-resident tourists and students, were quoted as the main drivers of socio-spatial polarisation in cities and significant sources of both hard and soft urban changes (Brollo and Cellata 2022). A framework for official temporary population statistics has been proposed, which includes a conceptual framework connecting temporary population mobility and temporary population (Charles-Edwards et al. 2020). The majority of the analysed studies suggests that temporary populations are an important aspect of urban life and require attention from both researchers and decision-makers.

The models distinguishing between daytime and nighttime populations have wide applications in urban planning, service provision, and risk management (Kobayashi, Medina and Cova 2011). Traditional census data mainly represent the nighttime (resident) population, which often fails to reflect spatial shifts during the day when people commute for work, study, or leisure (Mileu and Queirós 2022; Wang et al. 2022; Guest 1976; ISTAT 2020). This mismatch can result in misestimating exposure, demand for services, and emergency response requirements (McPherson and Brown 2004; Freire 2007; Qi et al. 2015; Giovenco 2024).

Daytime population includes both residents engaged in daily mobility and non-resident visitors. It can be divided into primary movements—fixed in time and space, such as commuting to work

and school—and consumer or discretionary movements, like shopping, leisure, and recreation, which vary according to personal needs (Todorčić 2024; Gorný 2025; Bian and Wilmot 2015). These distinctions are essential in understanding urban dynamics and tailoring infrastructure and services.

The examination of population dynamics between two temporal reference points is undertaken through the application of index-based indicators. In the context of variations between nighttime and daytime populations, advanced statistical frameworks, such as those employed in Italy (ISTAT 2020) and Korea (KNGII 2021), utilize analogous indicators, albeit under differing terminological conventions. The coexistence index is the ratio between the daytime population and the resident population in the territorial domain of interest. It quantifies the imbalance between the population using the territory and the resident population (ISTAT 2020). The daytime population index is the ratio of the daytime population to the registered population and is a demographic factor that well expresses the characteristics of a region. The daytime population is calculated by adding the commuting population from other regions to the registered population of the region and subtracting the population commuting to other regions. Areas with a daytime population index of 100 or less indicate mainly residential areas (KNGII 2021).

Recent methodological advances integrate multiple data sources for diurnal population estimation. Key approaches include: (1) land-use-based models with census disaggregation (Kuffer and Sliuzas, 2014; Qi et al. 2015), (2) mobile device and location-based service data for capturing real-time flows (Oh and Park

2023; Güller and Varol 2024), (3) smart-card transit data for high temporal resolution (Ma et al. 2017), and (4) 3D urban models and building-level geodata for detailed allocation (Mileu and Queirós 2022; Wang et al. 2022). These methods improve spatial-temporal accuracy and reduce costs compared to traditional surveys (Potić 2024).

Applications range from optimizing emergency evacuation and shelter capacity to supporting economic planning and assessing commercial area vitality (McPherson and Brown 2004; Freire 2007; Bian and Wilmot 2015; ISTAT 2020). Empirical studies consistently show daytime populations concentrating in business and commercial districts, while nighttime densities peak in residential areas (Bhaduri 2017; Guest 1976). Land-use composition further shapes these patterns, with mixed-use and commercial areas exhibiting varying levels of day–night attractiveness (Kuffer & Sliuzas 2014; Qi et al. 2015). A hybrid approach—combining open geospatial building data and 3D models for nighttime estimation with dynamic datasets (mobile signals, smart-card data, points of interest) for daytime profiling—offers the most robust framework (Mileu and Queirós 2022; Wang et al. 2022; Giovenco 2024).

3 METHODOLOGY

The methodology of this study is based on using data from different types of sources, their cross-referencing, analysis and visualization (Figure 1).

3.1 STUDY AREA

The research area encompasses the urban settlements of Belgrade, Novi Sad, and Niš (Zakon o teritorijalnoj organizaciji Republike Srbije, 129/2007, 18/2016, 47/2018, 9/2020). Although these settlements constitute parts of higher-level administrative units bearing the same names (City of Belgrade, City of Novi Sad, and City of Niš), this study exclusively examines the redistribution of population within the boundaries of their urban cores, i.e., the settlements themselves.

Intra-settlement dynamics were included in the analysis for Belgrade and Niš, which, unlike other settlements in the Republic of Serbia, extend over the territories of multiple municipalities. The settlement of Belgrade forms part of the City of Belgrade and comprises the entire territories of six urban municipalities (Vračar, Stari Grad, Savski Venac, Zvezdara, Rakovica, and Novi Beograd) as well as parts of four additional municipalities (Voždovac, Zemun, Palilula, and

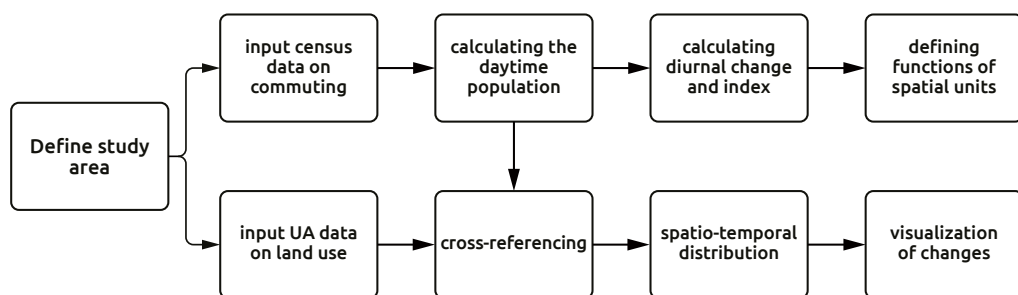


Figure 1 Workflow chart

Čukarica). The settlement of Niš, as part of the City of Niš, spans across parts of four out of five urban municipalities (Crveni Krst, Pantelej, Palilula, and Medijana). For the purposes of the intra-settlement analysis, each segment of a settlement (identified by the name of the municipality to which it partially or fully belongs) was considered a separate analytical unit. In cases where only a part of a municipality fell within the settlement under observation (four in the case of Belgrade and all four in the case of Niš), only that portion was included in the analysis. Unlike Belgrade and Niš, the settlement of Novi Sad does not have a divided territory and was analysed as a single territorial unit.

3.2 DAYTIME AND NIGHTTIME POPULATION

The application of spatiotemporal population distribution models, specifically determining the difference between the daytime and nighttime populations, represents one form of analysis of daily mobility of the labour force. Through spatiotemporal population distribution, it is possible to identify work centres in a specific area, define their hierarchy, determine the degree of functional dependence of other settlements on these centres, and identify settlements with a dominant residential function, known as "bedroom communities." Additionally, changes in the function of settlements over the observed period of time can be examined (Filipović 2020).

For the purposes of this study, the analysis focused on the contingent of temporary population based on daily labour force mobility. Compared to other types of movements, commuting constitutes the most prevalent, regular, and statistically reliable form of daily mobility (Tošić 2018; Krunić 2012).

Consequently, the results obtained can serve as the most stable basis for defining daytime population, which can be further supplemented with additional components and adapted to the specific characteristics of the study area and temporal framework.

To determine the daily population and accompanying indicators, a basic calculation methodology based on the daily mobility of workers was adapted (Esri Data Development, 2025). The nighttime population (P_n) is expressed within the model as the number of inhabitants according to the census (P_t), recorded based on their place of residence ($P_n=P_t$). The daytime population (P_d) represents the population that predominantly resides in the settlement during working days and consists of the net population participating in daily mobility (Net commuting) and the enumerated population. To determine the number of the daytime population, the number of commuters (workers), according to separate data processing by the Statistical Office of Serbia (SORS 2025), was used. Using a matrix representation of the number of residents coming (in-commuters) to and leaving the settlement (out-commuters), the total number of residents moving between settlements was determined, and it can be mathematically represented by Equation (1):

$$N_c = C_{in} - C_{out} \quad (1)$$

Where N_c is net commuting, C_{in} is in-commuters and C_{out} is out-commuters.

Adding or subtracting this number from the number of usual population, the number of daytime population was established for each settlement, and it can be mathematically represented by Equation (2):

$$P_d = P_n + N_c \quad (2)$$

Where P_d is daytime population, P_n is nighttime population and N_c is net commuting.

The obtained value is greater than the one recorded by the census where the settlement has an in-commuting character, or lower where it has an out-commuting character (Krunić 2012; Lukić 2022). Settlements with an in-commuting character are associated with a work function, while settlements with an out-commuting character primarily serve as residential areas.

Based on the examples of Korea (KNGII 2021) and Italy (ISTAT 2020), the observed change from nighttime to the daytime population is presented through the diurnal population change index (I_{dpc}) for all selected settlements, and it can be mathematically represented by Equation (3):

$$I_{dpc} = P_d / P_n * 100 \quad (3)$$

While the absolute change (P_{ch}) highlights the significance for both work centres and settlements supplying commuters, and it can be mathematically represented by Equation (4):

$$P_{ch} = P_d - P_n \quad (4)$$

A value of the index greater than 100 indicates settlements with a dominant work function, while values below 100 indicate settlements with a residential function (KNGII 2021). The spatiotemporal population distribution is examined at the settlement level for Novi Sad and settlement and intra-settlement level for Niš and Belgrade.

3.3 URBAN ATLAS

For the analysis of intra-settlement distribution of nighttime and daytime population, in addition to the processed census data, geospatial data on land cover

and land use derived from the European Union initiative Urban Atlas (EEA 2020) have been utilized. The Urban Atlas data (hereinafter UA) is currently available for three temporal series: 2006 (EEA 2015), 2012 (EEA 2016a), and 2018 (EEA 2020)). This study focuses on the data from 2018 to ensure greater compatibility with the 2022 census data, although a significant difference is noticeable in the population dynamics and land use change dynamics. Specifically, while urban areas, even in large cities, are experiencing dynamic and relatively unbalanced changes in land use and urban expansion, the overall population is growing more slowly, or in most cases, it is stagnating or even decreasing. Notably, The European Urban Atlas provides high-resolution land use and land cover data for 788 Functional Urban Areas (FUAs) for the reference year 2018 in 39 countries of European Economic Area. Preliminary research on the potential application of these data in spatial and urban planning in Serbia has already been conducted (Gajić and Krunić 2020). It is significant that the UA data include information not only on land cover and land use, but also on population estimates for each polygon according to land use categories (Batista e Silva and Poelmann 2016), as well as on road networks and building heights. The initial definition of the percentage share of the nighttime population in Belgrade, Novi Sad, and Niš relied on the original estimates from the UA, which were subsequently slightly adjusted. Population estimates employ a dasymetric approach in modelling spatial population distribution. Dasymetric approaches utilizing different methods have been applied multiple times in studies and models of spatial population distribution in Serbia (Krunic et al., 2011; Bajat, Krunic and Kilibarda,

2011; Bajat et al., 2011; Bajat et al., 2013; Krunić, Bajat and Kilibarda 2015; Krunić et al., 2015), as well as in the analysis of the urban system and urban development of North Macedonia (Gajić Protić, Krunić and Srnić, 2024).

The UA geospatial data were obtained through a combination of statistical classification and visual interpretation of high-resolution multispectral satellite imagery (ranging from 2 to 2.5 meters), further enriched with additional information from other available sources (e.g., Google Earth (Google 2020), Open Street Map (OpenStreetMap Contributors 2017), etc.). The UA classification of land cover and land use classes is generally based on the CORINE land cover (CLC) classification (EEA 2016b), but with additional diversification of built up areas, detailed scale (1:10,000), data about population density per land use classes added, and encompasses 27 land cover classes distributed into five main thematic groups and four hierarchical levels.

For the analysis presented in this study, the following classes were selected (EEA 2016b) since they encompass more than 95% of the population, while the remaining classes have minimal participation in the population distribution:

- Continuous urban fabric (S.L.: > 80%) – Predominant residential use: areas with a high degree of soil sealing, independent of their housing scheme (single family houses or high-rise dwellings, city centre or suburb). Included are downtown areas and city centres, as well as Central Business Districts (CBD) as long as they are partially used for residential purposes.
- Discontinuous dense urban fabric (S.L.: 50% – 80%) – Predominant residential usage. Contains more than 20% non-sealed areas, independent of their housing scheme (single family houses or high-rise dwellings, city centre or suburb). The non-sealed areas might be private gardens, or common green areas.
- Discontinuous medium density urban fabric (S.L.: 30% – 50%) – Residential buildings, roads and other artificially surfaced areas. The vegetated areas are predominant, but the land is not dedicated to forestry or agriculture.
- Discontinuous low density urban fabric (S.L.: 10% – 30%) – Residential buildings, roads and other artificially surfaced areas. The vegetated areas are predominant, but the land is not dedicated to forestry or agriculture.
- Discontinuous very low density urban fabric (S.L.: < 10%) – Residential buildings, roads and other artificially surfaced areas. The vegetated areas are predominant, but the land is not dedicated to forestry or agriculture. Example: exclusive residential areas with large gardens.
- Isolated structures – Artificially isolated structures with a residential component, such as (small) individual farmhouses and related buildings.
- Industrial, commercial, public, military and private units – Industrial, commercial, public, military or private units. The administrative boundaries of the production or service unit are mapped, including associated features larger than the MMU (e.g. sports areas or transport structures).

The obtained data were subsequently mapped using the ArcGIS Pro software package (Esri Inc. n.d.). For enhanced visualization of changes by land-use categories and time-of-day periods, 3D maps were also incorporated.

4 RESULTS

According to the results of the 2022 Population Census, the territory of the Republic of Serbia had 795,779 active residents participating in commuting. This number represented 12% of the total population of the country (excluding data for Kosovo and Metohija) and 28.4% of all active individuals engaged in employment (SORS 2025). In comparison to the previous Census in 2011, which recorded 615,990 workers engaged in this form of movement, there was an in-

crease of over 180,000, or nearly 30%. This phenomenon has accentuated the demographic trend documented in the first intercensal period of the 21st century, characterized by an approximate 10% escalation in the volume of commuters (Filipović 2020). Considering the decrease in the overall population of Serbia and the contingent of employed individuals during the mentioned period, the share of commuters becomes even more significant. Based on such a trend, the difference between daytime and nighttime populations of specific settlements and their parts gains importance.

Within the territory of Serbia, and in accordance with patterns of daily mobility of the employed population, settlements were identified where the daytime population significantly exceeded the nighttime population. The selected

Table 1 Night and Day population of Belgrade, Niš and Novi Sad in 2022.

Municipality	Nighttime population	Daytime population	Change	Index DPC
Voždovac	155,909	135,196	-20,713	86.7
Vračar	55,406	67,751	12,345	122.3
Zvezdara	172,625	137,084	-35,541	79.4
Zemun	166,049	155,542	-10,507	93.7
Novi Beograd	209,763	264,985	55,222	126.3
Palilula	113,883	116,241	2,358	102.1
Rakovica	104,456	77,386	-27,070	74.1
Savski venac	36,699	97,815	61,116	266.5
Stari grad	44,737	93,827	49,090	209.7
Čukarica	138,187	113,233	-24,954	81.9
BELGRADE Total	1,197,714	1,310,023	112,309	109.4
Pantelejš	36,354	29,255	-7,099	80.5
Crveni krst	11,970	20,230	8,260	169.0
Medijana	78,470	88,079	9,609	112.2
Palilula	52,182	45,373	-6,809	87.0
NIŠ Total	178,976	194,352	15,376	108.6
NOVI SAD Total	260,438	297,397	36,959	114.2

Source: SORS 2025. (Total=settlement)

centres of work differ in terms of type, significance and spatial distribution within the settlement network of Serbia. As with most demographic indicators, the city of Belgrade takes the lead in this type of spatial-temporal population distribution, with a difference of 112,309 between daytime and nighttime populations. Besides the capital, other notable centers with differences exceeding 10,000 residents include Niš and Novi Sad (Table 1). For the remaining selected settlements, the difference between daytime and nighttime populations is at a significantly lower level in absolute terms.

Furthermore, within the settlements of Belgrade and Niš themselves, which are divided into multiple urban municipalities, internal commuting can be analysed in the context of changes between nighttime and daytime population. This aspect is further explored in the concluding section of this study. The aforementioned findings (Živanović et al. 2021; Filipović, Krunić and Zhelenkova 2022) underscore the need for a more comprehensive analysis of temporary population changes within the daily urban systems of Novi Sad, Niš, and particularly Belgrade, as it represents the most prominent centre in the Serbian territory.

Therefore, taking into account the net commuting, enumerated population and land cover classes with the highest population, a highly simplified model of intra-urban redistribution was created (Table 2).

4.1 BELGRADE

The settlement of Belgrade is traditionally the most influential urban centre in Serbia, serving as the nucleus of the most significant daily urban system

(Filipović, Krunić and Zhelenkova 2022). In addition to its status as the capital city, Belgrade represents the most populous settlement and extends its sphere of influence beyond national borders. It is divided into 10 distinct settlement areas, which either entirely or partially correspond to urban municipalities (Voždovac, Vračar, Zvezdara, Zemun, Novi Beograd, Palilula, Rakovica, Savski venac, Stari grad, and Čukarica). The population of Belgrade, specifically its nighttime residents, was reported at 1,197,714 individuals according to the 2022 Census. Within this active population, 34,681 individuals with professional engagement outside the settlement, constituted a contingent of commuters. On the other hand, within the Belgrade's territory, 146,990 residents from other settlements were employed, resulting in the total daily population of 1,310,023 individuals. The diurnal population change index stood at 109.4 across the entire settlement of Belgrade.

Within the Belgrade settlement itself, distinct variations in spatial distribution between daytime and nighttime populations are observed. With Belgrade being divided into ten parts corresponding to different municipalities, five areas exhibited greater presence of daytime population (Vračar, Novi Beograd, Palilula, Savski venac and Stari grad), while the remaining five areas demonstrated a more significant concentration of nighttime residents (Voždovac, Zvezdara, Zemun, Rakovica, and Čukarica). The highest influx of population during the day was registered in Savski venac (61,116) and Novi Beograd (55,222). The diurnal population change index reached its peak in the previously mentioned Savski Venac (266.5) and another central municipality, that of Stari Grad (209.7). Opposite to that, Zvezdara experienced the most

Table 2 Estimated night and daily population distribution of the three cities based on Census data for the year 2022 and Urban Atlas classes from 2018.

Land use	Area, ha	% N_POP	% D_POP	Total N_POP	Total D_POP	Density N_POP/ha	Density D_POP/ha
BELGRADE							
Continuous urban fabric (S.L. : > 80%)	1,648.0	29	37	347,337	465,852	210.8	282.7
Discontinuous dense urban fabric (S.L. : 50% – 80%)	4,391.5	46	24	550,948	302,174	125.5	68.8
Discontinuous medium density urban fabric (S.L. : 30% – 50%)	2,165.2	14	8	167,680	100,725	77.4	46.5
Discontinuous low density urban fabric (S.L. : 10% – 30%)	905.9	4	2	47,909	25,181	52.9	27.8
Discontinuous very low density urban fabric (S.L. : < 10%)	410.7	1	1	11,977	12,591	29.2	30.7
Isolated structures	59.9	1	0	11,977	0	200.0	0.0
Industrial, commercial, public, military, private units, and all others*	3,453.1	5	28	59,886	352,537	17.3	102.1
NOVI SAD							
Continuous urban fabric (S.L. : > 80%)	519.2	36	46	93,758	136,803	180.6	263.5
Discontinuous dense urban fabric (S.L. : 50% – 80%)	1,075.2	48	14	125,010	41,636	116.3	38.7
Discontinuous medium density urban fabric (S.L. : 30% – 50%)	203.3	6	6	15,626	17,844	76.9	87.8
Discontinuous low density urban fabric (S.L. : 10% – 30%)	66.9	1	2	2,604	5,948	38.9	88.9
Discontinuous very low density urban fabric (S.L. : < 10%)	1,080.8	3	32	7,813	95,167	7.2	88.1
Isolated structures	228.4	1		2,604	0	11.4	0.0
Industrial, commercial, public, military, private units, and all others*	7,312.9	2		5,209	0	0.7	0.0
NIŠ							
Continuous urban fabric (S.L. : > 80%)	446.9	48	56	85,908	102,445	192.2	229.2
Discontinuous dense urban fabric (S.L. : 50% – 80%)	604.6	39	14	69,801	25,611	115.4	42.4
Discontinuous medium density urban fabric (S.L. : 30% – 50%)	156.8	6	6	10,739	10,976	68.5	70.0
Discontinuous low density urban fabric (S.L. : 10% – 30%)	80.0	2	1	3,580	1,829	44.8	22.9
Discontinuous very low density urban fabric (S.L. : < 10%)	106.9	1	1	1,790	1,829	16.7	17.1
Isolated structures	3.0	0			0	0.0	0.0
Industrial, commercial, public, military, private and all others*	712.6	4	22	7,159	40,246	10.0	56.5

*This type of land use class includes all other land uses with a very small amount of population and share of less than 1% of the total population.

Source: SORS 2025 (N_POP-nighttime population; D_POP-daytime population)

substantial decrease in population during the day compared to the census figures (35,541). Other settlement parts with nighttime population exceeding 20,000 residents included Voždovac (20,713), Rakovica (27,070) and Čukarica

(24,954). Rakovica had the lowest diurnal population change index value (74.1) among all parts of Belgrade.

Significant differences in the distribution of nighttime and daytime populations in Belgrade were observed ac-

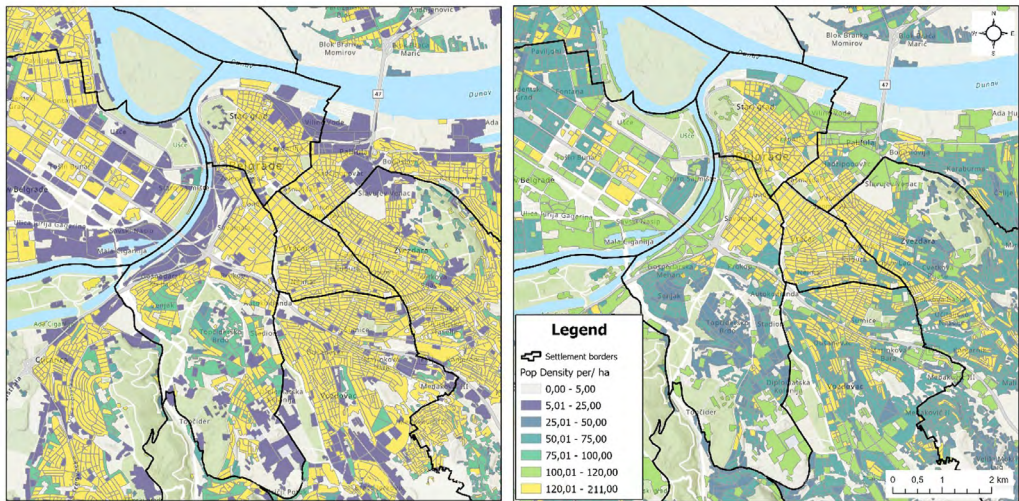


Figure 2a Spatial distribution of the nighttime (left) and daytime (right) population of Belgrade (the detail covering central part of the urban area)

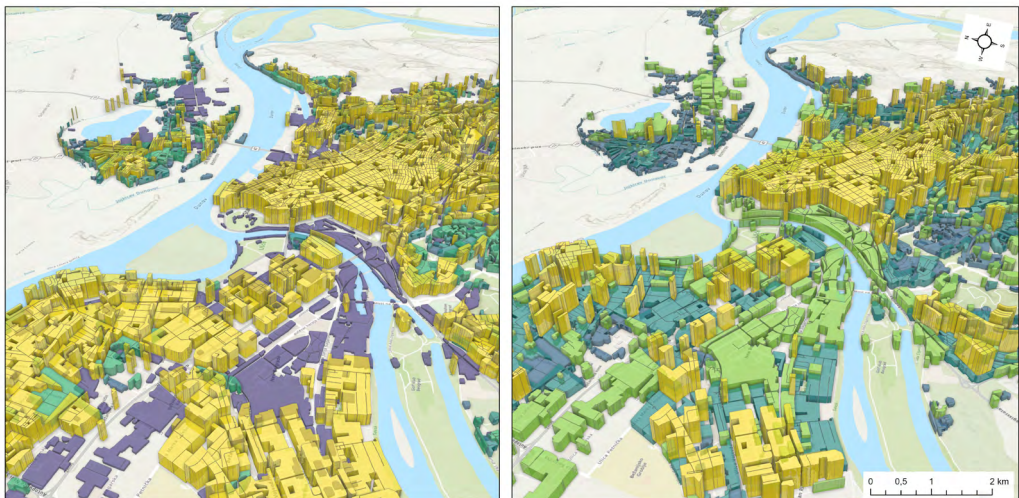


Figure 2b Spatial distribution of the nighttime (left) and daytime (right) population of Belgrade (the detail covering central part of the urban area) showed in 3D for better recognition of the changes in redistribution. Note: Due to the size of the urban core of Belgrade, it is not possible to show it in its entirety in this format, therefore the central part with the surroundings, where the most significant changes are taking place, is shown

cording to anthropogenic land cover classes (Figure 2a; 2b). The usual population, that is nighttime population, was the most numerous in discontinuous areas with high-density urban fabric, with around 551,000 inhabitants, accounting for 46% of the population. Continuous urban fabric (29%) and discontinuous areas with medium-density urban fabric (14%) also had significant shares in these distribution findings. The highest concentration of daytime population was registered in continuous urban fabric with around 466,000 inhabitants (37%). The diurnal population change index for this category had a value of 134, and the population density during the day was 283 per ha. Industrial, commercial, public and business zones were another focal point of daytime population concentration, within which these zones accounted for 28% of the total, or almost six times larger than the nighttime population. All classes of discontinuous urban fabric experienced a decrease in the daytime population compared to the nighttime population.

4.2 NOVI SAD

Novi Sad represents the most influential centre north of Belgrade and is thus the core of the largest daily urban system in that part of Serbia. According to the data from the 2022 Census, the settlement itself was populated by 260,438 inhabitants, which in this case is considered the nighttime population. Based on the number of residents, Novi Sad represents the second most populous centre on the entire territory of Serbia. Out of its total inhabitants, 21,668 commuters were employed in another settlement, while on the other hand, 58,627 commuters from other settlements were employed in Novi Sad. This led to a 14.2% increase in the number of people residing in the observed centre on a daily basis, compared to the population determined by the census. By considering the commuting population of Novi Sad (297,397), with a change index of 114.2 in relation to the nighttime population, an additional 36,959 individuals can be accounted for.

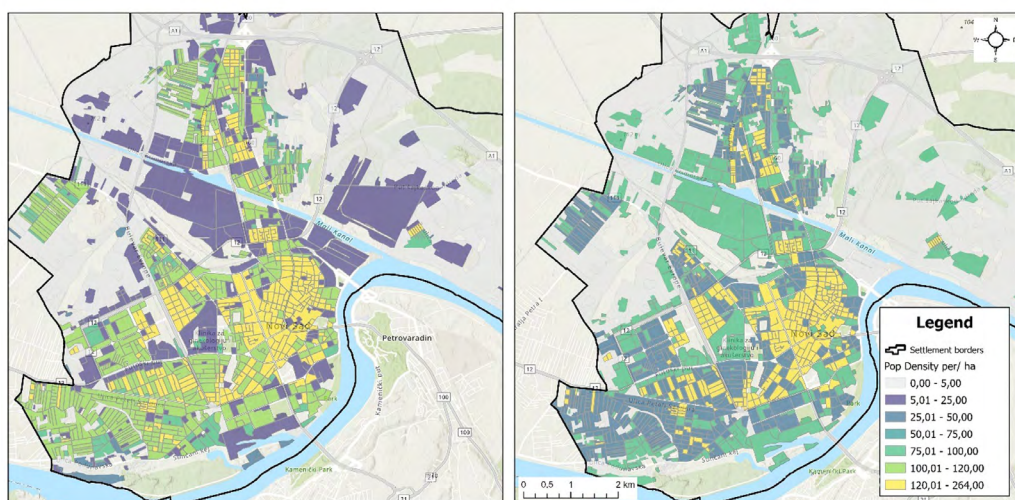


Figure 3a Spatial distribution of the nighttime (left) and daytime (right) population of Novi Sad

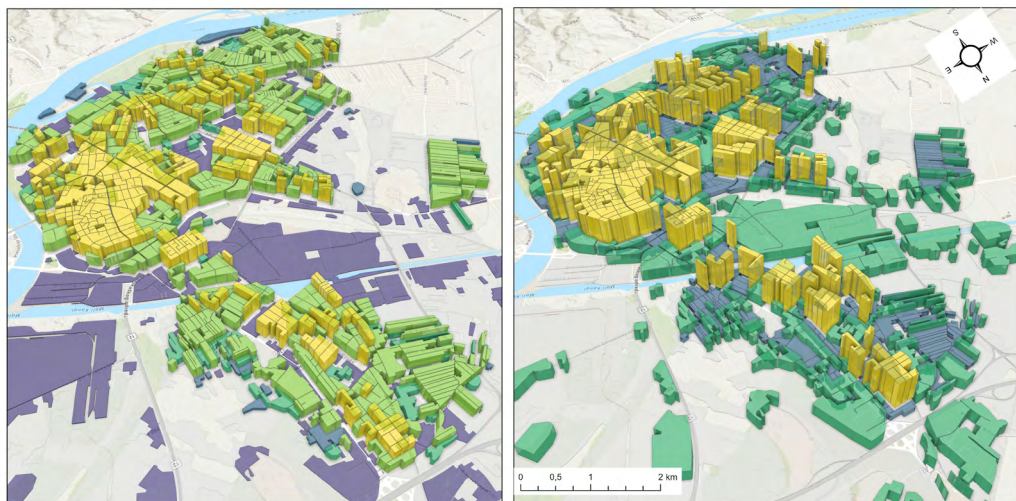


Figure 3b Spatial distribution of the nighttime (left) and daytime (right) population of Novi Sad showed in 3D for better recognition of the changes in redistribution

Almost half of the nighttime population, that is the usual population of Novi Sad (48%), resided in discontinuous high-density urban fabric (Figure 3a; 3b). This contingent consisted of around 125,000 inhabitants, or 116 individuals per ha. Another influential share of the nighttime population (36%) was found in continuous urban fabric, accounting for nearly 85% of the population of Novi Sad when combined with the previous category. The highest proportion of the daytime population was concentrated within the continuous urban fabric (46%), where the number of inhabitants increased by 46% compared to the nighttime population. Industrial, commercial, public, and business zones involved a significant concentration of 35% of the daytime population. The intensity of change was the most dominant in this category, with the daytime population concentration being nearly 12 times higher than that of the nighttime population. However, a decrease in population concentration at the daytime level

was observed in the areas of discontinuous built-up land.

4.3 NIŠ

Niš, the most prominent urban centre in the Southern and Eastern Serbia region, serves as the core of the most significant daily urban system in that part of the country. The city encompasses four municipal districts (Medijana, Pantelejš, Palilula and Crveni Krst) and is regarded a central hub for commuters. According to the 2022 Census data, Niš had a usual population of 178,976 individuals, including both of commuters and nighttime residents. Out of the total population, 10,039 individuals were identified as commuters based on the census methodology, representing active residents of Niš who commuted to work to other areas. Contrary to that, 25,415 residents from neighbouring settlements were employed in Niš, contributing to a daytime population of 194,352. The diurnal population change index for Niš in 2022 was 108.6.

Niš itself exhibits significant territorial distribution differences in daytime and nighttime population across its various parts, belonging to different municipal districts. As the urban core of Niš is divided into four parts, greater daytime population influence was observed in the parts belonging to the Crveni Krst and Medijana municipal districts, while

nighttime population predominated in the parts belonging to the Palilula and Pantelej municipal districts. The most significant absolute change from nighttime to daytime population was recorded in the Medijana municipal district. During the day, this part of Niš experienced an increase of 9,609 individuals compared with the number of residents

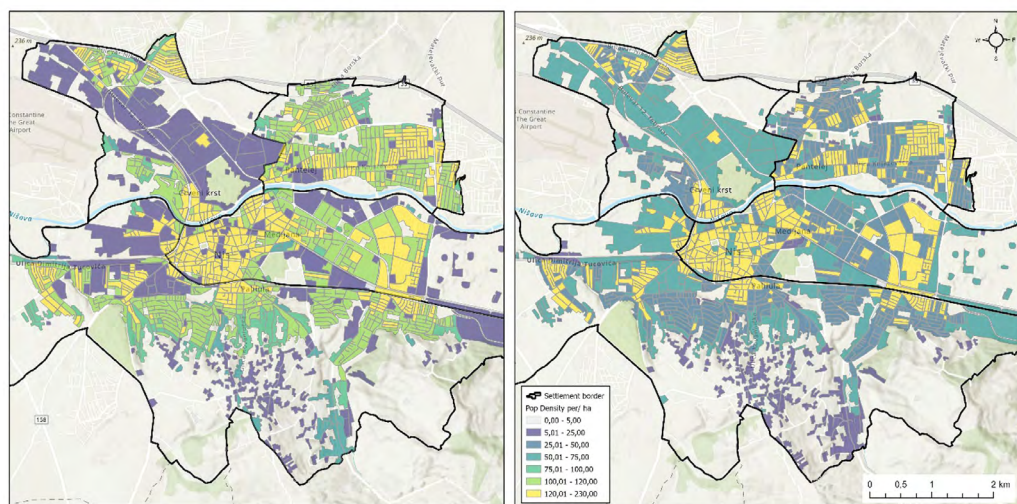


Figure 4a Spatial distribution of the nighttime (left) and daytime (right) population of Niš

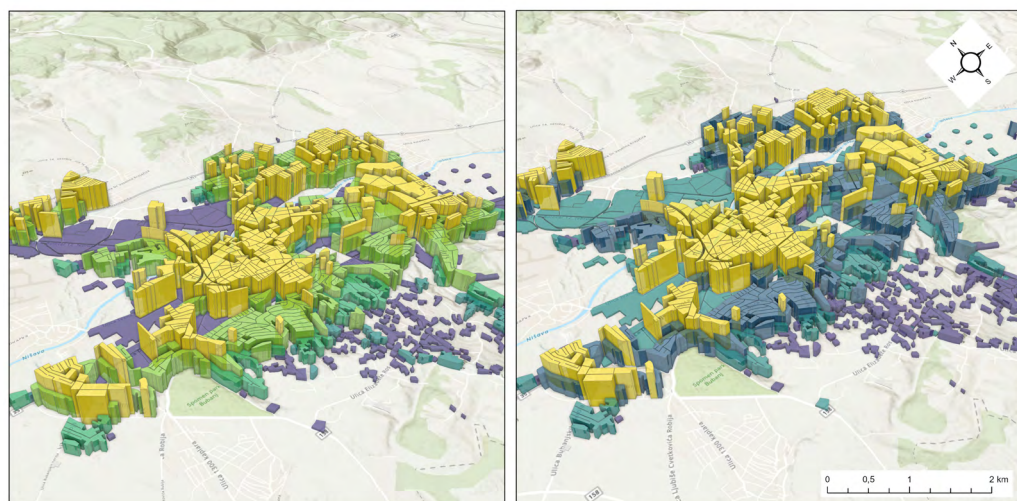


Figure 4b Spatial distribution of the nighttime (left) and daytime (right) population of Niš (the detail covering central part of the urban area) showed in 3D for better recognition of the changes in redistribution

determined by the census. The index of change from nighttime to daytime population reached its highest value of 169 in the part of Niš belonging to the Crveni Krst municipal district. Opposite to that, the largest absolute decrease in daytime population (-7,099) was registered in the part of the urban core belonging to the Pantelej municipal district, while the lowest index value of 80.5 was observed in the same part of the Niš settlement.

Among the observed settlements, Niš exhibited the highest concentration of both nighttime and daytime populations in the same anthropogenic land cover category (Figure 4a; 4b). Around 86,000 residents of Niš lived in the continuous urban fabric, representing 56% of the nighttime population. At the daytime level, this number fluctuated with an index of 119, comprising a half of the daytime population, with the density of 229 persons per ha. Approximately significant concentration of the nighttime population (39%) was observed in the discontinuous high-density urban fabric, whereas the second most significant concentration of the daytime population (22%) was in the industrial, commercial, public and business zones. In these zones, the population increased approximately 11 times during the day, while it decreased in relation to the nighttime population in the discontinuous urban fabric categories.

It should also be noted that the differences in the distribution of daytime and nighttime populations are also a consequence of the urban morphological structure of the settlements themselves and land use patterns. In the areas with more pronounced divisions between work zones and residential areas, more significant shifts in the commuter population are observed, a conclusion

of great importance for urban planners and decision-makers.

5 DISCUSSION

One of the main objectives of this study is the application of diverse analytical tools to achieve a deeper understanding of the spatiotemporal patterns of population mobility. For this reason, among others, an integration and cross-application of different types of data sources have been carried out, so as to obtain the clearest possible picture of the spatiotemporal distribution of the population. Previous research has employed the concept of combining population data with land-use information, both in Serbia (Gajić and Krunić 2020) and in the wider region (Gajić Protić et al. 2024); however, the specificity of this study lies in the fact that, for the first time in Serbia, such an approach has been implemented, which used data on one form of temporary population. Furthermore, the delineation of work zones and residential zones through the application of the diurnal population change index has proven to be suitable across different territorial levels. Until now, the application of this type of index has encompassed FUA, municipal, and settlement levels (KNGII 2021; ISTAT 2020). By incorporating data at finer territorial scales, namely sub-settlement units, the index can also be employed to identify functional differentiation within a single settlement.

The results of this study clearly demonstrate that Serbia's three largest urban centres—Belgrade, Novi Sad, and Niš—play a disproportionately dominant role in structuring daily mobility. The redistribution between daytime and nighttime populations in these cities not only confirms the general patterns

documented internationally (Charles-Edwards et al. 2020; Qi et al. 2015; Brollo and Celata 2022), but also highlights the unique features of Serbia's post-socialist urban transformation, particularly the pronounced centralisation of employment and services. These urban centres exhibit a clear concentration of daytime population in the commercial and administrative cores, accompanied by the depopulation of residential zones during working hours. However, the degree of centralisation observed in Serbia—especially in Belgrade—is considerably higher than in the majority of polycentric urban systems.

The most significant centres of daily mobility are characterised by a highly polarised geospatial pattern in Serbia, with Novi Sad, Niš, and particularly Belgrade emerging as key employment hubs, exhibiting the most notable positive daily changes in the size of population. The dominant employment function of these settlements also shapes the function and spatial orientation of the surrounding settlements within their respective daily urban systems. While major employment centres attract a substantial influx of population on a daily basis, the opposite process is observed in certain settlements located in close proximity, albeit to varying degrees.

Belgrade stands out as the country's primary employment hub, attracting nearly 147,000 inbound commuters daily, equivalent to 18.5% of all commuting workers in Serbia. This magnitude surpasses the combined total for Novi Sad and Niš and mirrors the primacy of capitals such as Budapest and Sofia (Živanović et al. 2019). Intra-urban analysis further reveals a strong spatial polarisation between work-oriented municipalities (Savski venac, Stari grad) and residential municipalities (Rakovica, Zvezdara),

a pattern also found in Western European metropolitan areas (Mileu and Queirós 2022), though in Serbia these divisions are largely a legacy of the industrial-era zoning and post-socialist redevelopment.

According to preliminary analyses of the 2018 UA data, covering urban areas in 14 cities in Serbia (excluding Kosovo and Metohija, Belgrade, Novi Sad, Niš, Kragujevac, Subotica, Novi Pazar, Zrenjanin, Kraljevo, Čačak, Kruševac, Leskovac, Valjevo, Vranje, and Smederevo), and considering the official data from the Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia (SORS) on population numbers, it was determined that approximately 4,251,300 individuals were part of some functional-urban areas of larger cities, accounting for about 61% of the estimated total population of Serbia in 2018. The 'anthropogenic' land classes (11100–14200) covered approximately 8% of the analysed areas, inhabited by around 4,032,600 people, or 95% of the total population of functional-urban areas in Serbia. The highest number of inhabitants was recorded in discontinuous areas with high (38%) and medium (24%) density urban fabric, as well as continuous urban fabric (14%), representing about 76% of the total population of functional-urban areas in Serbia. The average population density across the seven previously shown classes in Serbia is 37 persons/ha, with the highest population densities found in continuously urban fabric where the development percentage exceeds 80%, reaching as high as 138 persons/ha. In discontinuous zones, population density ranged from 61 persons/ha in high-density areas to 4 persons/ha in very low-density urban fabric.

The integration of Urban Atlas land-use data into this analysis provided a deeper insight into the functional

geography of daytime population shifts. Continuous urban fabric and industrial/commercial/public zones emerge as the dominant attractors of daytime population, while all categories of discontinuous urban fabric lose residents during the day. This aligns with the findings of Qi et al. (2015) in Beijing and Jo, Lee and Kim (2020) in Seoul, where mono-functional zones experience the most extreme diurnal population changes, whereas mixed-use areas maintain a more balanced day–night ratio. In Belgrade, the daytime population in industrial and commercial areas is nearly six times greater than the nighttime figure, while in Niš the increase reaches eleven-fold, reflecting a high level of functional specialisation. In the vicinity of Novi Sad, this is the case with the discontinuous very low density urban fabric, that is, with the first adjacent category, which indicates relationships similar to those observed in the remaining two urban centres.

While these patterns are consistent with global research, the methodology applied in Serbia remains largely reliant on static census data and periodic GIS updates. This approach limits the ability to detect short-term, weekly, or seasonal fluctuations in daily mobility, a limitation repeatedly highlighted in the literature (McPherson and Brown 2004; Kobayashi, Medina and Cova 2011; Panczak, Charles-Edwards and Corcoran 2020). In contrast, recent studies in Australia (Charles-Edwards 2016), South Korea (Oh and Park 2023), and Italy (Brollo and Celata 2022) have incorporated dynamic datasets—mobile phone records, GPS traces, and smart-card transit data—to capture real-time and seasonal variability. Such methods offer higher temporal granularity and allow planners to model scenarios, such as peak commuting pe-

riods or emergency evacuations, with greater precision.

Another dimension, confirmed in both Serbian and international contexts, is the close relationship between commuting patterns and the broader socio-economic landscape. In Serbia, high housing costs in central urban zones, combined with uneven regional economic development, continue to drive long-distance commuting (Lukić 2011a; 2022), echoing patterns seen in Italian cities where temporary populations are driven not only by labour mobility but also by student migration and tourism (Brollo and Celata 2022). However, in the Serbian case, labour mobility is the overwhelmingly dominant factor, making the observed redistribution more stable over time but less flexible in responding to sudden economic or infrastructural changes.

Combining advanced technologies with traditional demographic methods offers transformative potential for urban planning and public health (Potić 2024). The applied 3D visualization approach to the spatial distribution of population, based on the collected data, yielded clearer results in the cases of Niš and Novi Sad, primarily due to their smaller territorial scope. Therefore, to enhance applicability, it is proposed that the method be extended to individual sections of Belgrade, as well as to other settlements included in the Urban Atlas. This is consistent with the approach taken in metropolitan-scale studies in Lisbon and Porto (Mileu and Queirós 2022), where high-resolution 3D mapping was used to support urban policy decisions.

From a practical standpoint, the implications of these findings are substantial. For transport planning, understanding the spatial distribution of daytime

populations enables optimisation of public transport capacity, dynamic traffic management, and targeted development of cycling and pedestrian infrastructure in high-fluctuation areas. For emergency management, as in Japan and the United States (McPherson and Brown, 2004; Kobayashi, Medina and Cova 2011), daytime population models can guide the location of emergency services, evacuation route planning, and risk assessments. In the economic sphere, daytime population data are essential for estimating the potential of retail, hospitality, and cultural sectors, as well as for revitalising central business districts through mixed-use development to reduce extreme diurnal fluctuations.

Overall, the Serbian case confirms the utility of the temporary population concept for understanding urban dynamics, while also underlining the urgent need to modernise the data collection and analysis methods. The integration of dynamic, high-frequency datasets would not only enhance the accuracy and timeliness of such analyses, but also facilitate meaningful international comparisons and evidence-based policymaking. In line with the broader literature (Panczak, Charles-Edwards and Corcoran 2020), the next step is to embed these models into the operational tools of urban governance, ensuring that infrastructure, services, and risk management systems are designed for the realities of how populations actually inhabit and move through urban space.

6 CONCLUSION

The spatiotemporal analysis of the differences between daytime and nighttime populations in Serbian settlements, based on the 2022 Population Census

and geospatial land-use data, confirmed that daily population mobility is one of the key factors shaping the functional structure of urban areas. The largest differences between daytime and nighttime populations were recorded in Belgrade, Novi Sad, and Niš, indicating their dominant role as employment centres at the national level.

The applied Diurnal Population Change Index enabled the identification of settlements with predominantly work-oriented or residential functions. Settlements with high index values (>100) experience a net inflow of commuters during the day and are characterised by a concentration of employment activities, while those with values below 100 are primarily residential and act as “suppliers” of labour. Spatial differences in population concentration between day and night are most pronounced in the areas of continuous urban fabric and in the industrial–commercial zones, a pattern particularly evident in Belgrade.

The results point to the need of enhancing planning and management policies that incorporate the concept of temporary population. Urban governance, infrastructure sizing, public transport planning, and emergency management must be based not only on the permanent population, but also on actual daily population flows. Moreover, the application of integrated data sources—census, functional, and geospatial—proves to be a valuable approach in defining contemporary urban systems and both intra- and inter-urban connectivity.

In this regard, the study demonstrates the value of combining Urban Atlas land-use classifications with demographic data to achieve a more precise functional interpretation of spatial patterns. The visualisation of these

differences through 3D models has further proven to be a powerful analytical tool, enabling the clear identification of “hotspots” of daytime activity and offering decision-makers an intuitive means to assess and communicate urban dynamics. Such integration of thematic geospatial data with advanced visualisation techniques not only improves analytical precision, but also strengthens the

applicability of findings in operational urban planning and policy-making.

In this context, the present study provides a basis for further research on temporary populations and commuting as spatial–functional phenomena, contributing to the development of methodological tools and indicators applicable in demographic, spatial, and urban planning analyses.

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Coauthor contributions

Marko Filipović: conceptualisation, data management, methodology, formal analysis, investigation, writing – original draft.

Nikola Krunić: conceptualisation, data management, formal analysis, methodology, supervision, visualisation, writing – review and editing.

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Unutarnaseljska redistribucija dnevne i noćne populacije

PROŠIRENI SAŽETAK

Ovo istraživanje razmatra prostorno-vremenske razlike između dnevne i noćne populacije u tri najveća urbana centra Srbije – Beogradu, Novom Sadu i Nišu – korišćenjem podataka Popisa stanovništva iz 2022. godine i klasifikacija namene zemljišta iz Urban Atlasa (2018). Kao ključni metodološki alat primenjen je Indeks promene dnevne populacije (Idpc), kojim su identifikovana naselja i gradske zone sa pretežno radnom ili stambenom funkcijom.

Rezultati pokazuju izrazitu koncentraciju radnih mesta u najvećim gradovima, a posebno u Beogradu, koji svakodnevno privlači gotovo 147.000 radnika iz drugih naselja, što predstavlja 18,5% svih dnevnih migranata u zemlji. Novi Sad sa 58.627 i Niš sa 25.415 dnevnih migranata pokazuju značajan, ali regionalno ograničen uticaj. Unutar samih gradova, zabeležena je snažna prostorna polarizacija između centralnih opština sa dominantno radnim funkcijama i perifernih delova sa pretežno stambenim karakterom.

Najveće razlike između dnevne i noćne gustine stanovništva javljaju se u zonama kontinuirane urbane izgrađenosti i u industrijsko-komercijalnim područjima, gde se broj ljudi tokom dana višestruko povećava. Ovi obrasci potvrđuju dominantnu ulogu centralnih poslovnih zona i specijalizovanih komercijalnih površina u oblikovanju dnevne mobilnosti. Integracija popisnih, funkcionalnih i geoprostornih podataka pokazala se kao posebno efikasna u preciznom određivanju funkcionalne strukture i identifikaciji ključnih zona privremenog priliva stanovništva.

Značajan doprinos istraživanja ogleda se u primeni klasifikacija iz Urban Atlasa u kombinaciji sa 3D vizuelizacijom, što je omogućilo jasan prikaz prostorne distribucije razlika između dnevne i noćne populacije. Ovaj vizuelni pristup olakšava donošenje odluka u urbanističkom planiranju, jer omogućava prepoznavanje „vrućih tačaka“ dnevne aktivnosti i bolje razumevanje opterećenja infrastrukture u različitim delovima grada.

Nalazi istraživanja imaju neposredne praktične implikacije. U urbanom planiranju i upravljanju saobraćajem, podaci o dnevnim tokovima stanovništva mogu se koristiti za optimizaciju javnog prevoza, dimenzionisanje saobraćajne i komunalne infrastrukture, te planiranje pešačkih i biciklističkih mreža. U oblasti vanrednih situacija, oni omogućavaju preciznije planiranje evakuacija, raspored hitnih službi i procenu rizika.

Ovaj rad pruža čvrstu metodološku osnovu za dalja istraživanja privremene populacije i dnevnih migracija kao ključnih prostornih i funkcionalnih fenomena. Integracija dinamičnih izvora podataka, poput mobilne telefonije ili GPS sistema, predstavljala bi logičan naredni korak ka unapređenju preciznosti, uporedivosti i primenljivosti ovakvih analiza, sa ciljem unapređenja održivosti, otpornosti i efikasnosti urbanih sistema u Srbiji.

KLJUČNE REČI

dnevna, noćna, dnevni migranti, Urban Atlas, unutarnaseljska



Between Crime and Solidarity: The Treatment of Refugees in Montenegro During the 1990s

Jelisaveta Blagojević¹ Aleksandar Ćuković¹

ABSTRACT

This paper examines the status, treatment, and public representation of refugees in Montenegro during the 1990s, a period marked by political upheaval and humanitarian crises following the dissolution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY). It focuses on multiple refugee waves, including those generated by the Bosnian War (1992–1995), the influx from Croatia after Operation Storm in 1995, and the displacement from Kosovo during and after the NATO bombing of 1999. Drawing on archival records, government documents, and contemporary media, the study highlights the complex and often contradictory experiences of displaced populations. Serb refugees received broad public and institutional support, facilitated by historical kinship, civic engagement, and favorable political alignment. Bosniak/Muslim refugees, while receiving solidarity and assistance, were also at times subject to deportation, police intervention, and arbitrary detention, reflecting perceived political and security concerns. Albanian refugees were generally welcomed in Albanian- and Bosniak-majority municipalities, but their stay was politically sensitive, including the killings in Kaluđerski Laz. By situating these experiences within theoretical frameworks of forced migration, the study addresses a significant gap in research on post-Yugoslav refugee reception, illustrating how small, conflict-affected states balance moral obligation, political calculation, and ethnicized social dynamics.

KEYWORDS

Montenegro, refugees, forced migration, ethnicized humanitarianism, 1990s

¹*Historical Institute of the University of Montenegro, Podgorica, Montenegro*

Correspondence:

Jelisaveta Blagojević,
Historical Institute of the
University of Montenegro,
5 Bulevar Revolucije,
81000, Podgorica,
Montenegro

Email:

elizabethab@t-com.me

1 INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of the 1990s, Montenegro faced the challenge of receiving and protecting a significant number of refugees from war-torn areas following the dissolution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY). During the wars in the territory of the former SFRY, the total number of refugees and internally displaced persons was 3,725,300, or 15.83% of the total population of the SFRY in 1991 (Opačić, Vidaković and Vujadinović 2005: 13). The conflicts in Croatia, followed by those in Bosnia and Herzegovina, led an increasing number of people, primarily of Serbian nationality but also from other ethnic groups, to seek safe refuge in Serbia and Montenegro (the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, FR Yugoslavia) to preserve their lives.

As early as October 1991, during the initial days of the conflict in Croatia, Yugoslavia faced a massive influx of refugees, with 300,000 people being displaced from their homes (Borba 1991: 4). Of this number, it is estimated that nearly 50% sought refuge in Serbia. This indicates that a substantial number sought shelter in Montenegro, particularly when considering the total population of Montenegro at the time about 615,000 (Federal Statistical Office 1993: 9).

Moreover, the *Borba* newspaper in Belgrade reported that 350 million dinars were allocated from the federal budget to assist refugees and vulnerable populations in conflict-affected areas. Additionally, over 100 million dinars were collected in food, clothing, medicine, and medical supplies through the Red Cross of Yugoslavia. International support included 7.8 million Swiss francs from the International Red Cross and two million ECUs from the European Community. Appeals were made for fur-

ther support from international humanitarian and other organizations, alongside calls for an end to the conflicts to enable aid delivery.

The direction of displacement during the war was largely shaped by which ethnic group held control over specific areas. Bosniaks tended to concentrate in the regions under the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croats in the areas governed by the Croatian Defense Council, and Serbs in the territories controlled by the Army of the Republika Srpska. This ethno-religious pattern also influenced migration routes to neighboring countries, as displaced individuals generally sought refuge in areas aligned with their ethnic and religious identities (Nenadić et al. 2005).

Beyond this “refugee crisis”, which peaked between 1992 and 1995, Montenegro faced another refugee wave in 1999 due to the NATO bombing of Kosovo and Metohija (KiM). Unlike earlier waves, which predominantly brought Serbian and some Bosniak (Muslim) refugees from Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, the 1999 wave primarily consisted of Albanian and Serbian refugees, with a smaller number of Roma. These two refugee waves, therefore, offer a valuable lens for understanding the national-ethnic dimensions and the Montenegrin authorities’ treatment of refugees during this period. Moreover, the need for this research is underscored by the fact that, despite the scale of these displacements, scholarly and professional studies on the topic remain limited. Most existing studies focus on the numbers, status, and integration of refugees in Western Europe, the United States, and Canada (Palmer 2018; Coughlan and Owens-Manley 2006; Karamehic-Oates and Karamehic-Muratovic 2020; Kopinak 1999; Halilovich et al. 2018; Karabegović

2024). In contrast, relatively few papers address the reception, emigration, and integration of refugees in other former Yugoslav republics, including Montenegro, which hosted displaced populations from both Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo (Bojović 1992; Nenadić et al. 2005; Lukic and Nikitovic 2004; Dimitrijević 2001; Raduški 2011; Radević 2005).

A search of the COBISS+ (2025) library database, encompassing fifty-one Montenegrin libraries, revealed only a limited number of papers on displaced persons and refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo. Most of the available material consists of governmental documents, strategic reports from the Montenegrin Commissariat for Displaced Persons (MUP 2003, 2004), and a small number of academic publications. Detailed analyses of refugee flows into Montenegro, as well as studies of the legal, economic, and social dimensions of these crises, remain largely scarce.

Existing scholarship—such as Hamović (1995), Raduški (2011), and Valenta and Strabac (2013)—offers analyses of displacement causes, demographic and socio-economic characteristics of refugee populations, migration patterns, and durable solutions, including repatriation, local integration, and resettlement. These studies are, however, mainly related to the Serbian context. The only paper that explicitly focuses on Montenegro is Radević (2005), which examines the broader issue of refugees and internally displaced persons in the country, with particular attention to vulnerable groups such as the Roma community. Despite this contribution, comprehensive studies addressing Montenegro's overall management of refugee reception and integration during the 1990s remain very limited, highlighting a significant gap in the literature.

In light of this gap, the central research question of this study is: *How did Montenegro, as part of the FRY, manage the reception, accommodation, and integration of refugees between 1991 and 1999, and what do these responses reveal about the intersection of humanitarian, political, and national-ethnic considerations during the disintegration of Yugoslavia?*

In other words, this paper aims to describe and explain the treatment of refugees in Montenegro between 1991 and 1999, during the decade of Yugoslavia's disintegration. It examines the Montenegrin government's and society's responses to the reception, accommodation, and integration of refugees. In order to address the stated research question, and through the theoretical lens of forced migration and the described political and legal context, multiple methods were employed to analyze available primary and secondary sources of information, while the conclusion highlights the key implications of the study for scholarship, society, and practice.

2 MATERIALS AND METHODS

This study examines the refugee crises and the status and treatment of refugees in Montenegro during the 1990s by integrating theoretical, political-legal, and empirical perspectives. Building on the conceptual-theoretical framework of forced migration outlined in the previous chapter, and taking into account the political and legal context of Montenegro during the breakup of Yugoslavia, the research applies a multi-method approach to analyze the reception, accommodation, and integration of refugees.

The methodological framework is anchored in the interdisciplinary field of forced migration studies, which pro-

vides both the normative and analytical tools for understanding displacement as a political and humanitarian phenomenon. The political and legal framework of the FRY and Montenegro's specific decrees on displaced persons serve as the institutional lens through which empirical evidence is interpreted.

The analysis focuses on two distinct refugee waves: from Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992–1995) and from Kosovo (1999). To capture these dynamics, the research draws on a diverse range of primary and secondary sources:

- Journalistic sources: Particular emphasis is placed on *Pobjeda*, Montenegro's only daily newspaper during the first refugee wave, as a central reference point for official information and public discourse. In addition to *Pobjeda*, the analysis incorporates reporting from the local *Nikšićke novine* and from the independent publication of the Danish Refugee Council in Montenegro, *Zračak nade*.
- Archival materials: Parliamentary records, reports of the Commissariat for Displaced Persons, and related Ministry of the Interior documentation are analyzed to reconstruct the legal and administrative measures implemented.
- Secondary literature: Academic studies, demographic analyses, and historiographical works are used to contextualize Montenegro's policies within broader regional and theoretical debates.

However, a key limitation of this study lies in the political partiality of its sources. *Pobjeda*, as the only daily newspaper, largely reproduced state-sanctioned narratives, while parliamentary

records and Commissariat reports were shaped by governmental imperatives. To mitigate these biases, the research employs source triangulation, incorporating alternative perspectives such as *Nikšićke novine* and *Zračak nade*. Yet even these carried selective emphases—local newspaper reflecting municipal dynamics and NGO publications adopting advocacy lenses. Accordingly, all sources are treated as discursive constructions shaped by the political and ideological climate of 1990s Montenegro.

To interpret these sources rigorously, several complementary methodological approaches were employed:

- Content Analysis – Systematic examination of newspaper articles, official reports, and selected literature to identify dominant narratives, representations, and policy measures relating to refugees.
- Historiographical Method – Synthesis of historical, political, and demographic data, including refugee statistics, legal frameworks, and interpretations from Montenegrin historians, in order to contextualize refugee policies within Montenegro's shifting political landscape.
- Case Study Method – Montenegro is treated as a case study of a small republic within the FRY, subjected to two major refugee inflows under different political constellations (Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS) dominance, DPS–SNP (Socialist People's Party) split, distancing from Serbia).
- Comparative Method – Cross-wave and cross-source comparisons (e.g., between Bosnia and Herzegovina refugees in 1992–1995 and Kosovo refugees in 1999,

as well as between different newspapers and institutional reports) highlight continuities, divergences, and evolving practices in refugee treatment.

This integrated methodological design ensures that the analysis does not merely document refugee numbers or legal decrees, but situates Montenegro's refugee response within the intersection of humanitarian obligations, political transformation, and ethnic-national dynamics. In doing so, it seeks to move beyond descriptive accounts to provide a critical and contextualized understanding of refugee protection in Montenegro during the decade of Yugoslavia's disintegration.

3 CONCEPTUAL-THEORETICAL APPROACH TO FORCED MIGRATION

Forced migration occupies a distinct space within migration studies, as traditional models of voluntary, economic movement cannot fully explain displacement caused by violence, persecution, environmental disasters, or political exclusion. It requires a multi-dimensional conceptual lens combining philosophical insights with empirical and typological approaches. Central to forced migration is the loss of territory, identity, and political belonging: refugees and stateless persons are deprived of citizenship and political responsibility (Duhaček 2010). This vulnerability is further reflected in Augé's (2005) notion of "non-places", where camps and transit zones render displaced persons physically present but socially and politically invisible. Understanding these dynamics is essential for analyzing not only the humanitarian

but also the social and political dimensions of forced migration.

The "explosive paradigm" of forced migration highlights the sudden and traumatic nature of displacement, distinguishing it from planned, voluntary migration. It captures the immediate rupture experienced by families and communities forced to flee due to war, persecution, or disaster (Mežnarić 2003: 329). However, Le Bras (1996) cautions that this model can oversimplify complex realities, emphasizing the need to situate forced migration within broader political, economic, and structural processes, which account for the diverse trajectories and scales of displacement.

Various typologies have been developed to better conceptualize forced migration. Petersen (1958) distinguishes between impelled migrants, who face strong pressures but retain some agency, and forced migrants, who have virtually no choice. Zolberg, Suhrke and Aguayo (1989) propose a sociological classification of political refugees fleeing persecution, targeted groups expelled due to collective identity, and incidental victims caught in violence. Mesić (1992, 1994) introduces region-specific types such as *prognanici* (expellees), semi-refugees, and detained persons. This last model underscores how displacement can be a product of intentional political and military strategies rather than merely an unfortunate consequence of a conflict.

Indeed, forced migration often serves as a deliberate mechanism of political and demographic engineering. The post-Yugoslav wars starkly illustrate how displacement was used strategically to achieve ethnic homogenization. For displaced individuals, migration was sudden and traumatic, but for political elites, it was the result of careful planning and

execution designed to alter territorial and demographic balances (Freeman 1995). This dual temporality—suddenness for individuals, long-term strategy for states—is a central insight into the political nature of forced migration.

Refugee studies have expanded since the *1951 Convention* (UN General Assembly 1951) and *1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees* (UN General Assembly 1967), with scholars such as Chimni (2009) and Hathaway (2007) advocating broader inclusion of displaced groups, while others like Zetter (2007) caution that this risks dilute refugee protections. This debate between conceptual expansion and analytical clarity defines the field today. Institutionally, refugee research has become a global, multidisciplinary endeavor, with specialized centers and journals—such as Oxford’s Refugee Studies Programme (1982) and the *Journal of Refugee Studies* (1988)—cementing its academic legitimacy. These initiatives, often working with agencies like United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and International Organization for Migration (IOM)

have produced policy-relevant research supported by governmental and private donors (Black 2001; Koser 1996).

The cultural dimension of forced migration shapes global narratives, as Mojsi (2016) illustrates through popular culture depictions that influence public perceptions of refugees. While much scholarship stresses refugee vulnerability, recent work highlights their agency in adapting and resisting within constrained circumstances. Given the globalization of displacement and transnational crises, an integrated approach is needed that critically reassesses the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948), *1951 Convention* (UN General

Assembly 1951) and *1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees* (UN General Assembly 1967) for 21st-century challenges (Crisp 2018).

In conclusion, the conceptual-theoretical approach to forced migration reveals a field marked by analytical diversity and political significance. Drawing from philosophical thought (Duhaček 2010; Augé 2005), sociological typologies (Petersen 1958; Zolberg, Suhrke and Aguayo 1989), and region-specific case studies (Mesić 1992, 1994; Freeman 1995), forced migration emerges not merely as a humanitarian issue but as a profound social and political phenomenon. It encompasses exclusion and vulnerability, strategic political designs, and acts of resilience and resistance. Understanding forced migration requires both analytical nuance and contextual sensitivity, bridging global theoretical frameworks with the lived realities of displaced people.

4 MONTENEGRO’S RESPONSE TO REFUGEE CRISES: GOVERNANCE, DISCOURSE, AND CONTROL

4.1 POLITICAL CONTEXT AND LEGAL FRAMEWORK

In the early 1990s, amid the violent breakup of the SFRY, Montenegro held a referendum in 1992 and decided to continue its association with Serbia within the FRY. Until 1997, the DPS, successor to the League of Communists of Montenegro, was the dominant political force, aligning its policies with those of Serbia and following Belgrade’s interpretation of the region’s wartime developments (Rastoder and Adžić 2020: 187). In 1997, a split within DPS led to the creation of the SNP, which retained support for the joint state and a shared identity platform

with Serbia. Meanwhile, DPS began to pursue a policy aimed at constructing a distinct Montenegrin identity, often considered by historians as anti-Serbian (Le-ković 2025: 216), while distancing itself from the politics of Slobodan Milošević. This political shift, alongside pragmatic and successful international diplomacy, improved Montenegro's standing among global actors, positioning it as a credible and reliable partner, while Serbia's regime faced increasing isolation (Šćekić and Ćuković 2025: 196).

The status of refugees in the FRY was primarily regulated by international legal instruments, specifically the *1951 Convention* (UN General Assembly 1951) and *1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees* (UN General Assembly 1967). At the national level, Serbia and Montenegro enacted laws addressing refugee rights and protection. In Montenegro, the Decree on the Care of Displaced Persons (Official Gazette of the Republic of Montenegro 037/92, 045/06, 072/06 1992a) regulated issues related to the temporary reception, care, protection, registration, and resolution of the legal status of displaced persons. These individuals were defined as citizens of former Yugoslav republics and others who, due to persecution based on nationality, religion, or political grounds, were forced to leave their homes and seek refuge in Montenegro.

The decree provided for organized reception, temporary accommodation, food assistance, healthcare, education, material support, and other forms of aid. To manage these responsibilities, the Montenegrin government established the Commissariat for Displaced Persons, tasked with coordinating professional and administrative care for refugees. A special regulation prescribed the format of identification cards for displaced

persons and set standards for maintaining records on their issuance and changes in residence. Additionally, local units of the Ministry of the Interior were required to document all forms of the assistance provided, based on information from the Red Cross, republican authorities, institutions, and municipal organizations involved in refugee care.

These legal measures, combined with related Ministry of the Interior regulations (Official Gazette of the Republic of Montenegro 041/92 1992b; Official Gazette of the Republic of Montenegro 041/92, 076/04 1992c), demonstrate the political will of Montenegro's executive authorities to protect and assist refugees during a period of regional upheaval. Deputy Prime Minister Rade Perović noted that Montenegro made substantial efforts to care for the influx of displaced persons from the outset of the war, with Montenegrin citizens sharing resources and opening their homes despite their own difficulties (Zračak *nade* 1995).

The next section presents the treatment of refugees in Montenegro during 1992–1995 through the analysis of the information published in the Montenegrin daily newspaper *Pobjeda* and local newspaper *Nikšićke novine*, along with an overview of the Danish publication *Zračak nade*.

4.2 SUPPORT OF AND SOLIDARITY WITH REFUGEES (1992–1995)

Given the complexity and significance of the issue of receiving and caring for war refugees in Montenegro, the newspaper *Pobjeda* dedicated a special column titled "Caring for Refugees in Montenegro" to this subject. Some of the headlines featured in this column during the period included: "Accommodation as an Increasingly Pressing Problem", "Selfless

Hoteliers", "Solidarity Does Not Wane", "Five More Families", "Exiles from Krajina Arrive", "Food Shortages", "Action Underway", "Family Care", "Aid for Columns of Sorrow", "Employed on a Daily Wage", "Solidarity in Action", "Humane Miners", "An Example from *Sutomore*", "Offering a House", "For Children and the Wounded", "First Donors", "Need for Money and Food", "Doctors Engaged", "Hotel Offered", "Humanity in Action", "More Solidarity Actions", "Mobilization of Humanitarians", "Help Measured by the Heart", "Easing Suffering", "Columns Persist", "A House for Refugees", "Help for All", "The Most Vulnerable Children", "Support from Writers", "Offering Houses", "Accommodation and Jobs", "Milk as a Gift", and many others.

It is noteworthy that *Pobjeda's* popular "Letters to the Editor" section included contributions from individuals urging solidarity and assistance for refugees. Among these was a pensioner advocating for retirees to contribute to refugee aid by proposing that the Pension Fund allocate a portion of the next disbursement to "these innocent victims and homeless individuals" (Vujisić 1995: 6).

Through articles detailing refugee life, statistical tables showing the number of displaced families and individuals in each Montenegrin municipality, poignant stories from refugee convoys, and accounts of events in Krajina following the military operation *Oluja* (*Storm*), *Pobjeda* aimed to foster solidarity. Internationally, the focus was on condemning violence, advocating for investigations into war crimes, calling for peace, and rallying humanitarian aid. Locally, attention was directed toward the destruction and looting of Serbian property in Krajina, the hardships of exile, the uncertain fate of displaced persons, crimes against those who remained, acts

of terror, and disputes over the number of displaced persons.

On the front page of the *Pobjeda* (August 29, 1995: 1), the article "Unfortunates – Also an International Concern" addressed international aid for refugees from the Republic of Serbian Krajina (RSK)¹. At that time, through the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, the Yugoslav Red Cross received aid estimated at 1.5 million German marks. In response to the arrival of 160,000 refugees from the RSK, the FRY allocated supplies worth 628,416 German marks, including food, hygiene products, medicines, and thermal containers. Subsequent shipments included ready-to-eat meals, baby food, powdered milk, fruit drinks, and financial assistance of 213,000 German marks designated for the purchase of undergarments for men and women (*Pobjeda* 1995, August 29: 1).

The Montenegrin Government's Refugee Reception and Accommodation Task Force was established to address the growing number of refugees across municipalities and the immense accommodation challenges (Uskoković 1995: 3). This task force requested local committees to urgently identify available facilities suitable for housing refugees. The task force closely collaborated with its counterparts in the Federal Government and Serbia to coordinate responses to the refugee crisis.

The Vice President of the then Republic of Montenegro and head of its Refugee Reception and Accommodation Task Force, Rade Perović, announced that plans and documentation were being prepared for the construction of

¹ The Republic of Serbian Krajina (RSK) was established on the territory of the Republic of Croatia within the framework of the SFRY and existed from 1991 to 1995.

refugee housing, contingent on funding from the international community (Uskoković 1995: 3).

The pages of *Pobjeda* were filled with numerous examples of solidarity from Montenegrin citizens toward RSK refugees. Individuals, workplaces, companies, municipalities, organizations, unions, women's associations, the Serbian Orthodox Church, and the Circle of Serbian Sisters contributed funds to the Red Cross's account. Additionally, the Textbook Publishing Office provided free textbooks for all primary and secondary school students displaced from the RSK (Pobjeda 1995, August 8: 2).

Pobjeda, also, reported that municipal employees in Bar postponed their vacations due to the refugee influx, organizing daily shifts to receive them (Vujović 1995: 3). Examples of citizens offering homes and apartments to refugees were also noted (Stamatović 1995a: 3). Furthermore, the railway transport company in Podgorica granted free transportation to refugees (Pobjeda 1995, August 11: 3), while the Montenegrin Beekeepers' Association donated 1,000 jars of honey (Pobjeda 1995, August 17: 2).

The Standing Conference of Cities and Municipalities of Yugoslavia (comprising 210 municipalities) established an Information Center to provide additional assistance to the towns directly accommodating RSK refugees (Pobjeda 1995, August 10: 2). As Stamatović (1995b: 3) reported, by August 13, 1995, Montenegro had received 105 refugee families, comprising 350 individuals. By August 15, 1995, the Montenegrin government had prepared reception centers for refugees and appealed to the public to direct all material and financial aid exclusively to the Montenegrin Red Cross, which was supposed to prioritize the distribution of resources (Stamatović 1995c: 3).

The challenges faced by certain cities in accommodating refugees are exemplified by Herceg Novi, where at one point, every third resident was displaced, and 1,100 displaced children attended local schools (Pobjeda 1995, August 15: 3). According to Red Cross records, as of August 16, 1995, Montenegro had registered 583 displaced persons, with the highest numbers in Bar, followed by Herceg Novi, Podgorica, Tivat, and Kotor (Uskoković 1995b: 3).

Interestingly, all political parties expressed support and concern for refugee reception and protection in Montenegro, calling for various forms of aid and solidarity. Conversely, as *Pobjeda* relayed from the Pristina-based Albanian-language daily *Bujku*, a meeting was held in Ulcinj with the leaders of Albanian political parties from Montenegro, Kosovo, and Albania. While they expressed sympathy and understanding for the plight of refugees, they opposed the resettlement of Krajina refugees in Kosovo, a stance characterized in the text as "conditional compassion" (Pobjeda 1995, August 22: 20).

During the 1990s, *Nikšićke novine*² closely followed the refugee crisis and dedicated significant space to it, aiming to foster solidarity among the local population regarding the reception, assistance, and treatment of refugees. As early as January 1992, in an article titled "Increasing Number of Refugees", it was noted that from May of the previous year until that moment, 380 families had arrived in Nikšić. Most were housed with friends and relatives, while four families of military personnel were accommodated in the JNA (Yugoslav People's Army) barracks, and another four families

² The newspaper was published every other Thursday.

stayed with locals who voluntarily offered their homes. All refugees received health care; schoolchildren were provided with books; university students were granted dormitory accommodation and enrolled in the appropriate semester; and the communal services company exempted some families from paying utility fees (Mijanović 1992a: 19). It was recorded that five individuals found permanent employment, and eleven had temporary jobs.

In April, *Nikšićke novine* published a report on refugees staying at the "Straševina" motel entitled "Hatred Came from Outside". The subtitle read: "Milan Nikčević, owner of the 'Straševina' motel, opened his doors wide to refugees from Foča. He accommodated seven families and said he would take in more if needed. These are Serbs, Muslims, and Croats together" (Mijanović 1992b: 9).

Another article, "Over Two Thousand Refugees", reported that Onogošt Hotel had become a true reception center, and that over 100 families had been voluntarily taken into private homes by citizens of Nikšić (Mijanović 1992c: 16). Importantly, it was noted that the number of Muslims and Croats was sufficient to demonstrate that the expelled Serbs could not be described as an ethnically homogeneous group, alongside Montenegrins.

In the issue number 1170, dated August 31, 1995, the front page featured a composite photograph juxtaposing the historic migration of Serbs under Čarnojević with an image of a column of refugees from Krajina, accompanied by the headline "305 Years Later – History Repeats Itself". In the editorial, chief editor Milan Stojović criticized those who spread "ugly and untrue words" about their own people and army, adding that "our people do everything to accept

them and ease their suffering, which is far greater than the hardships of traveling by tractors from Lika, Knin, Banija, and Kordun to our homes. On this side of the Drina there is misery and sorrow; on the other, ruins, fires, and the killing of innocent civilians..." (Stojović 1995: 3)

In the same issue, the "Diary, 27 Days" section provided a day-by-day overview of aid collection, blood donations for refugees, collective appeals to the government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and more. The double-page spread was titled "Everything for the Displaced from the RSK" (Stojović 1995: 6–7). It included reports on the Grkinić family, displaced from Knin and at that point sheltered in Nikšić; the column of "misery and wailing" (Stojović 1995: 10); and a report on Slobodan Bakrač, a refugee spending the autumn in a cabin in Goranski, Piva, titled "Cabin in Goranski – A Frame for Sorrow" (Stojović 1995: 11). There was also coverage of aid to the people of Krajina, with a special emphasis on the enduring humanitarian spirit of the people of Nikšić.

In April 1995, the first issue of the Danish Refugee Council's newspaper in Montenegro *Zračak nade* (1995) was published in Serbian using Latin script. It was fully dedicated to the status of refugees in Montenegro, aiming "to mend broken threads", highlighting the "hospitality of the Montenegrin people", efforts to help "refugees take their fate into their own hands", and providing information about humanitarian, medical, and legal assistance for refugees, as well as about humanitarian organizations and activities across Montenegrin cities.

One more source of information that explains the refugees' treatment in Montenegro and political stance toward them represent verbatim records of the proceedings of the Parliament of

Montenegro. For example, it is recorded that at its 20th session on December 2, 1992, the Parliament of Montenegro discussed the Red Cross report on the status and problems of refugees, acknowledging both the humanitarian response of citizens and the significant challenges faced by host families. Vice President Asim Dizdarević praised Montenegrins for their dignity and generosity, and the Parliament expressed gratitude to citizens and international humanitarian actors, while appealing for peace in the former SFRY. However, deputies such as Tahir Perazić and Ćazim Lukač raised concerns about insufficient aid, poor living conditions, and serious abuses, including deportations and mistreatment of refugees. (Parliament of Montenegro 1992a) The session concluded with the conclusion to continue parliamentary oversight through a special working group responsible for monitoring refugee conditions and addressing earlier shortcomings in refugee care (Parliament of Montenegro 1992b).

4.3 A HUMANITARIAN ACT: TREATMENT OF REFUGEES FROM KOSOVO IN 1999

In 1999, a wave of refugees flooded Montenegro as a result of the NATO bombing of the FRY, primarily affecting the territory of Kosovo and Metohija. Throughout the war, groups of refugees regularly arrived in Montenegro. During that year, 136,812 individuals seeking refuge were registered with the Commissariat for Displaced Persons, placing a significant burden on Montenegro, given its population size (Rastoder 2011: 257). In Montenegrin historiography, this is recognized as the peak of the refugee crisis, as one-fifth of Montenegro's population consisted of refugees and inter-

nally displaced persons (Rastoder and Adžić 2020: 1341). Notably, the majority of refugees arriving from Kosovo were of Albanian nationality, though Serbian, Montenegrin, Bosniak, Roma, Egyptian, and other groups were also represented.

From the onset of NATO bombing on March 24, 1999, to April of that year, 60,000 refugees from Kosovo arrived in Montenegro. The care provided to these refugees was described as a "noble and humanitarian act" by local authorities, international organizations, governments of European and non-European states, and the Montenegrin populace (Rastoder and Adžić 2020: 1341). At the time, refugees constituted 15% of Montenegro's total population, presenting "an enormous economic, demographic, and healthcare challenge for a state already burdened by an economic crisis and internal political tensions" (Borović 1999: 25–27).

Refugees of Albanian ethnicity were predominantly accommodated in municipalities with majority Albanian and Bosniak/Muslim populations, such as Rožaje, Plav, Ulcinj, Tuzi, and Gusinje. According to Rastoder and Adžić (2020: 1342), by mid-April 1999, the number of refugees in Rožaje and Ulcinj significantly exceeded the number of local residents.

One striking statistic is that on March 29, 1999, Montenegro received 20,000 Albanian refugees from Kosovo, nearly depleting reserves of food and medical supplies (Tadić 1999: 7). The acceptance of refugees from Kosovo was seen as a signal of Montenegro's distancing itself from Milošević's regime, prompting dissatisfaction among certain Montenegrin politicians regarding the decision to accept refugees (Tadić 1999: 7).

According to an OSCE (1999: 100) report, the highest number of Kosovo refugees in Montenegro reached 70,000 on

April 21, 1999. However, following the cessation of the NATO bombing, most Albanian refugees returned to Kosovo.

As noted by Rastoder and Adžić (2020: 1345), “It is evident that the refugees who came to and were accommodated in Montenegro were met with a humanitarian reception and extraordinary support from the local population”. Additionally, Albanian refugees expressed gratitude to Montenegro and its kind-hearted people after returning to Kosovo (Rastoder and Adžić 2020: 1347).

4.4 EXAMPLES OF POLICE TORTURE AND REFUGEE DEPORTATIONS

As described in earlier chapters, Montenegro gained recognition for hosting numerous refugees from war-torn neighboring countries, including Bosnia and Herzegovina (1991–1995), Croatia (1995), and Kosovo and Metohija (1999). However, not all episodes in this humanitarian narrative ended positively.

One notorious case involved the arrest and deportation of numerous refugees in the municipality of Herceg Novi. During May and June 1992, at least 79 Bosnian refugees were forcibly separated from their families upon arrival in Montenegro and deported, (Mrnjačević et al. 2022). Publicist Šeki Radončić (1996) recounts multiple instances of police torture in Montenegro during this period in his book *Crna kutija (The Black Box)*. Radončić (1996: 13) documented that Montenegrin police, in violation of the Constitution, national law, and international conventions, began arresting refugees of Muslim nationality shortly after their arrival from Bosnia and Herzegovina. These individuals were accused of being extremists, war criminals, infiltrators, and terrorists. Similarly, Serbian

refugees were arrested as deserters and traitors. Also, it is noted that the synchronized police action peaked around May 20, 1992, and unfolded across much of Montenegro.

Member of Parliament Ćazim Lukač raised this issue during a May 1992 parliamentary session, stating:

Does the Montenegrin people know that Muslim refugees are being searched by certain individuals, whether authorized or unauthorized, in uniform? Men are being taken in unknown directions, with rumors circulating that they are being returned to face summary executions. Others say they are being taken as hostages for exchange purposes... Therefore, we cannot blame the people for these disasters. We must bear the responsibility, as we have put them in this situation (Parliament of Montenegro 1992c, 5/12).

Numerous witnesses, journalists, and even victims have documented these events. Ibrahim Čikić (2009) provided detailed accounts of Operation “Lim”, while Jakub Durgut (2003), in his book *Bukovica, 1992–1995*, described in detail the acts of torture and persecution of the Muslim population in that area. Rastoder (2003: 18) observed that certain articles in the daily newspaper *Pobjeda* incited hostility toward Muslim/Bosniak refugees. He cited headlines such as “Sulejman’s Suitcase of Crimes”, “Who Is Jadranka Prazina?” “Double Assistance”, and “Hasan Expels Muslims”.

Regrettably, Montenegro’s history is not without blemishes, despite numerous examples of humanity, hospitality, and sacrifice in its treatment of refugees from Kosovo and Metohija. One dark chapter involves the massacre at Kaluđerski Laz (municipality of Rožaje) on April 18, 1999. During this event, 17 Albanian civilian refugees from Kosovo were killed, and five were wounded. This

atrocities targeted a group of non-combatants seeking safety in Montenegro. Similarly, in 1992, the Klapuh family, who sought refuge in Montenegro, were murdered in Piva region, highlighting that even amidst widespread humanitarian support, some refugees faced lethal violence (Government of Montenegro 2025).

5 DISCUSSION

The experiences of refugees in Montenegro during the 1990s must be situated both within the immediate context of the Yugoslav wars and within broader theoretical frameworks of forced migration. Unlike voluntary migration, forced displacement entails profound existential losses—of territory, social networks, political belonging, and identity. Hannah Arendt's observation that refugees are stripped of political responsibility due to the loss of citizenship (Duhaček 2010) resonates strongly in the Montenegrin case. Refugees arriving from Bosnia, the RSK, and Kosovo were abruptly thrust into spaces where political institutions largely rendered them invisible, where their survival depended on humanitarian aid, and where they were often subject to social and media-mediated stigmatization. The camps and temporary accommodations that hosted these populations can be understood as Augé's (2005) "non-places", zones of suspended existence that were simultaneously inhabited and socially marginalized.

Montenegro's response reflected a dual temporality characteristic of forced migration (Freeman 1995). For displaced individuals, arrival was sudden and traumatic, consistent with the "explosive paradigm" of forced migration; for state and political actors, refugee flows were intertwined with strategic calculations

encompassing demographic management, nationalist agendas, and international signaling. The institutional apparatus—manifested in Decrees on the Care of Displaced Persons, Red Cross initiatives, and coordination with international agencies—demonstrated formal acknowledgment of responsibility. Yet selective aid, police harassment, and ethnicized exclusion reveal that humanitarian engagement was also instrumentalised to advance political objectives.

Typological frameworks help elucidate the heterogeneity of these experiences. Petersen's (1958) distinction between impelled and forced migrants, together with Zolberg, Suhrke and Aguayo (1989) classification of political refugees, captures the divergent reception of refugee groups: Bosniak refugees were often subjected to collective exclusion, whereas displaced Serbs from Krajina received solidarity consonant with the prevailing political alignments. Region-specific categories advanced by Mesić (1992, 1994)—*prognanici*, semi-refugees, and detained persons—further illuminate the nuanced realities in Montenegro, where displacement could arise from armed conflict, political strategy, or both.

Media narratives played a pivotal role in shaping public perception, operating simultaneously as instruments of humanitarian mobilization and vehicles of political framing. *Pobjeda* highlighted national and international assistance, contextualizing refugee experiences within broader political discourse, whereas local newspapers such as those in Nikšić emphasized personal narratives and community-based solidarity. *Zračak Nade*, published by the Danish Refugee Council, foregrounded practical guidance, legal information, and avenues for self-determination, underscoring refugee agency. Positive coverage mobilized empathy in

alignment with Chimni's (2009) emphasis on visibility and moral recognition, while negative portrayals—particularly of Muslim/Bosniak refugees as threats or burdens—reinforced exclusionary ideologies. Šiber's (1998) typology of white, gray, and black propaganda aptly captures this duality: media simultaneously legitimized humanitarian action and perpetuated political instrumentalization and stereotyping. Such dynamics reflected the global observation that refugees are both structurally vulnerable and strategically positioned as symbols within broader political struggles (Crisp 2018).

Despite structural constraints, refugees exercised agency. Displaced persons adapted through informal economic activity, social networking, and negotiation with authorities, demonstrating resilience and resourcefulness in the face of marginalization. This underscores a central tension in forced migration studies: refugees are both subjects of structural exclusion and active agents navigating precarious environments (Zetter 2007).

The Montenegrin case further illustrates that refugee treatment cannot be reduced to the binary of humanitarianism or hostility; rather, it is shaped by continuous negotiation mediated by national-ethnic relations and shifting political alignments (see Table 1). Serb refugees from Krajina, Croatia, and Bosnia received the most extensive support—public solidarity, institutional assistance, and government-organized care. Their plight was framed as a continuation of historical Serbian suffering, and their integration was facilitated by both state and civil society actors. By contrast, while there was solidarity with Bosniak refugees, they were sometimes subject to police intervention and detention, reflecting security and political concerns

alongside ongoing support efforts. Albanian refugees from Kosovo in 1999 occupied yet another position: they were welcomed in Albanian- and Bosniak-majority municipalities, where humanitarian aid was extended through local solidarity, but their stay was seen as temporary and politically sensitive, linked to Montenegro's cautious distancing from Belgrade. Reports also indicate that some Albanian refugees were exposed to violence, including killings, highlighting that humanitarian assistance coexisted with lethal threats for certain groups.

This intersection of humanitarian practice, political strategy, and ethicized identity highlights the multidimensional character of forced migration. Humanitarian aid functioned simultaneously as a moral imperative and as a mechanism of political legitimacy; ethnic identity mediated access to protection and social recognition; and media discourse oscillated between empathy and exclusion. The contrast between the extensive solidarity with Serb refugees, the selective and repressive measures toward Bosniak refugees, and the geographically circumscribed, politically sensitive, and sometimes life-threatening conditions for Albanian refugees reveals the stratified nature of Montenegro's refugee policy. Collectively, these dynamics demonstrate that displacement is simultaneously a humanitarian, structural, and strategic process, producing spaces of vulnerability, agency, and contested visibility (Augé 2005; Duhaček 2010; Freeman 1995).

In sum, Montenegro's handling of forced migration in the 1990s exemplifies the interplay of sudden displacement, political instrumentalization, humanitarian engagement, ethicized social boundaries, media framing, and refugee agency.

Table 1 Comparative Review of Refugee Reception in Montenegro during the 1990s by Ethnic Group

Ethnic Group	Serbs (RSK Refugees, 1992–1995)	Bosniaks/Muslims (Bosnia, 1992–1995)	Albanians (Kosovo, 1999)
Reception by citizens	Broad solidarity; citizens, workplaces, municipalities, and organizations actively provided homes, food, clothing, and school support; contributions from Serbian Orthodox Church and Circle of Serbian Sisters; emphasis on historical kinship and collective empathy	Mixed: citizens and organizations offered aid, but incidents of deportation and police mistreatment occurred, particularly in Herceg Novi;	Generally positive; Montenegrin population welcomed them; gratitude expressed by the refugees after return; reception seen as a humanitarian act and politically signaling distance from Milošević; exception – the killing of Albanian civilians in Kaluđerski Laz
Government and institutional support	Montenegrin government set up task forces, coordinated with Federal authorities; Red Cross actively involved; reception centers prepared; municipal employees organized shifts	Governments and parliaments called for aid to all refugees, with some oversight and parliamentary monitoring, including debates regarding mistreatment and inadequate conditions.	Montenegrin authorities provided accommodation in municipalities with ethnic Albanian/Bosniak majorities; the case of Kaluđerski Laz received minimal oversight, contributing to heightened vulnerability
Police treatment and security issues	Serbian refugees sometimes arrested as deserters or traitors, but there are no reports of major abuses	Bosniak/Muslim refugees at times arrested and deported; police torture documented;	No major reports of police abuse in general; reception generally peaceful; exception – the killing of Albanian civilians in Kaluđerski Laz by members of the Yugoslav Army
Accommodation and aid	Homes, apartments, hotels offered; free transportation, food, clothing, textbooks; strong municipal and citizen mobilization	Accommodation was organized and open to all, although cases of deportation were also recorded. An example of collective accommodation was the 'Straševina' motel in Nikšić (Mijanović 1992b: 9)	Hosted mainly in municipalities with ethnic Albanian/Bosniak populations; aid included food, medical care, and shelter; large numbers temporarily exceeded local populations;
Overall perception	High solidarity, historic empathy, and moral obligation emphasized; media framed Serb refugees as primary victims	Characterized by solidarity and, while also including documented cases of deportation and other challenges.	Humanitarian reception, often presented as a noble act, was accompanied by largely successful integration during displacement; however, the case of Kaluđerski Laz points to some limits of this general perception.

6 CONCLUSION: IMPORTANCE AND IMPLICATIONS

The Montenegrin experience of refugee reception during the 1990s demonstrates that protection in the small, economically fragile republic was profoundly conditioned by the intersection

of humanitarian imperatives, national-ethnic tensions, and political transformations. Refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992–1995) and Kosovo (1999) encountered both solidarity and hostility, revealing the contradictory dynamics of a society negotiating its identity amid the disintegration of Yugoslavia.

Positive manifestations—such as widespread citizen hospitality, state resource allocation, and public appeals for solidarity—coexisted with episodes of discrimination, deportations, and violence, particularly targeting Muslim/Bosniak and Albanian populations. Notably, these patterns persisted across both refugee waves: humanitarian impulses were consistently counterbalanced with structural and socially embedded exclusions. This duality underscores how refugee treatment was deeply mediated by ethnic, religious, and political fault lines, highlighting the conditionality of protection in contexts of social and political fragility.

From a scholarly perspective, this study addresses a critical gap in the literature. While extensive research has examined the reception of refugees in Western host states, the experiences of refugees within the former Yugoslav republics have remained comparatively underexplored. In Montenegro, empirical evidence has been limited and fragmented, derived primarily from government

records, Red Cross reports, and a small corpus of academic studies. By situating refugee experiences within the broader theoretical frameworks of forced migration, this study contributes to a more nuanced understanding of how a small republic navigated one of post-war Europe's largest forced migrations.

The Montenegrin case also carries broader societal and practical significance. It illustrates the ambivalent nature of refugee protection in conflict settings: acts of solidarity and civic engagement coexisted with grave violations whose legacies remain embedded in collective memory. These findings underscore the importance of fostering multi-ethnic and multi-religious coexistence as foundational elements of peace, stability, and regional cooperation. They also reinforce the imperative for continued scholarly engagement with forced migration in post-Yugoslav societies, not only as a humanitarian concern, but as a politically and ethically charged phenomenon with enduring consequences for policy, civil society, and regional governance.

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Data Availability Statement

All sources used in this study (newspapers, parliamentary stenographic records, legal acts, and published literature) are publicly available and fully cited in the manuscript.

Coauthor Contributions

Jelisaveta Blagojević: Conceptualization; Theoretical and Legal Framework; Literature Review; Analysis and Discussion; Writing – Original Draft; Writing – Review & Editing.

Aleksandar Ćuković: Data Collection, Processing and Presentation (Newspapers and Literature); Political Context; Theoretical Framework; Writing – Original Draft, Writing – Review & Editing.

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Između zločina i solidarnosti – tretman izbjeglica u Crnoj Gori devedesetih godina XX vijeka

PROŠIRENI SAŽETAK

U ovom radu analiziran je status, tretman i javna percepcija izbjeglica u Crnoj Gori tokom devedesetih godina XX vijeka, perioda obilježenog političkim previranjima i humanitarnim krizama nakon raspada SFRJ. Posebna pažnja posvećena je sljedećim izbegličkim talasima: iz Bosne i Hercegovine (1992–1995), iz Hrvatske nakon operacije „Oluja” 1995. godine, kao i sa Kosova tokom i nakon NATO bombardovanja 1999. godine. Na osnovu arhivskih izvora, zvaničnih dokumenata i tadašnjih medijskih izvještaja, istraživanje je ukazalo na složena i često kontradiktorna iskustva raseljenih populacija.

Positivni vidovi prijema i tretmana izbjeglih lica uključivali su, između ostalog, gostoljubivost građana na visokom nivou, državnu raspodjelu dostupnih resursa, adekvatan pravni okvir i javne apele na solidarnost sa izbjeglicama, dok su istovremeno zabilježeni slučajevi diskriminacije, deportacija i nasilja, naročito prema bošnjačkim i albanskim izbjeglicama. Srpske izbjeglice uživale su relativno širu institucionalnu i društvenu podršku, zasnovanu na istorijskim vezama, građanskom angažmanu i povoljnim političkim okolnostima. Ovi obrasci pokazuju kako je tretman izbjeglica bio određen etničkim, vjerskim i političkim linijama podjela, što ukazuje na složenost pružanja zaštite u društveno i politički osjetljivom okruženju.

Sa naučnog stanovišta, rad popunjava značajnu prazninu u literaturi o postjugoslovenskim izbegličkim iskustvima. Naime, iskustva izbjeglica u zapadnim državama detaljno su istraživana, dok je prijem izbjeglica u bivšim jugoslovenskim republikama fragmentarno dokumentovan. U Crnoj Gori, empirijski podaci uglavnom dolaze iz državnih arhiva, medijskog izvještavanja i ograničenog broja akademskih studija. Kroz teorijske okvire prinudnih migracija, rad doprinosi boljem razumijevanju načina na koji je mala republika upravljala jednim od najvećih raseljavanja u posleratnoj Evropi.

Crnogorski slučaj ima širi društveni i praktični značaj. Ilustruje ambivalentnu prirodu zaštite izbjeglica u kontekstima sukoba: akti solidarnosti i građanskog angažmana koegzistirali su sa ozbiljnim kršenjima ljudskih prava, čiji tragovi su i dalje prisutni u kolektivnom pamćenju. Rezultati naglašavaju važnost izgradnje multi-etničkog i multivjerskog suživota kao temelja mira, stabilnosti i regionalne saradnje, te potrebu za kontinuiranim naučnim proučavanjem prinudnih migracija u postjugoslovenskim društvima, ne samo kao humanitarne teme, već i kao politički i etički značajnog fenomena sa dugotrajnim posljedicama po politiku, civilno društvo i regionalno upravljanje.

KLJUČNE REČI

Crna Gora, izbjeglice, prinudne migracije, etnički obojen humanizam, devedesete.



Political Culture among the Youth in Serbia: Interest, Participation, Satisfaction and Trust

Stefan Mandić ¹  Milana Vinokić ² 

ABSTRACT

The main objective of this paper has been to empirically examine the four aspects of political culture of the youth in Serbia by using the statistical analysis based on the data from the eleventh round of European Social Survey. The new theoretical explanation of political culture is introduced, followed by its new classification with four distinct types – passive, cynical, protest and participatory political culture. We propose a general hypothesis that the dominant type of political culture among the youth in Serbia is cynical. Four supporting hypotheses related to the different aspects of political culture are established: political interest, political participation, satisfaction and trust in institutions. We expected that sociodemographic factors and ideological positioning would influence these components. The results indicate that the interest in politics and overall political participation among the majority of youth is low. Although some forms of participation have relatively high percentages, most of the respondents participated in only one political activity. Next, overall satisfaction and trust in institutions are below the neutral midpoint, indicating a dissatisfaction with the state of the country, particularly regarding political institutions, and a general distrust in these institutions. In addition, we observe that certain sociodemographic variables, such as education, emerge as significant in specific instances. However, those results are inconsistent and the available evidence is insufficient to support definitive conclusions about the presence of another form of political culture in certain sociodemographic categories. Based on these results, we argue that in the analysed period the prevailing type of political culture among the youth in Serbia was cynical.

KEYWORDS

youth, political culture, political participation, political trust, European Social Survey

¹University of Belgrade,
Faculty of Philosophy,
Institute for Sociological
Research, Belgrade, Serbia

²University of Belgrade,
Faculty of Political Sciences,
Belgrade, Serbia

Correspondence:

Milana Vinokić,
University of Belgrade,
Faculty of Political Sciences,
Jove Ilića 165 Street,
11040 Belgrade, Serbia

Email:

milana.vinokic@fpm.bg.ac.rs

1 INTRODUCTION

Global research indicates a general decline in trust in institutions among both the youth and the overall population (Stafford, Cole and Hainz 2022; UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs and Perry 2021; Valgarðsson et al. 2024). This has been particularly amplified since the neoliberal reforms of the 1980s, as the growth of real wages in the developed world, as well as in most of the developing world, no longer kept pace with the ongoing productivity growth (Milanović 2016; UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs and Perry 2021).

Value anomie and the crisis of faith in the liberal capitalist order, arising from deeper structural contradictions within the system, could thus be identified as the main causes of the crisis of political culture and democracy on a global scale. The state of democracy in Serbia as a semi-peripheral country is frailer than in the developed world due to the specific characteristics of Serbian society, and the precariousness of democratic institutions (Popadić, Pavlović and Mihailović 2019). Challenges of the Serbian political system undoubtedly project a strong influence on the political practices, values and sentiments of the population in Serbia, especially affecting more socially vulnerable groups such as the youth.

Various studies have examined youth political behaviours in Serbia, revealing issues such as low institutional trust, limited institutional political engagement, and rising political cynicism. For example, Tomanović and Stanojević (2015) have identified that the youth have a low level of political participation and trust in institutions, while Popadić, Pavlović and Mihailović (2019) have observed that youth in Serbia are dissatisfied with the state of the country. Milovanović and

Adam (2024) have found that Serbian young people demonstrate weak identification with traditional politics, and instead gravitate toward digital forms of expression. Hasanović et al. (2024), in a comparative regional study, have emphasized that Serbian youth are the least likely to engage in institutional politics, confirming that political apathy is linked to distrust. Moreover, Bur Gund-Isakov and Gajić (2025) have shown that while legal frameworks exist to promote children and youth inclusion in decision-making, their implementation remains limited. Despite this body of work, few studies have used the European Social Survey (ESS) to conduct statistical analyses focused specifically on Serbia, and this study seeks to fill that gap.

The primary objective has been to empirically examine the levels of political interest, participation, satisfaction and trust among the youth in Serbia using the eleventh round of European Social Survey (ESS11) (European Social Survey 2024). Based on the available variables, the study measures the proportion of youth exhibiting low political interest and participation, as well as the mean levels of their satisfaction and trust in institutions. By evaluating these four aspects of political culture, the study examines their correspondence with established types of political culture. Exploring whether and which sociodemographic factors (gender, region, education, age) influence the components of youth political culture has been the second aim of the research. It has also been examined whether these influences are mutually independent and whether they remain significant when controlling for ideological positioning.

The key finding of this study has been that the political culture among youth in Serbia is predominantly cynical. Results

also suggest both independent and interactive effects of certain sociodemographic factors, such as education. However, the influence of these factors has been inconsistent and more pronounced when they are considered collectively rather than independently. The contribution is therefore twofold: the study offers empirical insights into the political culture of youth and presents a new theoretical framework for understanding it. Unlike previous typologies, mostly described in modernization theory, our framework rooted in world-systems theory marks a conceptual shift. Furthermore, the study offers additional value by decentralizing the concept of low political engagement: rather than political passivity being interpreted as apathy or disinterest, it is approached as a distinct mode of political expression. This framework may also prove useful in analysing political culture in other post-socialist or semi-peripheral societies and, more generally, all societies undergoing democratic fatigue.

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this study, the youth is defined as individuals between the age of 18 and 29 in accordance with the various previous definitions (Popadić, Pavlović and Mihailević 2019; Tomanović and Stanojević 2015), with the only exception being the exclusion of the minors. Political scientist Political scientist Pye (1968: 218) defines political culture as “a set of attitudes, beliefs, and feelings that give order and meaning to the political process and provide the underlying assumptions and rules governing behaviour within a political system”. The key components of political culture include interest in politics, political participation, satisfaction with the state of the

country and political trust (Almond and Verba 1963; Inglehart and Welzel 2005; Putnam et al. 1993), defined and operationalized as the main dependent variables which the foundation of this research is formed upon.

Interest in politics represents the cognitive component of political orientation and the foundation of developed political awareness. In the broadest sense, it refers to citizens' interest in political issues. In this study, interest in politics will be measured through the respondents' self-assessment of their level of political interest.

Political participation encompasses voluntary actions undertaken by the public to influence policymakers (Uhlaner 2015). The study will analyse various forms of non-institutional political participation (including online activism, signing petitions, boycotting products, wearing political symbols and engaging in public demonstration), as well as institutional political participation (contacting policymakers, donating money to political organizations, involvement in political organizations and voting) (Stanojević and Gvozdenović 2022).

Satisfaction with the state of the country is broadly defined as the satisfaction with the economic, political and social conditions in the country. This will be measured by the respondents' satisfaction with the country's health services, the performance of the government and the state of democracy, economy and education.

Political trust refers to how citizens evaluate the work of the state institutions and the government. Besides national institutions, citizens may also evaluate non-governmental and international institutions (Allegrezza, Langer and Johxe 2025). This study will examine the level of trust that young people

display towards both domestic and international political institutions.

According to classical theories, 'primitive' political culture and absence of democracy are largely explained by the underdevelopment of social institutions, which stems from collectivist attitudes, a lack of developed value systems (e.g. such as the absence of Protestant work ethic, individualism), an authoritarian legacy, etc. (Inglehart and Welzel 2005; Pavlović 2021). However, in this paper we argue that the level of development of a country's political culture primarily depends on the successful reproduction of its democratic order. For a democratic order to sustain itself, a society must be both egalitarian and economically prosperous (Beinstman, Hense and Gangl 2023; Amri 2023). The degree of egalitarianism and economic success of a country depends on its position in the global capitalist system (Jo 2011) and whether capitalism in general meets the population's needs, i.e., whether it is in a phase of expansion or crisis (Castro 2023; Navarrete 2021). The degree of egalitarianism is also influenced by the dominant type of capitalism in a given country (neoliberal, social-democratic, statist) (Iversen 2005; Kurlantzick 2016; Merkel 2014). Hence, economic crises, neoliberal/statist¹ economic models and a peripheral/semi-peripheral position in the global system contribute to lower levels of political culture development and vice versa. With a theoretical reassessment of modernisation-based views on political culture, this paper also

proposes a new classification of different types of political culture (Table 1)²:

1. *Passive Political Culture* – A form of political culture characterised by economic underdevelopment or state control over the economy, which tends to limit citizens' autonomy and contributes to political passivity. It is typical of authoritarian/hybrid political systems and is characterized by low political interest and participation and high trust in institutions, while satisfaction with the state of the country may vary. It is common in non-central societies (e.g., China, Russia, Western Balkans, Armenia, Georgia).
2. *Cynical Political Culture* – A form of political culture where most citizens are unable to exercise their economic and political rights, leading to dissatisfaction with the state of the country, political disengagement, and distrust and cynicism toward dominant political institutions (silent resistance) (Rijkhoff 2018; Robinson 2014). This type of political culture is a characteristic of the societies experiencing a crisis of democracy and, due to contemporary socioeconomic instabilities, has become highly prevalent among young people in different societies, both in those with a developed democratic tradition and in the ones with non-democratic and semi-democratic political systems. Low interest in politics and political

¹ Imbalance of economic and political power, caused by the higher inequality in neoliberal states, can greatly endanger functioning of the democratic order. In statist systems, the economic and political power of the state and, therefore, of the high officials, is significantly concentrated, which could also lead to the power imbalance.

² Our typology of political cultures draws inspiration from Almond and Verba's (1963: 3-43) classic distinction between parochial, subject and participant political cultures. However, it should be noted that we significantly depart from their modernization-oriented framework and its associated implications.

participation, distrust in political institutions and dissatisfaction with the state of the country are its basic features. While cynical and passive political cultures may appear similar at a superficial level, they are fundamentally distinct in both orientation and motivational background. In passive political culture, political disengagement stems from a deep trust in authority and a belief that the existing political order is natural, legitimate and essentially immutable. By contrast, in cynical political culture, political disengagement is a result of disappointment and disillusionment with the political system, accompanied by a loss of faith that change is achievable either through institutional or non-institutional means.³

3. *Protest Political Culture* – A form of political culture in which citizens, through non-institutional forms of political struggle (primarily by participating in non-institutional demonstrations) and by a complete rejection of official political institutions, seek to eliminate the systemic causes of their inadequate economic and political position. It is characterized by a high interest in politics, distrust in institutions, dissatisfaction with the state of the country

³ A typical example of passive political culture is the contemporary rural population in China, which is largely disengaged from political participation and perceives the rule of the Communist Party as legitimate – a source of stability and part of the natural order of things. In contrast, the political culture of youth in East Germany during the 1980s represents a prime example of cynical political culture. While East German youth formally accepted the official state ideology, they privately mocked it. The political order was perceived as alienating, repressive, and distant, yet stable, and most young people did not believe it could be meaningfully changed.

and strong political participation through non-institutional means. Similar to cynical political culture, it has been increasingly present in contemporary societies (e.g., Occupy Wall Street, Arab Spring, Podemos, student blockades in Serbia (2024–2025), etc.).⁴

4. *Participatory Political Culture* – A political culture in which citizens trust political institutions and believe they could achieve their political rights through institutional political participation. It is characterized by a high interest in politics and trust in institutions, satisfaction with the state of the country and a high level of institutional political participation (contacting policymakers and engaging in political organizations). It used to be dominant in most of the developed western countries, and today, being a minor form of political culture, is significantly present only in Scandinavian countries, Switzerland, Netherlands, Luxemburg, Ireland, New Zealand (countries which score over 9.00 in democracy index (Democracy Index 2024) and where the satisfaction with the democracy,

⁴ Protest culture tends to engage in extra-institutional methods in order to bring about substantial systemic transformation, but not to radically transcend the system itself. For instance, protest culture may seek to replace a hybrid system with a democratic one, to replace neoliberal capitalism with welfare capitalism, to compel the ruling elite to adhere to constitutional constraints if they have overstepped them, or even contribute to the change of the political regime. On the other hand, revolutionary political culture, which will not be examined in detail in this paper, aims to overhaul a country's constitutional order (e.g., the March of the Blackshirts on Rome in 1922), or to transform its foundational economic structure (such as replacing capitalism with socialism in a socialist revolution, or socialism with capitalism in a liberal revolution).

Table 1 Classification of different types of political culture

Type of political culture	Interest in politics	Political participation	Satisfaction with the state of country	Political trust
Passive	-	-	-/+	+
Cynical	-	-	-	-
Protest	+	+	-	-
Participatory	+	+	+	+

Source: Authors' elaboration

according to European Social Survey (2024), is above 5.00).⁵

Only participatory political culture qualifies as democratic political culture, while passive, cynical and protest political cultures are characteristic of authoritarian, hybrid and partially democratic societies, as well as the societies whose democratic orders are in crisis. Empirical political cultures are often a mixture of the four basic types of political culture. We presume that Serbia's characteristics as a semi-peripheral country (Mandić 2015), where a neoliberal economic model dominates (Dokmanović 2017), combined with the global context of numerous political and economic challenges (United Nations 2024), will significantly shape the political culture of the Serbian youth.⁶ It is expected to be cyn-

ical in nature (with elements of passive and protest culture) and characterized by a low interest in politics, low trust in both global and domestic institutions, as well as low political participation and satisfaction with the state of the country.

Those expectations are also drawn based on previous research findings that show similar tendencies. Namely, previous research led to the conclusion that young people in Serbia are largely uninterested in politics (Popadić, Pavlović and Mihailović 2019; Tomanović and Stanojević 2015, Hasanović et al. 2024). A similar trend is present in most of developed countries, where young people are also indifferent and cynical toward traditional forms of political life (Ellison, Pollock and Grimm 2020). The main reasons for low political interest include influence of new media, feeling of alienation from mainstream politics, exclusion from political decision-making and limited political knowledge (Belschner 2024; Oxford Analytica 2024; Stojanović 2025). When it comes to political participation, the available research indicates low political participation among the young people in Serbia (except election turnout) (Hasanović et al. 2024; Popadić, Pavlović and Mihailović 2019; Tomanović and Stanojević 2015). Regarding the levels of satisfaction, previous research

to those in core countries, whereas less educated youth from poorer regions exhibit patterns typical of the periphery.

⁵ Germany is the only Western power with a democracy index above 9.00 and democracy satisfaction of 5.50 (European Social Survey 2024). These scores are lower than scores of the aforementioned countries, but significantly higher than scores of other Western powers (United States of America, United Kingdom and France).

⁶ As a semi-peripheral country with a hybrid economy, Serbia is home to youth whose political culture reflects the country's position in the global capitalist system. While central regions tend to foster participatory, protest and cynical cultures, peripheral regions passive or revolutionary ones, the semi-periphery – like Serbia – often combines cynical, passive and protest orientations. Moreover, it could be argued that more educated youth from developed areas display political traits closer

indicates that the youth in Serbia have not been satisfied with the state of the country (Popadić, Pavlović and Mihailović 2019; Hasanović et al. 2024). Finally, based on previously conducted domestic and international research (Gundogan and Radulović 2024; Popadić, Pavlović and Mihailović 2019; Tomanović and Stanojević 2015; UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs and Perry 2021; Hasanović et al. 2024) we assumed that the youth in Serbia have low levels of trust both in domestic and international political institutions.

Besides examining the type of political culture present among youth, this study also explores the factors that shape it. Since the previous research has shown the growing influence of sociodemographic factors on differences in political behaviours and orientations (de Jong and Kamphorst 2024; Ferrín et al. 2020), the key characteristics of the analysis include gender, education, age and region of residence. The following arguments are used in favour of the mentioned decision. Firstly, international studies indicate that gender is increasingly determining forms of political behaviour, especially among young people, making it relevant to examine whether similar trends are present in Serbia (Abendschön and Steinmetz 2014; Pew Research Center 2018). Also, previous research in Serbia shows that young men tend to exhibit greater political interest and have higher levels of political participation than young women (Tomanović and Stanojević 2015; Popadić, Pavlović and Mihailović 2019). Secondly, it has already been empirically shown that education significantly influences the level of interest in politics and overall political participation (higher-educated individuals generally exhibit greater political participation and political interest and vice versa) (Bovens and

Wille 2010; Persson 2013; de Jong and Kamphorst 2024; Ferrín et al. 2020; Stanojević and Gvozdenović 2022).

Thirdly, political activism and political participation are more prevalent in developed regions with significant urban centres (Coufalová et al. 2024). In urban and developed areas, public policies related to distribution, transportation and environmental issues are considered to be more important, leading to higher levels of political interest. Additionally, in more developed regions values of self-expression and civic culture are common, which also leads to more political activity (Ahlberg 2000; Kibriš 2013). This hypothesis should be tested in Serbia, where in 2023, Belgrade region generated 43.3% of the GDP, Vojvodina 24.6%, Šumadija and Western Serbia 17%, and Southern and Eastern Serbia 15.1% (Republički Zavod za Statistiku 2024).

Furthermore, research (Marquis, Kuhn and Monsch 2022; Nyqvist et al. 2024) has shown that as the age increases, political interest grows, institutional political participation increases (while non-institutional participation decreases), satisfaction with the state of the country rises, and trust in domestic institutions grows (while trust in international institutions declines). Hence, it is heuristically fruitful to examine whether the age of respondents within the studied population influences political attitudes and behaviours in our research as well. Moreover, it is interesting to see whether sociodemographic predictors remain significant after controlling for ideological positioning. The reason for this is based on earlier research findings (Marien and Christensen 2013; Matijević, Ostojić and Jovanović 2022) that have shown higher levels of trust in institutions (especially domestic), greater satisfaction with the state of society,

as well as greater institutional participation and lower non-institutional participation among the right-wing oriented citizens.

2.1 HYPOTHESES

Based on theoretical elaboration and earlier research findings, the following hypotheses have been proposed:

H1a. We expect that a majority of youth in Serbia (>50%) expresses low political interest, operationalized as selecting either 'not at all interested' or 'hardly interested' in response to the question about political interest. *H1b.* We anticipate that men, older respondents, more educated respondents and those from more developed regions will express greater political interest compared to others.

H2a. We expect that a majority of youth in Serbia (>50%) falls into the low political participation category, operationalized as reporting engagement in no more than one political activity in the previous year. *H2b.* We anticipate that men, more educated respondents and those from more developed regions will exhibit higher levels of political participation compared to others. Additionally, we assume that increased institutional participation and decreased non-institutional participation will be associated with an increase in the respondents' age and the shift toward the right end of the left-right scale.

H3a. We expect the mean satisfaction score with the state of the country among youth in Serbia to fall below the midpoint (5). Satisfaction with the state of the country is defined by combining satisfaction levels for democracy, economy, education, government and health services. *H3b.* We assume that this dissatisfaction will be less pronounced

among the older and more right-wing oriented respondents.

H4a. We expect the mean trust score for both domestic and international institutions among youth in Serbia to fall below the midpoint (5). Trust in domestic institutions is defined by combining the trust levels for the legal system, police, politicians, country's parliament and political parties. Trust in international institutions is defined by combining the trust levels for the European Parliament and the United Nations. *H4b.* We expect that the more educated and those from more developed regions will have greater trust in international institutions, while the less educated and those from less developed regions would rather place trust in domestic institutions. We also anticipate older and more right-wing oriented respondents to have greater trust in domestic, and lower trust in international political institutions.

H5a. We expect the prevailing form of political culture among the youth in Serbia to be cynical political culture, characterized by a majority of the youth having low political interest (*H1a*) and low political participation (*H2a*), as well as the satisfaction (*H3a*) and trust (*H4a*) levels being below the neutral midpoint (5). *H5b.* We anticipate that high political interest and participation and low levels of satisfaction and trust (as defined in previous hypotheses), which are elements of the protest political culture, will be associated with male respondents, as well as the highly educated and the youth from more developed regions. Accordingly, we expect low political interest and participation, and high political trust (as defined in previous hypotheses), which are elements of the passive political culture, to be associated with the less educated youth and the youth from underdeveloped regions.

3 METHOD

3.1 DATA

The statistical analysis was focused on Serbia and conducted using the ESS11 database (European Social Survey 2024). The data collection period lasted from 2023 to 2024. All the data and detailed information about response rates, sampling procedures and modes of collection are available on the official portal (ESS Data Portal n.d.). The analysis was performed in the statistical package IBM SPSS Statistics 20.

While the ESS sample is representative of the national population as a whole, our study focuses exclusively on the subjects between the ages of 18 and 29. To improve representativeness within this cohort, all estimates were weighted by the post-stratification weight including design weight (*pspwght*) which had already been included in the data matrix.⁷ However, the youth subsample may still deviate slightly from the true structure, while the findings should be viewed with this limitation in mind.

The sample included 244 respondents with the mean age of 23.0 years (51.1% males and 48.9% females). The regional distribution was as follows: 22.0% from Belgrade region, 30.8% from Vojvodina, 28.5% from Šumadija and Western Serbia, and 18.8% from Southern and Eastern Serbia. Respondents with a low education level constituted 11.1% of the sample, those with a medium level of education level 70.8%, and those with a high level of education 18.1%. The left-right political positioning had a mean score of 5.15 ($N = 159$).

⁷ Post-stratification weight is based on gender, age, education and region and it is corrected for coverage, sampling and nonresponse errors.

3.2 DEPENDENT VARIABLES

The interest in politics was measured with the categorical variable 'How interested in politics would you say you are?', where the possible answers were 'very interested', 'quite interested', 'hardly interested' or 'not at all interested'. For the purposes of further analysis, we treated this variable as an ordinal, with value '1' meaning 'not at all interested' and value '4' meaning 'very interested'. Additionally, we created a binary variable coded as '1' (answers 'very' or 'quite interested') and '0' (answers 'hardly' or 'not at all interested').

Political participation was measured by using mainly the set of questions related to different forms of participation practiced in the previous year. The questions were: 'There are different ways of trying to improve things in [country] or help prevent things from going wrong. During the last 12 months, have you done any of the following? ...worn or displayed a campaign badge/sticker? ...boycotted certain products? ...contacted a politician, government or local government official?...taken part in a public demonstration? ...posted or shared anything about politics online, for example on blogs, via email or on social media such as Facebook or Twitter? ...signed a petition? ...worked in a political party or action group? ...donated to or participated in a political party or pressure group?' Possible answers were 'yes' and 'no'. Furthermore, the election turnout variable was included — 'Some people don't vote nowadays for one reason or another. Did you vote in the last [country] national election in [month/year]?' with possible answers 'yes', 'no' and 'not eligible to vote'. The questions related to election turnout, contacting politicians or working within political parties

were indicators of institutional forms of participation, while the remaining questions mentioned above were indicators of non-institutional forms of political participation. For the further analyses, two dichotomous variables were created – participation in institutional forms and participation in non-institutional forms of political participation. Each variable was coded ‘1’ when the respondent engaged in at least one activity within the respective category and ‘0’ when the respondent did not engage in any activity. Additionally, to test H2a, we created political participation index, ranging from 0 to 8. This index was calculated by summing up the number of forms of political participation in which each respondent reported engagement in previous years. Based on previous research (Bozogáňová and Výrost 2019), we established the following thresholds: a score of 0–1 indicates low political participation, a score of 2–3 indicates medium political participation, and a score of 4–8 indicates high political participation.

Four quantitative variables were used in order to measure the level of satisfaction with the social and economic state of the country. The following questions were posed: ‘And on the whole, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in [country]?’, ‘On the whole, how satisfied are you with the present state of the economy in [country]?’, ‘Now, using this card, please say what you think overall about the state of education in [country] nowadays?’, ‘Now, thinking about the [country]’s government, how satisfied are you with the way it is doing its job? Still using this card, please say what you think overall about the state of health services in [country] nowadays?’. Possible answers were numbers from 0 to 10 with ‘0’ meaning ‘extremely dissatisfied’ and ‘10’ meaning ‘extremely

satisfied’. For further analysis, via Factor Analysis, variables concerning satisfaction with the state of the country were grouped into factor named ‘The level of satisfaction with the social, political and economic situation’. Additionally, to enable the use of a One-sample t-test, we calculated a mean satisfaction score for each respondent, based on their reported satisfaction with the democracy, economy, education, government and health services.

Political trust was operationalised as trust toward domestic institutions and trust toward international institutions. The following questions were used to determine the level of trust towards domestic institutions: ‘Using this card, please tell me on the scale of 0–10 how much you personally trust each of the institutions I read out. 0 means you do not trust the institution at all, and 10 means you have complete trust. Firstly... [country]’s parliament? ...the legal system? ...the police? ...politicians? ...political parties?’. The questions which indicate the trust toward international political institutions were: ‘Using this card, please tell me on the scale of 0–10 how much you personally trust each of the institutions I read out. 0 means you do not trust the institution at all, and 10 means you have complete trust.’ ...the European Parliament? ...the United Nations?’. For further analyses, via the Factor Analysis, the variables concerning political trust were grouped into two factors named ‘Trust in domestic institutions’ and ‘Trust in international institutions’. Additionally, to enable the use of a One-sample t-test, we calculated the mean trust score for each respondent, based on their reported trust in the legal system, police, politicians, the country’s parliament, political parties (trust in domestic institutions), as well as the

separate mean trust score, based on the reported trust in the European Parliament and the United Nations (trust in international institutions).

3.3 INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Main independent variables utilized to explore differences which arise from sociodemographic differences of the respondents were gender, education, region and age.⁸ Age was operationalised as a numeric variable indicating each respondent's exact years of age. Education was measured using ES-ISCED classification (levels ranging from 1 to 7) provided in the European Social Survey (2024) database. It was used as numeric variable and it was mean-centred before being entered into all subsequent analyses in order to mitigate multicollinearity. To provide a clearer graphical representation of interactions, education was regrouped into the three following categories: low education level (ES-ISCED I & II), medium education level (ES-ISCED IIIb, IIIa, IV) and high education level (ES-ISCED V1 & V2). Dummy variables were created for the remaining categorical predictors. First, dummy variable for gender was coded '1' if respondents were male, and '0' if they were female (reference category). Second, the original four regional categories – Belgrade, Vojvodina, Šumadija and Western Serbia and Southern and Eastern Serbia – were collapsed into a dummy variable because of the small cell sizes. Respondents from Belgrade or Vojvodina, the regions which are more economically developed and have greater GDP, were grouped together and coded '1', and

those from the other two regions were coded '0' (reference category). Further, to test whether main effects depended on each other, the analyses also incorporated the interaction terms gender*region, gender*education and region*education. Each term was computed as the product of the relevant predictors. Finally, to assess the impact of ideological orientation, respondents' self-placement on the numeric left-right scale ('0' meaning 'left' and '10' meaning 'right') was employed. As with education, this variable was also mean-centred before being entered into the models to mitigate multicollinearity. Moreover, to create a clearer graphical display, this variable was re-categorized into three groups consisting of left (0–3), centre (4–6) and right-wing respondents (7–10).

3.4 METHODS OF ANALYSIS

Grouping respondents in two categories (low political interest marked as '0' and moderate or high political interest marked as '1') enabled the use of the Binomial test when testing H1a. Specifically, the Binomial test was conducted to examine whether the proportion of all the respondents classified as having low political interest exceeded 50% threshold. The threshold of >50% was applied, since majority requires more than a half of the population to share a given characteristic. Ordinal version of political interest variable was used when conducting descriptive statistics, and was justified by the ordered nature of the responses, reflecting increasing levels of political interest.

The political participation index was utilized when testing H2a. The respondents with index ranging from 0 to 1 were grouped in low political participation category (marked as '0'), while other

⁸ The initial intention to include variables indicating class differences was omitted from the analysis due to the lack of adequate variables for class comparison.

respondents were grouped in moderate or high political participation category (marked as '1'). The Binomial test was conducted to examine whether the proportion of all the respondents classified as having low participation exceeded 50% threshold, where exceeding the threshold signals that a phenomenon is not only present but dominant. Descriptive statistics were also analysed to gain a deeper understanding. Since studies (Theocharis and van Deth 2018; Koc 2021) suggest excluding election turnout from analyses, as it is normatively expected type of political participation and it may inflate participation index, which happened in our case, we repeated the analyses with the exclusion of this variable and presented both results comparatively.

To test H3a, One-sample t-tests were used to examine whether the satisfaction means were significantly lower than the scale midpoint (5). First, each variable was tested separately to get a general impression. Next, a composite satisfaction score was created by calculating the mean across all five satisfaction variables, and One-sample t-test was repeated using this score. This approach allowed us to capture general satisfaction with the state of the country, while still having insights in the specific aspects of satisfaction with different institutions. The analysis of descriptive statistics also contributed to this.

Similarly, using the same reasoning, and in order to test H4a, One-sample t-tests were used to examine whether the trust means were significantly lower than the scale midpoint (5). First, each variable was tested separately in order to get a general impression. Next, One-sample t-tests were repeated separately using two composite trust scores created by calculating the means across

the variables related to trust in domestic and international institutions. Again, we relied on descriptive statistics to provide additional insight.

In order to test the hypotheses relating to sociodemographic differences (H1b, H2b, H3b, H4b) either Multiple Linear Regressions (MLR) or Multiple Binary Logistic Regressions (MBLR) were conducted. The MLR was used during the analyses of the numeric dependent variables (satisfaction and trust), while the MBLR was used during the analyses of the dichotomous dependent variables (interest in politics and political participation). The regression analyses were conducted using a hierarchical approach, consisting of three models/blocks. The first model (Model 1) included sociodemographic variables (dummy variables for gender and region and numeric variables for education and age). This allowed us to assess the independent contributions of these characteristics. The second model (Model 2) included interaction terms in addition to initial variables (gender*region, gender*education, region*education). Including the interaction terms enabled testing whether the effect of one predictor depended on another, thereby revealing moderation effects and improving the model's explanatory power. The final model (Model 3) included the left-right ideological orientation of the respondents, which enabled an assessment of whether the observed effects remain once ideological orientation is taken into account. To obtain adequate dependent variables for MLR analysis, two Factor Analyses were performed. As a result, variables that concerned satisfaction were grouped together as one factor named 'The level of satisfaction with the social, political and economic situation'. In the same way, via the Factor Analysis, the

variables concerning political trust were grouped into two factors named ‘Trust in domestic institutions’ and ‘Trust in international institutions’. Those new variables were later entered into regression models as independent variables.

The acceptance of H5a is contingent upon the results of the four supporting hypotheses. Specifically, H5a can only be supported if H1a, H2a, H3a and H4a are confirmed. In this sense, it is a higher-order hypothesis which derives its validity from the results of the four core aspects of political culture. To confirm H5b, it is necessary that the expected sociodemographic variables emerge as significant predictors in the expected direction across all the examined aspects of the assumed type of political culture. The conclusions about H5b are based on the synthesis of the supporting hypotheses (H1b, H2b, H3b, H4b).

4 RESULTS

4.1 INTEREST IN POLITICS

As can be seen in Table 2, 84.3% of the respondents were not at all interested, or were hardly interested in politics according to their own reflection. Only

3.3% of them expressed very high political interest.

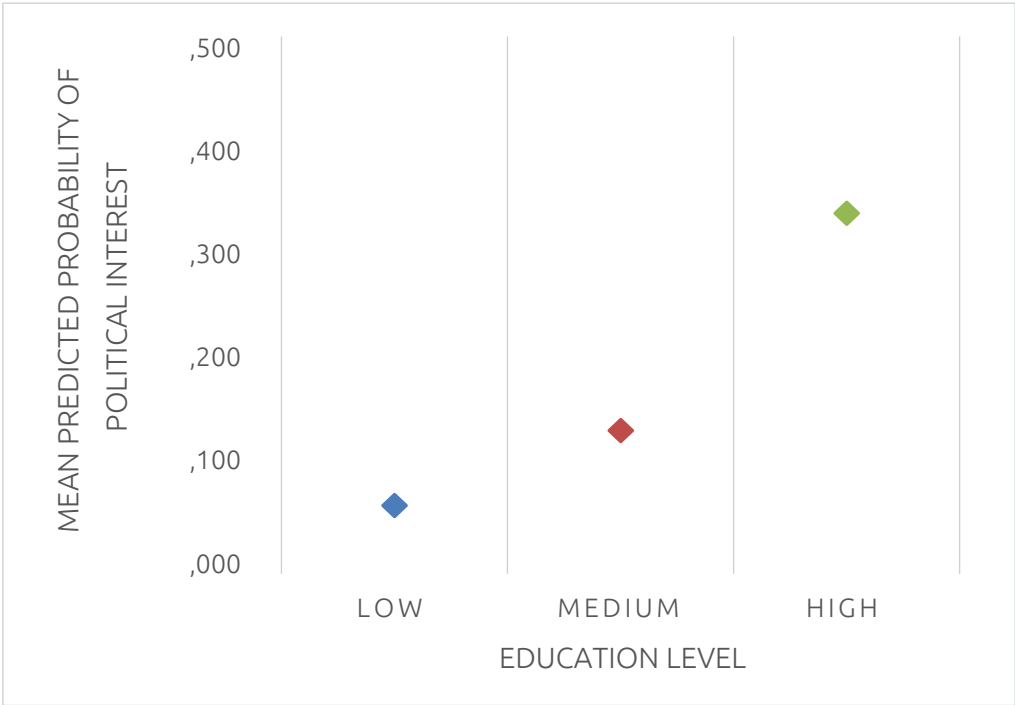
By treating the variable of political interest as an ordinal variable, we calculated descriptive statistics and examined its percentile distribution. As shown in Table A 1, the mean, mode and the median all had a value of 2 or less. The distribution was positively skewed, with the 80th percentile also at a value of 2. Taken together, these results indicate a low level of political interest among the majority of youth. To further validate these descriptive findings, we performed a Binomial test. The results confirmed that the proportion of youth (85%) with a low political interest was significantly higher than the 50% threshold (Table A 2), which aligns with H1a.

When conducting the MBLR, only Model 1 achieved statistical significance (Table A 3). In this case, education was the only significant predictor of political interest. With each one-unit increase in education, the respondents had 96.2% higher odds of being interested in politics (Graph 1). These findings only partially align with H1b – while the effect of education was confirmed, the expected effects of gender, region and age were not.

Table 2 Political interest

How interested in politics					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	(1) Not at all interested	101	41.2	41.6	41.6
	(2) Hardly interested	103	42.2	42.7	84.3
	(3) Quite interested	30	12.3	12.4	96.7
	(4) Very interested	8	3.2	3.3	100.0
	Total	242	99.0	100.0	
Missing	Refusal	2	1.0		
Total		244	100.0		

Source: Authors’ calculation, European Social Survey 2024



Graph 1 Effect of education on political interest
Source: Authors' calculation, European Social Survey 2024

4.2 POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

As presented in Table 3, the highest level of political participation is observed in election turnout, which is considered to be the main form of institutional participation. Other institutional types of participation were barely present – around 6% of the respondents donated or worked in political parties, while a similar percentage of the respondents contacted a politician, government or local government office. The most common forms of non-institutional participation were signing petitions, posting or sharing political posts online and taking part in public demonstrations.

When considering all forms of participation, 57.5% of the respondents reported low participation (engagement in

none or only one form of political participation in the previous year), leaving the distribution positively skewed (Table A 1). When excluding election turnout, 72.2% of the respondents reported low participation, once more leaving the distribution positively skewed with most of the respondents (51.9%) not participating in any activity (Table A 1). To further validate these descriptive findings, a Binomial test was performed both with and without election turnout. As shown in Table A 2, the results were marginally significant when election turnout was included ($p < .100$), and highly significant when it was excluded ($p < .000$). This suggests that youth's political participation remains generally low, despite the fact that overall levels of political participation are strongly influenced by election

Table 3 Political participation

Valid percentage of the respondents that participated in specific form of political participation		
Institutional forms of participation	...voted in the last national elections?	72.6
	...contacted a politician, government or local government official?	6.6
	...donated to, or participated in a political party or pressure group?	6.0
	...worn or displayed a campaign badge/sticker?	8.4
Non-institutional forms of participation	...boycotted certain products?	11.2
	...taken part in a public demonstration?	16.8
	...posted or shared anything about politics online, for example on blogs, via email or on social media such as Facebook or Twitter?	18.4
	...signed a petition?	31.5

Source: Authors' calculation, European Social Survey 2024

turnout. Therefore, there was sufficient evidence in favour of H2a.

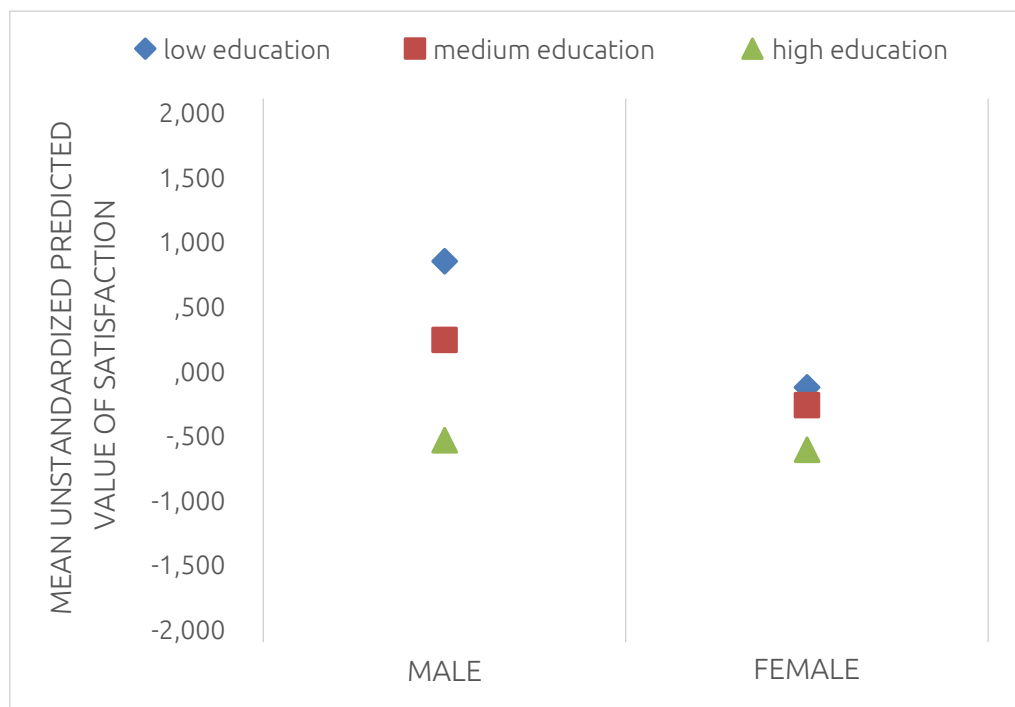
When conducting the MBLR, all three analysed models proved to be significant regarding the institutional participation, but none regarding the non-institutional participation (Table A 4). Considering the institutional participation, the only significant effect was noted with age of the respondents. With each increase in age by one year, the respondents had around 20% higher chances of engaging in some type of institutional political participation. Therefore, we rejected most parts of H2b, and found almost no significant sociodemographic effects on political participation.

4.3 SATISFACTION WITH THE STATE OF THE COUNTRY

The levels of satisfaction with the state of the country remained below the scale midpoint (5) for nearly all analysed variables (Table A 5). One-sample t-tests indicated that satisfaction means were significantly below the neutral midpoint for all the variables except education, where the youth reported a neutral position (Table A 6). To gain a deeper insight,

we checked the percentile distribution. As can be seen in Table A 5, more than 50% of the respondents rated their satisfaction levels as 5 or lower for all variables. Higher dissatisfaction is noted in areas such as democracy, economy and government, where 70% of the respondents rated their satisfaction levels as 5 or lower. Taken together, these results suggest that it may be meaningful to make a distinction between political satisfaction (democracy, economy, government) and public services satisfaction (education, health), which was moderate. Next, One-sample t-test using the composite satisfaction mean score indicated that the tested mean was significantly lower than the midpoint, reinforcing our previous findings (Table A 6). Therefore, we can argue that there is enough reason to accept H3a, especially regarding the aspects that can be considered as political satisfaction.

Regarding H3b, all three models tested with MLR analysis using calculated factor scores of satisfaction (Table A 7) proved to be significant, with Model 3 explaining the highest percentage of variance (Table A 8). In the first model, significant effects were noted for



Graph 2 Interaction effect of gender and education level on satisfaction

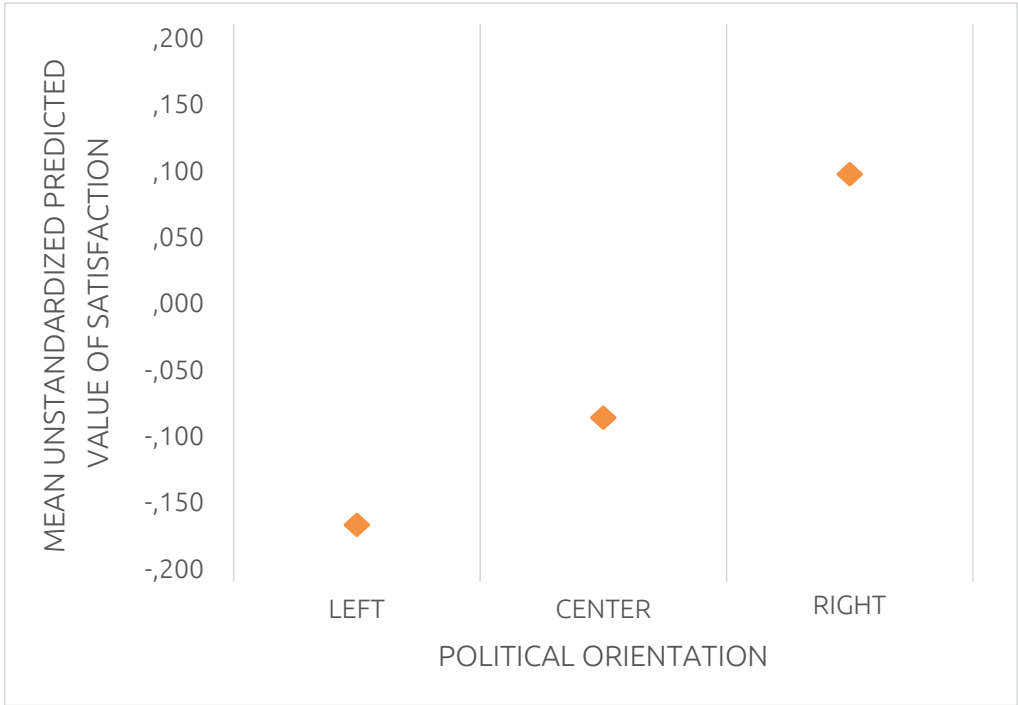
Source: Authors' calculations, European Social Survey 2024

gender, age and education. With the addition of interaction terms in the second model, significant effects were noted for age and interaction between gender and education. Finally, in the third model, the interaction between gender and education remained significant, and additionally, the effect of left-right orientation emerged. These findings illustrate the importance of controlling for effects of independent variables and interaction terms in analyses. We can see that the effects of gender and education are interrelated. As can be seen in Graph 2, the lower the education level, the greater the gender difference in satisfaction (with men being more satisfied). With the increase in education level, the influence of gender diminishes. When it comes to political positioning,

the right-wing oriented respondents had higher satisfaction levels (Graph 3). Therefore, we can only partially confirm H3b – the effect of age was absent in more complex models, while the effect of political positioning was as expected.

4.4 POLITICAL TRUST

The youth demonstrated low levels of trust in all the types of political institutions examined (Table A 9). For almost all variables, the mean level of trust was significantly lower than the neutral midpoint of the scale (Table A 6). The only exception was trust in the police, where the youth took a neutral to moderate position. When using both composite scores of trust in domestic and trust in international institutions, the mean was



Graph 3 Effect of political orientation on satisfaction
Source: Authors' calculations, European Social Survey 2024

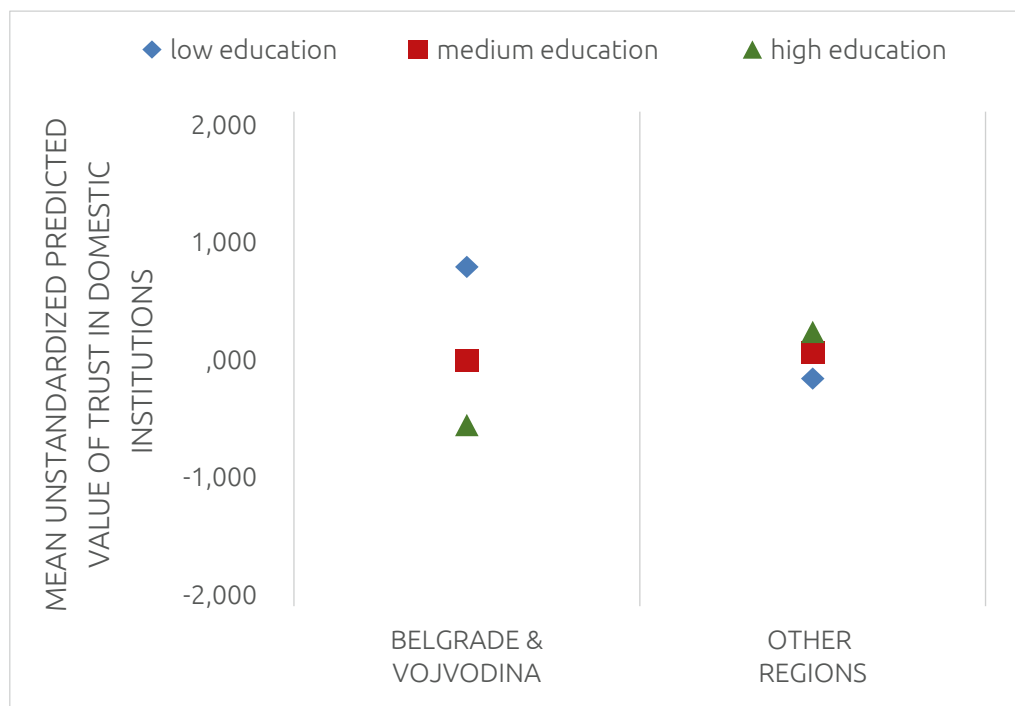
also significantly lower than the tested midpoint of the scale (Table A 6). Therefore, we argue that there is sufficient evidence in support of H4a. This is also supported by the result that more than 50% of the youth rated their trust in institutions 5 or below. Notably, 90% of the youth rated their trust in politicians 5 or below (Table A 9).

Next, separate MLR analyses were conducted to examine the trust in domestic and international institutions (Table A 10). For domestic institutions, all three models proved to be significant, while none reached significance for international institutions. Model 3 had the highest percentage of explained variance and the significant effect was noted with political orientation, as well as with the interaction between region

and education. The low-educated youth exhibited the highest trust in domestic institutions, but only in more developed regions (Graph 4). Moreover, right political orientation was associated with the highest level of trust in political institutions (Graph 5). Based on these results, we can only partially confirm H4b – the effect of age was not present at all, while political orientation demonstrated the anticipated effect.

5 DISCUSSION

There is sufficient evidence in support of the assumptions made regarding H1a, H2a, H3a and H4a. In the analysed period, the majority of the youth in Serbia had low political interest and participation, and overall satisfaction and



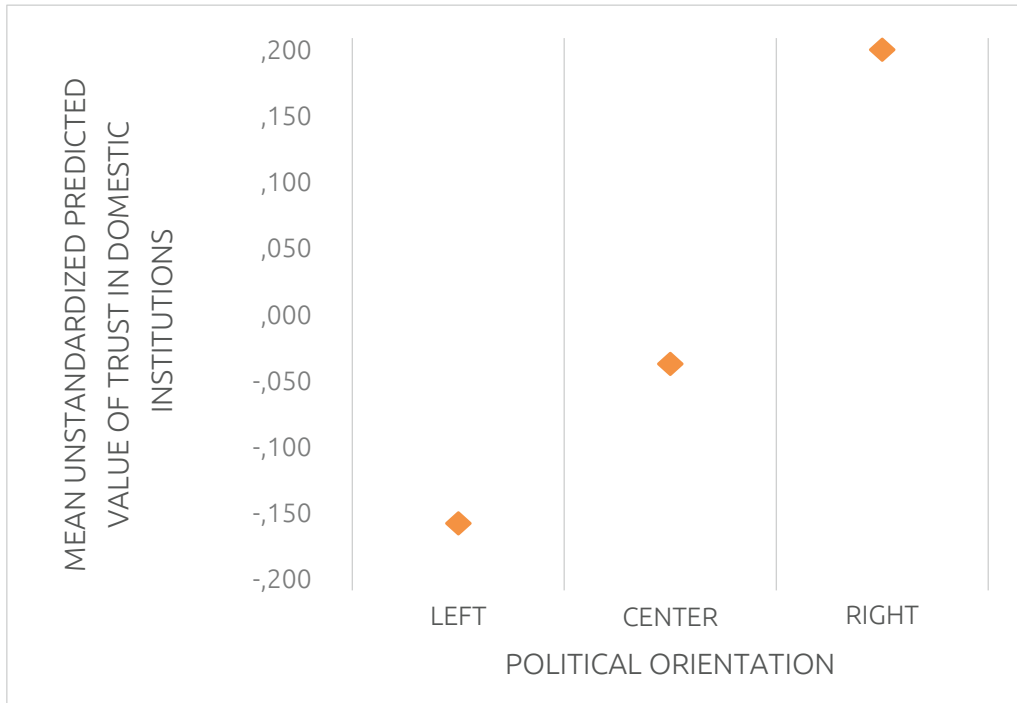
Graph 4 Interaction effect of education level and region on the trust in domestic institutions

Source: Authors' calculations, European Social Survey 2024

trust levels were below the neutral midpoint, indicating distrust and dissatisfaction with the institutions. These findings align with the earlier studies of youth in Serbia (Tomanović and Stanojević 2015; Popadić, Pavlović and Mihailović 2019; Hasanović et al. 2024). Besides, we noted high election turnout and its influence on the overall participation levels, which was also expected given that earlier research (Popadić, Pavlović and Mihailović 2019) showed that, despite the low self-expression of interest in politics, most of the youth still participate in the elections. We agree with other authors (Denny and Doyle 2008; Hruška 2023) that such high turnout should be understood rather as a result of social obligation which is not political in nature. After election turnout, the most frequent

forms of participation are signing petitions, posting or sharing posts related to political topics and taking part in demonstrations (non-institutional forms of political participation). Also, the results regarding satisfaction suggest that in the future research it may be meaningful to make a distinction between political satisfaction (democracy, economy, government) which was quite low, and public services satisfaction (education, health) which was moderate.

Considering the influence of socio-demographic variables on the aspects of political culture, mixed results were obtained and we could only partially support the assumptions made. First, results indicated a significant effect of education on political interest, while the expected effects of gender, region and age



Graph 5 Effect of political orientation on the trust in domestic institutions

Source: Authors' calculations, European Social Survey 2024

were absent (so, we rejected most parts of H1b). Second, the only significant predictor of participation was age (but only considering institutional participation), while other sociodemographic predictors had no significant effect. Therefore, we rejected most parts of H2b. Third, we could only partially confirm H3b and H4b – while the effect of political orientation was as expected, the effect of age was absent in more complex models, or not present at all. On the other hand, we found some significant interaction effects between gender and education regarding the satisfaction, and between region and education regarding the trust in domestic institutions. Given the statistical significance of the most models and solid levels of explained variance, it is evident that these factors do play a role

in shaping youth's political culture, but their influence appears to be complex and intertwined. Previous studies (Tomanović and Stanojević 2015; Popadić, Pavlović and Mihailović 2019) on which our assumptions were based largely examined sociodemographic characteristics separately, whereas our research advanced this approach by assessing the independent effects of predictors, as well as interactions between them. This perspective provides a more comprehensive understanding of both the joint and the unique contributions of independent variables.

To draw a conclusion regarding the H5a, we combined and analysed the results of the hypotheses regarding different aspects of political culture (H1a, H2a, H3a, H4a). Since all four indications

of cynical political culture (low political interest, participation, satisfaction and trust) were present among the youth in Serbia, we found no sufficient reasons to reject H5a. Therefore, we claim that, in the analysed period, the political culture among the youth in Serbia was predominantly cynical. Further, our findings suggest that the respondents' socio-demographic characteristics influence their political culture, but those effects are best understood as interconnected rather than independent. In many aspects of political culture, age, gender, region and education were found to be significant, but they accounted for only a small percentage of the overall variance. When additional variables were included, the independent significance of some of the sociodemographic factors diminished, but the models' explanatory power increased.

Regarding the H5b, our findings indicate some aspects of protest culture being present among the more educated youth, but those results were inconsistent and, more often than not, dependent on other factors as well. There was also not enough evidence in support of the assumption that protest culture was more present among male respondents and respondents from more developed regions. Those factors almost never had significant effect when controlling for other variables in more complex models. The same can be said about the findings indicating passive political culture among the less-educated and respondents from less developed regions, hence we rejected H5b.

The observed characteristics of cynical political culture among youth indicate the necessity of developing a wide range of public policies aimed at enhancing political culture among the youth. Young people could be politically

activated through the creation of local youth forums within municipalities, where they would be consulted on issues related to urban planning, culture and education. Comprehensive political education can be achieved via organization of political schools, with the potential involvement of universities in their implementation. Furthermore, local media and online platforms should contain spaces for young people to express their views. In order to restore youth's trust in institutions, we recommend the active construction of institutional credibility through youth-oriented institutional reports, open days in key institutions (e.g. parliament, city administrations, ministries) and the introduction of participatory budgeting processes that allow youth to vote on the allocation of specific public funds. In addition, digitally active young people could be encouraged to participate more directly in public processes through the use of memes and short-form videos for political education, as well as through partnerships between government bodies and social media influencers who promote civic responsibility.

5.1 LIMITATIONS

Several methodological limitations should be acknowledged. Firstly, despite our efforts to improve the representativeness of the youth subsample by including data weights, broad generalizations should be made with caution. Future research would benefit from a larger, demographically balanced sample, directly representative of the 18–29 age group. Additionally, as all the findings of this research are based on the latest ESS data, which were collected during 2023 and 2024, yet it is possible that they may have already been outdated

given the current situation in Serbia with the widespread student protests against corruption. However, as we limited ourselves to the available ESS data, at this point we can only speculate about that. This further underscores that all the conclusions can be applied only to the analysed period.

When it comes to the numeric variables used, an assumption of equal intervals between values was applied, which is a common practice in social sciences, but this still has to be kept in mind. Also, the interpretation of mean differences from the scale midpoint may mask heterogeneity within the data. To reduce this concern, the medians, percentiles and other descriptive statistics were also presented. Finally, when calculating the participation index, as well as the satisfaction and trust composite mean scores, all items were weighted equally, despite some of them showing different factor loadings in the factor analysis. Future research could use weighted scores to further improve this measurement. However, since this was not implemented in this research, the results for both composite scores and individual means were presented.

6 CONCLUSION

Our findings are mostly consistent with previous research and indicate that the predominant type of political culture

among youth in Serbia was cynical. Moreover, the results indicate the relevance of certain sociodemographic characteristics, such as education. However, their impact is best considered in combination. This finding offers new insights compared to earlier studies that mainly examined separate rather than independent and interaction effects of these variables. Furthermore, the key theoretical contribution of this study lies in its integration of youth political behaviour patterns into a newly developed typology of political culture. This framework allows for a more precise and context-sensitive empirical examination of political culture and it is particularly effective for analysing political culture in societies experiencing democratic fatigue.

For future research, it would be of a great value to conduct in-depth interviews with young people from various sociodemographic groups in order to achieve more comprehensive insights. In addition, it would be of substantial importance to analyse the current student protests in Serbia, as we assume that the data from the ongoing ESS round would show even greater engagement of the youth in different forms of political participation connected with the contemporary student movement. Since this research relied solely on the data from the latest ESS round, a thorough analysis of the current student protests was unfortunately not possible.

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Data Availability Statement

The data are available from the authors upon request.

Coauthor Contributions

Stefan Mandić: Conceptualization, Methodology, Writing – Original Draft, Writing – Review & Editing;
Milana Vinokić: Methodology, Data Curation, Formal Analysis, Visualization, Writing – Original Draft, Writing – Review & Editing.

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APPENDIX

Table A 1 Descriptive statistics

Descriptive statistics						
	Political interest	Political participation score		Satisfaction score	Political trust score	
		(1)	(2)		(D)	(I)
N	242	218	234	244	239	223
Mean	1.77	1.73	.99	4.07	3.51	3.63
Std. Error of Mean	.051	.104	.086	.144	.143	.175
Median	2.00	1.00	.00	4.00	3.20	4.00
Mode	2	1	0	3	5	0
Std. Deviation	.789	1.539	1.314	2.256	2.211	2.607
Variance	.623	2.368	1.727	5.091	4.889	6.794
Skewness	.830	.999	1.380	.379	.493	.184
Std. Error of Skewness	.156	.165	.159	.156	.157	.163
Kurtosis	.240	.512	1.414	-.489	-.119	-.942
Std. Error of Kurtosis	.312	.328	.317	.310	.314	.325
Percentiles	10	1.00	.00	1.00	.60	.00
	20	1.00	.00	1.97	1.40	1.00
	25	1.00	1.00	2.37	1.80	1.00
	30	1.00	1.00	2.60	2.00	1.50
	40	1.00	1.00	3.20	2.80	2.99
	50	2.00	1.00	4.00	3.20	4.00
	60	2.00	2.00	4.80	3.80	5.00
	70	2.00	2.00	5.40	4.80	5.00
	75	2.00	3.00	5.60	5.00	5.50
	80	2.00	3.00	6.00	5.40	6.00
	90	3.00	4.00	7.00	6.75	7.00

Note: (1) With election turnout, (2) Without election turnout, (D) Domestic institutions, (I) International institutions
Source: Authors' calculation, European Social Survey 2024

Table A 2 Results of Binomial tests

Binomial tests						
		Category	N	Observed Proportion	Test Proportion	Exact Sig. (2-tailed)
Political interest	Group 1	<= 0	204	.85	.50	.000
	Group 2	> 0	37	.15		
	Total		241	1.00		
(1)	Group 1	<= 0	122	.57	.50	.056
	Group 2	> 0	93	.43		
	Total		215	1.00		
Political participation	Group 1	<= 0	167	.72	.50	.000
	Group 2	> 0	65	.28		
	Total		232	1.00		

Note: (1) With election turnout, (2) Without election turnout
Source: Authors' calculation, European Social Survey 2024

Table A 3 Results of Multiple Binary Logistic Regression – Political interest

Hierarchical blocks	Model Summary			Hosmer and Lemeshow Test		
	-2 LL	Cox & Snell R ²	Nagelkerke R ²	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Model 1	147.062	.092	.143	12.932	8	.114
Model 2	139.024	.136	.213	18.131	8	.020
Model 3	135.643	.155	.242	19.443	8	.013
Predictors	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)
gender	.509	1.320	.329	.502	.306	.480
region	.229	1.685	.917	.938	.886	1.095
age	.425	.932	.377	.923	.456	.934
education	.004	1.962	.646	1.189	.742	1.133
gender*region			.217	3.043	.250	2.860
gender*education			.021	2.311	.011	2.593
region*education			.768	1.115	.948	1.025
lrscale					.071	.840

Note: Hosmer and Lemeshow Test $p < .050$ indicates lack of fit

Source: Authors' calculation, European Social Survey 2024

Table A 4 Results of Multiple Binary Logistic Regression – Political participation

INSTITUTIONAL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION						
Hierarchical blocks	Model Summary			Hosmer and Lemeshow Test		
	-2 LL	Cox & Snell R ²	Nagelkerke R ²	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Model 1	164.634	.086	.127	3.213	8	.920
Model 2	161.949	.101	.150	5.817	8	.668
Model 3	161.735	.103	.152	6.218	8	.623
Predictors	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)
gender	.358	.694	.495	.632	.500	.635
region	.452	.744	.403	.573	.438	.595
age	.021	1.201	.017	1.217	.016	1.216
education	.482	1.163	.903	.953	.903	.953
gender*region			.684	1.417	.718	1.363
gender*education			.176	1.656	.163	1.691
region*education			.535	.789	.499	.769
lrscale					.644	.960

NON-INSTITUTIONAL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION						
Hierarchical blocks	Model Summary			Hosmer and Lemeshow Test		
	-2 LL	Cox & Snell R ²	Nagelkerke R ²	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Model 1	200.959	.117	.155	21.829	8	.005
Model 2	199.709	.123	.165	20.340	8	.009
Model 3	196.474	.141	.188	15.803	8	.045
Predictors	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)
gender	.088	.560	.122	.461	.112	.446
region	.029	2.119	.259	1.775	.178	2.009
age	.432	.951	.375	.944	.416	.948
education	.012	1.574	.255	1.413	.292	1.378
gender*region			.587	1.453	.664	1.352
gender*education			.860	.945	.984	1.007
region*education			.321	1.353	.401	1.296
lrscale					.075	.874

Note: Hosmer and Lemeshow Test p < .050 indicates lack of fit

Source: Authors' calculation, European Social Survey 2024

Table A 5 Different aspects of satisfaction

Descriptive statistics						
	DEMOCRACY	ECONOMY	EDUCATION	GOVERNMENT	HEALTH	
N	218	233	243	227	233	
Mean	3.34	3.63	5.06	3.36	4.20	
Std. Error of Mean	.183	.159	.165	.194	.183	
Median	3.00	4.00	5.00	3.00	4.00	
Mode	0	5	4	0	5	
Std. Deviation	2.701	2.421	2.570	2.927	2.798	
Variance	7.293	5.861	6.603	8.565	7.829	
Skewness	.484	.251	-.066	.550	.075	
Std. Error of Skewness	.165	.159	.156	.161	.159	
Kurtosis	-.565	-.432	-.492	-.655	-.849	
Std. Error of Kurtosis	.328	.318	.311	.322	.317	
Percentiles	10	.00	.00	2.00	.00	.00
	20	.00	1.00	3.00	.00	1.67
	25	1.00	2.00	3.00	1.00	2.00
	30	1.00	2.00	4.00	1.00	2.00
	40	2.00	3.00	4.00	2.00	3.00
	50	3.00	4.00	5.00	3.00	4.00
	60	4.00	5.00	6.00	4.00	5.00
	70	5.00	5.00	6.00	5.00	6.00
	75	5.00	5.00	7.00	5.41	6.00
	80	6.00	5.70	7.00	6.00	7.00
	90	7.00	6.84	9.00	7.00	8.00

Source: Authors' calculation, European Social Survey 2024

Table A 6 Results of One-sample t-tests – Satisfaction and Trust

SATISFACTION (Test Value = 5)									
	N	Mean	Std. Devia- tion	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Diff.	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
								Lower	Upper
democracy	218	3.34	2.701	-9.103	217	.000	-1.664	-2.02	-1.30
economy	233	3.63	2.421	-8.606	232	.000	-1.365	-1.68	-1.05
education	243	5.06	2.570	.381	242	.704	.063	-.26	.39
government	227	3.36	2.927	-8.423	226	.000	-1.635	-2.02	-1.25
health	233	4.20	2.798	-4.353	232	.000	-.797	-1.16	-.44
satisfaction score	244	4.07	2.256	-6.457	243	.000	-.932	-1.22	-.65
POLITICAL TRUST (Test Value = 5)									
	N	Mean	Std. Devia- tion	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Diff.	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
								Lower	Upper
legal system	225	4.44	2.954	-2.863	224	.005	-.564	-.95	-.18
police	235	5.33	3.039	1.660	234	.098	.329	-.06	.72
politicians	229	2.00	2.266	-20.037	228	.000	-3.002	-3.30	-2.71
parliament	222	3.67	2.577	-7.715	221	.000	-1.334	-1.67	-.99
political parties	232	2.20	2.382	-17.932	231	.000	-2.803	-3.11	-2.49
European Parliament	217	3.67	2.789	-7.042	216	.000	-1.333	-1.71	-.96
UN	210	3.53	2.782	-7.656	209	.000	-1.468	-1.85	-1.09
domestic inst. trust score	239	3.51	2.211	-10.386	238	.000	-1.485	-1.77	-1.20
internation- al inst. trust score	223	3.63	2.607	-7.847	222	.000	-1.370	-1.71	-1.03

Source: Authors' calculation, European Social Survey 2024

Table A 7 Results of Factor Analyses

SATISFACTION WITH THE STATE OF THE COUNTRY		
Correlation Matrix		
Determinant	.068	
Factor matrix		
Variables	Factor 1	
How satisfied with the way democracy works in the country	.833	
How satisfied with present state of economy in the country	.754	
State of education in the country nowadays	.594	
How satisfied with the national government	.815	
State of health services in the country nowadays	.757	
KMO and Barlett's Test		
Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy	.788	
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	x² (10) = 549.900, p = .000	
Total Variance Explained		
Factor	% of Variance	
Factor 1	57.051	
POLITICAL TRUST		
Correlation Matrix		
Determinant	.014	
Rotated Factor matrix		
Variables	Factor 1	Factor 2
Trust in the European Parliament	.272	.662
Trust in the legal system	.766	.299
Trust in the police	.637	.268
Trust in politicians	.825	.155
Trust in the country's parliament	.793	.127
Trust in political parties	.764	.272
Trust in the United Nations	.172	.984
KMO and Barlett's Test		
Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy	.794	
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	x²(21) = 803.940, p = .000	
Total Variance Explained		
Factor	% of Variance	Cumulative %
Factor 1	52.671	52.671
Factor 2	14.030	66.701

Note: Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring

Source: Authors' calculation, European Social Survey 2024

Table A 8 Results of Multiple Linear Regression – Satisfaction with the state of the country

Model	Model Summary					ANOVA			
	R	R ²	Adj. R ²	Std. Error of the Estimate	ΔR ²	df	F	Sig.	
1	.471	.222	.201	.78418593	.222	4	10.306	.000	
2	.507	.257	.220	.77443592	.035	7	6.989	.000	
3	.524	.275	.233	.76793125	.018	8	6.645	.000	
Coefficients									
Predictors	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	β	Sig.	VIF	β	Sig.	VIF	β	Sig.	VIF
gender	.229	.002	1.013	.165	.127	2.189	.169	.114	2.190
region	-.045	.553	1.050	-.118	.290	2.333	-.134	.225	2.348
age	.151	.097	1.514	.157	.083	1.542	.140	.121	1.559
education	-.445	.000	1.523	-.136	.375	4.438	-.115	.449	4.462
gender*region				.093	.476	3.254	.100	.441	3.256
gender*education				-.219	.075	2.846	-.255	.040	2.918
region*education				-.182	.101	2.304	-.153	.166	2.349
lrscale							.137	.067	1.061

Source: Authors' calculation, European Social Survey 2024

Table A 9 Different aspects of trust

Descriptive statistics								
DOMESTIC INSTITUTIONS						INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS		
	legal system	police	politicians	parliament	political parties	European Parliament	United Nations	
N	225	235	229	222	232	217	210	
Mean	4.44	5.33	2.00	3.67	2.20	3.67	3.53	
Std. Error of Mean	.197	.198	.150	.173	.156	.189	.192	
Median	5.00	5.00	1.00	3.00	2.00	3.16	3.00	
Mode	0	5	0	5	0	0	0	
Std. Deviation	2.954	3.039	2.266	2.577	2.382	2.789	2.782	
Variance	8.725	9.234	5.134	6.639	5.675	7.778	7.739	
Skewness	.011	-.186	1.141	.303	1.056	.241	.320	
Std. Error of Skewness	.162	.159	.161	.163	.160	.165	.168	
Kurtosis	-.930	-.908	1.080	-.521	.705	-.951	-.944	
Std. Error of Kurtosis	.323	.316	.320	.325	.318	.329	.334	
Percentiles	10	.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
	20	1.00	2.00	.00	1.00	.00	.52	.27
	25	2.00	3.00	.00	2.00	.00	1.00	1.00
	30	3.00	4.00	.00	2.00	.00	2.00	1.00
	40	4.00	5.00	.00	3.00	1.00	2.00	2.00
	50	5.00	5.00	1.00	3.00	2.00	3.16	3.00
	60	5.00	6.00	2.00	5.00	3.00	5.00	5.00

Percentiles	70	6.00	7.00	3.00	5.00	3.00	5.00	5.00
	75	7.00	7.00	3.00	5.00	4.00	6.00	6.00
	80	7.00	8.00	4.00	5.00	4.00	6.00	6.00
	90	8.00	10.00	5.00	7.14	5.00	7.00	7.00

Source: Authors' calculation, European Social Survey 2024

Table A 10 Results of Multiple Linear Regressions – Political trust

TRUST IN DOMESTIC POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS									
Model	Model Summary					ANOVA			
	R	R ²	Adj. R ²	Std. Error of the Estimate	ΔR ²	df	F	Sig.	
1	.308	.095	.069	.83742104	.095	4	3.599	.008	
2	.411	.169	.125	.81161891	.074	7	3.882	.001	
3	.438	.192	.143	.80316521	.023	8	3.948	.000	
Coefficients									
Predictors	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	β	Sig.	VIF	β	Sig.	VIF	β	Sig.	VIF
gender	.199	.017	1.022	.139	.248	2.297	.134	.258	2.298
region	-.014	.866	1.032	-.081	.512	2.417	-.107	.384	2.446
age	.101	.315	1.531	.126	.203	1.552	.112	.253	1.560
education	-.252	.014	1.552	.116	.497	4.666	.134	.428	4.681
gender*region				.084	.564	3.417	.099	.493	3.427
gender*education				-.088	.503	2.758	-.123	.350	2.810
region*education				-.404	.001	2.471	-.375	.003	2.506
lrscale							.156	.052	1.047
TRUST IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS									
Model	Model Summary					ANOVA			
	R	R ²	Adj. R ²	Std. Error of the Estimate	ΔR ²	df	F	Sig.	
1	.121	.015	-.014	.97734521	.015	4	.511	.728	
2	.164	.027	-.024	.98205600	.012	7	.530	.810	
3	.233	.054	-.003	.97189448	.027	8	.951	.477	
Coefficients									
Predictors	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	β	Sig.	VIF	β	Sig.	VIF	β	Sig.	VIF
gender	.095	.270	1.022	-.002	.989	2.297	.003	.981	2.298
region	.082	.341	1.032	-.014	.913	2.417	.014	.918	2.446
age	-.019	.856	1.531	-.021	.845	1.552	-.006	.957	1.560
education	.021	.842	1.552	-.095	.608	4.666	-.114	.532	4.681
gender*region				.160	.312	3.417	.144	.359	3.427
gender*education				.069	.628	2.758	.106	.453	2.810
region*education				.085	.528	2.471	.054	.688	2.506
lrscale							-.169	.053	1.047

Source: Authors' calculation, European Social Survey 2024

Politička kultura među mladima u Srbiji: interesovanje, participacija, zadovoljstvo, i poverenje

PROŠIRENI SAŽETAK

Osnovni cilj ovog rada bilo je empirijsko ispitivanje četiri aspekta političke kulture mladih u Srbiji korišćenjem statističke analize zasnovane na podacima iz jedanaeste runde Evropskog društvenog istraživanja. Ponudili smo novo teorijsko objašnjenje političke kulture, različito od onoga obuhvaćenog teorijom modernizacije, a zatim ga potkrepili klasifikacijom na četiri osnovne vrste: pasivna, cinična, protestna i participativna politička kultura. Određena je opšta hipoteza da je među mladima u Srbiji zastupljena cinična politička kultura. U cilju potvrđivanja prethodno pomenutog, postavili smo četiri potporne hipoteze koje se odnose na različite aspekte političke kulture: interesovanje za politiku, politička participacija, zadovoljstvo trenutnim stanjem u zemlji i političko poverenje. Pretpostavili smo da će na ove komponente uticati socio-demografske karakteristike (pol, region, obrazovanje, starost) kao i ideološko pozicioniranje ispitanika (pozicija na ideološkoj skali levo-desno). Rezultati su pokazali da većina mladih iskazuje nisko interesovanje za politiku (preko 80%), kao i nisku političku participaciju (preko 70% ako izuzmemo glasanje na izborima). Pojedini oblici participacije bili su zastupljeni u nešto većem procentu, ali sveukupno gledano većina mladih učestvuje u nijednom ili u svega jednom obliku političke participacije godišnje. Takođe, uprkos umerenom zadovoljstvu obrazovnim sistemom i umerenim poverenjem u policiju, prosečan opšti nivo zadovoljstva i poverenja u institucije bio je statistički značajno ispod neutralne pozicije. Rezultati regresionih analiza pokazali su nezavisan uticaj obrazovanja na političko interesovanje. Povećanje obrazovnog nivoa praćeno je povećanjem šanse za 96,2% da će mladi biti u kategoriji zainteresovanih za politiku. Takođe, primetna je povezanost starosti i političke participacije gde svako povećanje starosti za jednu godinu znači i oko 20% veće šanse za učešće u nekom obliku institucionalne političke participacije. Kada je u pitanju zadovoljstvo stanjem u zemlji, kao značajna izdvojila se interakcija pola i obrazovanja pri čemu se porastom obrazovnog nivoa smanjuju razlike među polovima u nivou zadovoljstva. Takođe, primetan je uticaj političke orijentacije na zadovoljstvo. Ispitanici koji su se pozicionirali kao desnica iskazali su najveće zadovoljstvo stanjem u zemlji. Idući nalaz primećen je i kod poverenja u domaće institucije – ponovo su ispitanici koji se pozicioniraju kao desnica imali najviši nivo poverenja. Naposljetku, kad je u pitanju poverenje prema domaćim institucijama, kao značajna izdvojila se i interakcija između regiona i obrazovanja, pri čemu razlike prema obrazovnom nivou variraju u zavisnosti od regiona. Pokazalo se da je u razvijenijim regionima porast obrazovnog nivoa praćen opadanjem poverenja. Na temelju prethodno navedenih rezultata tvrdimo da je u analiziranom periodu cinična politička kultura bila preovlađujući oblik političke kulture mladima u Srbiji. Primećena su sva četiri aspekta koja su potrebna za njeno određenje – nisko političko interesovanje, niska politička participacija, nisko zadovoljstvo stanjem u zemlji i nisko poverenje u institucije. Nalazi o značaju pojedinih socio-demografskih karakteristika pokazuju najčešće isticanje obrazovanja kao važnog prediktora, ali je taj uticaj bio inkonzistentan i često povezan sa drugim faktorima. Sveukupno, dobijeni nalazi nisu bili dovoljni za donošenje jasnih zaključaka o zastupljenosti nekog drugog tipa političke kulture u pojedinim socio-demografskim kategorijama.

KLJUČNE REČI

mladi, politička kultura, politička participacija, političko poverenje, Evropsko društveno istraživanje



Sociodemographic Characteristics and Motives of Youth Membership in Fan Groups – Empirical Research on a Sample of High School Students in Serbia

Saša Milojević¹  Srđan Milašinić¹ Bojan Janković¹ 

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

This scientific paper examines the sociodemographic characteristics and motivations of youth membership in organised fan groups in Serbia, viewing them as distinct youth sub-cultures that serve dual roles – both as a source of identity and togetherness and as a potential generator of violent behaviour. The research was conducted on a representative sample of 3,662 high school students from different regions of Serbia, using a questionnaire that included demographic characteristics, fan preferences, motives for membership, perception of school and social obligations, attitudes towards the leaders of fan groups, as well as experiences with violence and institutions of the system. The results show that 13.8% of the surveyed high school students are actively involved in a fan group, with boys making up the majority (86%). In comparison, the participation of girls is much lower (14%). Compared to their peers who are not members, group members are distinguished by their value orientations – they are more inclined to prioritise the club over school, as well as exhibit a greater degree of involvement in physical conflicts and conflicts with the police.

The motivational structure of membership reveals a multi-layered phenomenon: the most common reason for membership is support for a beloved club (56.7%), followed by the social dimension, which includes socialising and entertainment (22.1%). In comparison, some respondents perceive the fan group as a family or the source of their closest friendships (approximately 11%). Most members report that they joined the group gradually and on their own initiative, through regular monitoring of matches and socialisation in the stands. The influence of family and peers in the initiation process is present, but to a lesser extent. In terms of consequences, the research revealed a strong correlation between membership and violence, with as many as 70.8% of members participating in physical confrontations of a fan

¹ *University of Criminal Investigation and Police Studies, Belgrade, Serbia*

Correspondence:

Saša Milojević,
University of Criminal
Investigation and Police
Studies, 196 Cara Dušana
Street, 11000 Belgrade,
Serbia

Email:

sasa.milojevic@kpu.edu.rs

nature, compared to 18% of non-members. In addition, members of the groups come into contact with the police and the judiciary significantly more often, which confirms the hypothesis of fan violence as a socially relevant phenomenon.

The discussion of the results sheds light on the ambivalent nature of fan groups. While they represent a source of identity, togetherness and meaning in life for young people, they also carry the risk of deviant behaviour. Theoretically, the findings align with the framework of social identity theory and the concept of identity fusion, which posits that a strong connection between personal and group identities fosters loyalty and a willingness to sacrifice for the group, including potentially violent behaviour. It concludes that membership in fan groups should not be reduced to stereotypes about “problem hooligans”, but must be seen as a response of young people to the needs for belonging, self-esteem and social recognition. It is recommended to develop prevention strategies that enable young people to channel their energy and enthusiasm into constructive social activities, while preserving a sense of community and belonging, and minimising destructive behaviour patterns.

KEYWORDS

a group of fans, young, motivation, identity, hooliganism

Sociodemografske odlike i motivi članstva mladih u navijačkim grupama – empirijsko istraživanje na uzorku srednjoškolaca u Srbiji

SAŽETAK

Ovaj rad se bavi istraživanjem društvenog značaja i motivacije članstva u navijačkim (ultras) grupama kod mladih. Teorijski okvir počiva na sociološkim i socijalno-psihološkim pristupima koji navijačke grupe posmatraju kao specifične omladinske supkulture koje pružaju osećaj identiteta i pripadnosti. Istraživanje je sprovedeno na uzorku srednjoškolaca iz Srbije (N = 3662), kroz upitnik o navijačkim sklonostima, motivima učlanjenja u navijačku grupu i sklonosti ka nasilnom ponašanju povezanim sa navijačkim aktivnostima. Rezultati pokazuju da otprilike svaki sedmi ispitanik pripada nekoj navijačkoj grupi, pri čemu je članstvo znatno učestalije među mladima nego devojkama. Kao glavne motive članstva, mladi navode *podršku voljenom klubu* i *društvenu povezanost* – članstvo doživljavaju kao način da se *pripada zajednici* istomišljenika i doprinese sportskom uspehu kluba. Statistički testovi ukazuju da članovi navijačkih grupa imaju drugačiji obrazac vrednosti i ponašanja u odnosu na vršnjake koji nisu članovi: oni češće vrednuju klupske obaveze iznad školskih, i značajno češće učestvuju u fizičkim sukobima i incidentima povezanim sa navijanjem. Diskusija ovih nalaza pokazuje da su navijačke grupe za mlade prvenstveno izvor identiteta, *emocionalne podrške* i *adrenalinskog* uzbuđenja, što objašnjava snažnu lojalnost grupi ali istovremeno nosi rizik od devijantnih ponašanja (huliganizma). U zaključku se ističe društveni značaj razumevanja ovih motiva: umesto stereotipnog posmatranja mladih navijača samo kao „problematičnih huligana”, potrebno je uvažiti da navijačke grupe ispunjavaju važne potrebe mladih za *pripadnošću* i *smislom*. Shodno tome, preporučuju se intervencije koje bi njihovu energiju usmerile u konstruktivnom pravcu, uz uvažavanje grupnog identiteta, čime bi se umanjili nasilni aspekti bez gubitka osećaja zajedništva.

KLJUČNE REČI

navijačke grupe, mladi, motivacija, identitet, huliganizam

1 UVOD

Organizovane navijačke grupe (tzv. ultras) predstavljaju specifičnu pojavu u savremenoj omladinskoj kulturi – one su istovremeno izvor snažnog kolektivnog identiteta i potencijalnog rizičnog ponašanja. Mnogi mladi ljudi širom sveta, pa tako i u Srbiji, tokom adolescencije pristupaju navijačkim grupama vezanim za fudbalske i druge sportske klubove (Milošević et al. 2014b). Učlanjenje u takvu grupu može imati višestruko značenje za mladu osobu: od pružanja osećaja pripadnosti i društvene podrške, preko mogućnosti da se izrazi lojalnost voljenom timu, pa do kanalisanja buntovništva i preuzimanja uloga u grupnoj hijerarhiji. Savremena sociologija sporta i omladine ističe da se navijačke supkulture mogu posmatrati kao „emocionalne zajednice” sa sopstvenim vrednostima, normama i simbolima (Mustapić and Peraso- vić 2020). Pripadnici ovih grupa često navode da im grupa predstavlja „drugu porodicu” ili ključni oslonac u životu, što ukazuje na važnu psihosocijalnu funkciju koju članstvo ispunjava.

Nasuprot unutrašnjem doživljaju pripadnika, šira javnost i mediji često percipiraju navijačke grupe isključivo kroz prizmu huliganizma i devijantnosti. Tradicionalni pristupi problemu navijačkog nasilja naglašavali su pojave poput „socijalne neprilagođenosti” huligana ili njihove sklonosti ka kriminalu (Dunning 2000; Newson et al. 2018). Ipak, novija istraživanja dovode u pitanje takve jednodimenzionalne stereotipe. Primarno, članovi navijačkih grupa nisu nužno disfunkcionalni u ostalim aspektima života – studija Newson et al. (2018) pokazala je da tzv. „ultras” navijači u Brazilu nemaju izražene probleme u školi, porodici ili poslu u poređenju sa vršnjacima. Njihovo nasilno ponašanje je specifično usmereno ka

odbrani sopstvene grupe i kluba od rivala, a ne prema društvu u celini. Ovi nalazi su u skladu sa teorijom „identifikacione fuzije” koja sugerise da pojedinci mogu toliko snažno povezati svoj lični identitet sa grupnim da pretnje grupi doživljavaju kao lične pretnje, pa su spremni i na žrtvovanje radi odbrane svoje „psihološke braće” (Newson et al. 2018).

Sociološki gledano, navijačke grupe se mogu tumačiti i kroz klasične teorije supkultura i društvene identifikacije. Teorija društvenog identiteta (Tajfel and Turner 1979) objašnjava kako pripadnost grupi doprinosi samopoštovanju mladih: kroz kolektivni identitet navijača mlada osoba definiše ko je i gde pripada. Supkulturni pristupi ističu da omladinske grupe poput navijača često nastaju kao vid otpora ili odstupanja od dominantnih društvenih normi, ali istovremeno stvaraju sopstvene norme i pozitivne vrednosti unutar grupe (Mustapić and Peraso- vić 2020). U slučaju navijača, ta kultura uključuje odanost klubu, rituale navijanja, zajednička obeležja (šalove, transparente, pesme) i kodeks ponašanja koji se u nekim aspektima kosi sa konvencionalnim pravilima (npr. tolerancija prema pirotehnici ili tučama sa rivalskim grupama).

Prethodna istraživanja u regionu ukazuju da fenomen navijačkih grupa ima i lokalne specifičnosti. U Srbiji i susednim zemljama navijački pokreti su već decenijama povezani i sa širim društvenim procesima – od uloge u nacionalističkim mobilizacijama 1990-ih do savremenih oblika društvenog aktivizma („Against Modern Football” pokret) ili, na negativnoj strani, povezanosti sa kriminalnim krugovima (Milošević and Milašinović 2011). Ipak, u fokusu ovog rada su mladi kao pojedinci unutar navijačkih grupa: zašto im je članstvo privlačno, šta im ono znači i kako to utiče na njihove stavove i ponašanja. Razumevanje

motivacije mladih za priključivanje ovim grupama ključno je za naučno objašnjenje navijačkog huliganizma, ali i za pronalaženje efikasnih društvenih strategija za prevenciju nasilja – jer se pretpostavlja da nasilje proističe iz grupne dinamike i identiteta, a ne isključivo iz individualne sklonosti ka devijaciji (Newson et al. 2018; Spaaij 2008).

Na osnovu teorijskog okvira, može se formulisati glavna hipoteza ovog istraživanja: *Članstvo u navijačkim grupama kod mladih prvenstveno je motivisano potrebom za društvenom pripadnošću, identitetom i zajedničkom podrškom voljenom klubu, a ne „urođenom“ sklonošću ka nasilju; istovremeno, takvo snažno grupno identifikovanje dovodi do promena u vrednosnim orijentacijama i ponašanjima mladih (povećane lojalnosti grupi nauštrb drugih društvenih obaveza, kao i veće spremnosti na sukobe radi odbrane grupe).* Drugim rečima, očekujemo da će mladi navijači koji su članovi grupa češće opisivati svoje članstvo kao izvor smisla, prijateljstva i statusa, a ne kao puku razonodu ili izvor konflikta – iako će objektivni pokazatelji verovatno potvrditi da upravo ta snažna posvećenost grupi ide ruku pod ruku sa većim učešćem u incidentima.

2 METODE

Uzorkom su obuhvaćeni učenici srednjih škola u Republici Srbiji, različitih regiona i veličina naselja, što istraživanju daje dozu šireg uvida u omladinsku populaciju. Ispitivanje je sprovedeno tokom jedne školske godine (2022/23.) u 12 gradova i opština (uključujući veće centre poput Beograda, Novog Sada, Niša, Kragujevca, Subotice, ali i manje sredine poput Kule, Ivanjice, Pećinaca i dr. – odnosno gradove koji imaju ili su imali superligaške fudbalske timove). Ukupan obim uzorka iznosi N = 3662 učenika, uglavnom uzrasta od

15 do 19 godina (prosečne starosti oko 17 godina). U uzorku je bilo 55,3% mladića i 44,7% devojaka, što približno odražava polnu strukturu učenika nekih škola uključenih u istraživanje (mala prednost mladića delom nastaje usled učešća tehničkih i stručnih škola sa tradicionalno više muških učenika). Takva polna struktura se pokazala relevantnom, budući da su mladići znatno zastupljeniji u populaciji navijača: među ispitanicima, oko 13,8% je izjavilo da su članovi neke navijačke grupe, pri čemu od ukupnog broja članova čak oko 86% čine mladići, a oko 14% devojke. Drugim rečima, približno svaki peti mladić u uzorku (21,0%) pripada navijačkoj grupi, naspram manje od svake dvadesete ispitanice devojke (oko 4,3%). Ova polna disproporcija u skladu je sa opštim zapažanjima da je ekstremizam u navijačkoj podkulturi pretežno muški fenomen (Spaaij 2008; Milojević, Mijalković and Janković 2017), te se u daljoj analizi primarno fokusiramo na obrasce prisutne u ukupnom uzorku (uz napomenu da zbog malog broja devojaka-navijača nije bilo moguće detaljnije zasebno razmatrati rodne razlike unutar grupe članova navijačkih grupa).

Instrument istraživanja bio je anketni upitnik koji je ispitanicima distribuiran kolektivno u razredima, uz garantovanje anonimnosti odgovora. Upitnik je konstruisan namenski za projekat o navijačkom huliganizmu među mladima, pa je obuhvatao pitanja višestrukog izbora i skalirana pitanja koja pokrivaju nekoliko tematskih celina: (a) osnovne demografske karakteristike (pol, uzrast, porodična situacija, materijalni status porodice, škola i razred, sklonost ka izostajanju iz škole); (b) odnos prema školi (npr. u kojoj meri im škola znači druženje, dosadu, budućnost, ili je “manje važna od kluba”); (c) navijačka orijentacija – za koji fudbalski klub navijaju i zašto, koliko prate

utakmice (npr. da li prate i reprezentaciju), da li imaju bliskog prijatelja koji je navijač; (d) lično članstvo u navijačkoj grupi (da/ne), ako da: u kojoj grupi, kako su postali član, kakav status imaju u grupi, i šta im znači to članstvo (pitanje je omogućilo višestruke odgovore, npr. da li članstvo doživljavaju kao društvo/provod, kao porodicu, kao izvor najboljeg prijatelja, kao način da se „ubije vreme“, kao podršku klubu, ili nešto drugo); (e) stav prema vođi navijačke grupe (npr. da li ga smatraju vođom kog slede, dobrim drugom, „prvim među jednakima“, ili imaju kritički otklon); (f) iskustva sa nasiljem i rizicima u kontekstu navijanja – niz pitanja je ispitivao učestvovanje u različitim oblicima sukoba (verbalni sukobi, tuče na ili van sportskog objekta, učestvovanje u unapred „zakazanoj“ tuči između navijača), eventualnu školsku tuču, te kontakt s policijom i pravosudnim organima (da li su ikada privedeni, da li imaju prekršajnu ili krivičnu prijavu zbog nasilnog ponašanja); (g) korišćenje alkohola i narkotika u različitim prilikama (na proslavama, utakmicama, u školi itd.); (h) stavove o prevenciji navijačkog nasilja (npr. da li rešenje vide u strožijim zakonima, radu policije, edukaciji, radu pravosuđa, ili nečem drugom).

Plan analize: U kvantitativnoj obradi podataka korišćeni su deskriptivni statistički pokazatelji (učestalosti i procenti odgovora) kako bi se profilisali tipični motivi i značenja koje mladi ispitanici pridaju navijanju i članstvu u grupama. Ključna hipoteza testirana je prvenstveno metodom uporedne analize dve podgrupe ispitanika – članova navijačkih grupa ($N \approx 506$) i onih koji nisu članovi ($N \approx 3123$) – u pogledu određenih stavova i ponašanja. Za testiranje značajnosti razlika korišćena je hi-kvadrat (χ^2) statistika za kategorijalne varijable. Na primer, ispitana je povezanost članstva u grupi sa

uključenosti u nasilne incidente, sa stavom o školi („škola je manje važna od kluba“), sa porodičnom situacijom, itd. Takođe, unutar podgrupe članova analizirane su relativne učestalosti različitih motiva i značenja članstva (s obzirom da je tu bilo omogućeno višestruko odgovaranje, rezultati su izraženi kroz procenat članova koji su označili određenu tvrdnju kao relevantnu). Statistički testovi smatrani su značajnim na nivou $p < 0,05$, a kod visokih vrednosti χ^2 i vrlo malih p -vrednosti naglašeno je praktično značenje razlike, s obzirom na veličinu uzorka (što i male razlike čini formalno značajnim).

Reprezentativnost uzorka uslovljena je dostupnošću škola i dobrovoljnošću učešća; iako uzorak pokriva različite regione i tipove sredina, ne tvrdi se da je strogo reprezentativan za sve srednjoškolce u Srbiji. Ipak, njegova veličina i heterogenost pružaju pouzdanu osnovu za uočavanje opštih obrazaca u populaciji mladih navijača. Važno je napomenuti i etički aspekt: u prikupljanju podataka poštovani su principi dobrovoljnosti i poverljivosti – učenici su pre početka ispunjavanja ankete bili informisani o anonimnosti i svrsi istraživanja, te im je naglašeno da mogu odbiti učešće ili preskočiti bilo koje pitanje. Svi prikupljeni podaci analizirani su grupno, bez mogućnosti identifikacije pojedinaca.

3 REZULTATI

Profil opštih navijačkih opredeljenja: Većina ispitanih srednjoškolaca (preko 90%) izjasnila se da navija za neki fudbalski klub, pri čemu su najpopularniji očekivano bili crno-beli (Partizan) i crveno-beli (Crvena zvezda), uz manje učešće regionalnih klubova. Na pitanje zašto navijaju baš za taj klub, odgovori su pokazali nekoliko dominantnih motiva. Najčešći razlog je porodična tradicija – oko 23%

ispitanika navodi da podržava klub zato što većina članova njegove porodice navija za taj klub. Skoro podjednako čest motiv (takođe oko 23%) jeste privlačnost uspeha – mladi navijači kažu da su odabrali klub jer je „taj klub imao dosta uspeha u ranijem periodu”. Sledeća velika grupa (21%) daje lične ili idiosinkratične razloge označene kao „nešto drugo” (ovde su mogli navesti otvoren odgovor; često su to lokalpatriotski motivi – npr. navijam za klub iz svog grada – ili posebne okolnosti poput divljenja određenom igraču). Uticaj vršnjaka je manje zastupljen nego što bi se možda očekivalo: oko 7% mladih kaže da navijaju za klub zato što većina njihovih drugova navija za njega. Još 7% navodi neobičan motiv – dizajn/boje kluba („sviđaju mi se boje tog kluba”), dok je vrlo malo (1,7%) onih koji su izbor kluba objasnili romantičnom vezom („za taj klub navija moj dečko/devojka”). Ovi nalazi sugerišu da se osnovna privrženost klubu formira pre svega unutar porodičnog i šireg kulturnog okruženja (uspeh kluba kao deo sportske kulture), dok direktna socijalna presija vršnjaka igra manju ulogu u inicijalnom opredeljivanju mladih za navijanje.

Učlanjenje u navijačke grupe: Od ukupnog broja ispitanika, 13,8% je potvrdilo da su članovi organizovane navijačke grupe (odnosno da aktivno pripadaju tzv. „korteu” ili „ekipi” koja navija na tribinama za određeni klub). Ostali (oko 85%) ili navijaju samostalno/neformalno ili uopšte ne posećuju utakmice organizovano. Ispitanici – članovi navijačkih grupa – upitani su zatim kojoj grupi pripadaju. U skladu sa očekivanjima, najveći broj navodi grupe vezane za dva najveća kluba: Delije (navijačka grupa Crvene zvezde) i Grobari (Partizan) čine glavninu, dok su ostali raspoređeni na navijačke grupe drugih klubova (npr. Firmaši – Novi Sad, Meraklije – Niš i dr.). To je očekivano s obzirom

na geografsku rasprostranjenost uzorka. Zanimljivo je da je značajan broj ispitanika naveo da nema formalno ime grupe ili da su „samostalni navijači koji se drže zajedno”. Ovo može značiti da u pojedinim manjim sredinama navijači funkcionišu više kao neformalno društvo nego kao strogo organizovana ultras frakcija.

Na pitanje kako su postali članom navijačke grupe, dobijeni odgovori osvetljavaju procese socijalizacije u ovu supkulturu. Više od polovine članova (53%) kaže da su se učlanili postepeno i samoinicijativno – „stalnim odlaskom na utakmice i kasnijim upoznavanjem članova navijačkih grupa”. Ovaj odgovor odslikava scenario u kom mlada osoba prvo redovno posećuje utakmice iz ljubavi prema sportu i klubu, zatim vremenom sklapa poznanstva na tribini i prirodno biva integrisana u grupu. Drugi po zastupljenosti motiv (22,7% članova) jeste lična želja od samog početka: „oduvek sam želeo/želela da budem član navijačke grupe, tako da sam se sam(a) priključio/la.” Ova grupa ispitanika svedoči o svesnom izboru – za njih je ultras identitet privlačan i pre nego što steknu lične veze unutar grupe, pa aktivno traže priključenje (često se radi o tinejdžerima koji idu na stadion upravo sa ciljem da postanu deo ekipe). Tek manji deo članova naveo je vršnjački ili porodični uticaj kao direktan okidač za članstvo: oko 6,1% kaže da su postali članovi „na nagovor drugova iz škole”, a 5,1% „jer mi je stariji brat/sestra već bio član navijačke grupe”. Još manji procenat (3%) ušao je u grupu „na nagovor devojke ili momka”. Oko 5% članova označilo je „nešto drugo” (specifičniji razlozi) ili nije dalo odgovor.

Ovi podaci pokazuju da, iako socijalne veze olakšavaju uključivanje (prijatelji ili rođaci „uvlače” mladu osobu među navijače), u većini slučajeva mladi sami gravitiraju ka navijačkim grupama iz ljubavi prema klubu i potrebe da taj entuzijazam

podele sa istomišljenicima. To donekle demantuje često pojednostavljeno objašnjenje da mladi ulaze u problematične navijačke družine isključivo pod lošim uticajem vršnjaka; pre će biti da ih privlači grupni identitet i atmosfera zajedništva koju vide na tribinama, nakon čega ih vršnjački mehanizmi prihvatanja učvršćuju u grupi (Spaaij 2008).

Značenje članstva – perspektiva mladih navijača: Ključni segment istraživanja odnosi se na to šta članstvo u navijačkoj grupi predstavlja mladim ljudima. Ispitanicima koji su se izjasnili kao članovi postavljeno je pitanje sa više ponuđenih tvrdnji: „Biti član navijačke grupe za mene znači...”, uz mogućnost da označe sve izjave sa kojima se slažu. Njihovi odgovori osvetljavaju dominantne vrednosti i funkcije koje grupa ima u njihovim životima.

Najveći broj mladih navijača – 56,7% članova – izabrao je tvrdnju da im članstvo znači „podršku klubu”. Drugim rečima, primarna vrednost članstva za njih jeste mogućnost da aktivno doprinose voljenom klubu, bilo kroz navijanje na tribinama, organizovane koreografije, putovanja na gostujuće utakmice, itd. Ovaj nalaz ističe da se oni sami ne identifikuju prvenstveno kao „ulični borci” ili buntovnici, već pre svega kao strastveni fanovi čija grupa postoji radi kluba. To je u skladu sa rezultatima kvalitativnih studija koje pokazuju da ultras navijači svoju agresiju racionalizuju kao „borbu za klub” ili odbranu časti kluba (Newson et al. 2018; Spaaij 2008).

Na drugom mestu po učestalosti je društvena dimenzija: 22,1% članova navodi da im članstvo znači „društvo i provod”. Ova tvrdnja implicira da mladi vide navijačku grupu kao krug prijatelja sa kojima se druže i zabavljaju, ne samo na utakmicama već i van stadiona. Grupa im dakle pruža bogat društveni život, osećaj pripadanja vršnjačkoj zajednici i

zajedničke avanture (putovanja, proslave pobeda, itd.). Ovakva socijalna privlačnost navijačkih grupa često se ističe u literaturi: one funkcionišu poput omladinskog kluba na otvorenom, sa ritualima koji jačaju veze među članovima (pevanje navijačkih pesama, zajedničko nošenje obeležja, grupna okupljanja) (Mustapić and Perasović 2020). Za mnoge mlade, upravo su drugarstvo i adrenalin koji dele sa grupom ono što ih najviše vezuje.

Zanimljivo, oko 11% članova navelo je da im navijačka grupa znači „porodicu”. Isti procenat (približno 11%) označio je i tvrdnju „moj najbolji drug je u navijačkoj grupi” kao opis svog iskustva. Ovi odgovori ukazuju na izuzetno snažne emocionalne veze koje pojedini mladi razvijaju u okviru grupe – toliko da grupu doživljavaju kao porodicu ili barem mesto gde su stekli najboljeg prijatelja. Ovakav nalaz potkrepljuje kvalitativne uvide da se unutar navijačkih grupa često neguju narativi „bratstva” i pseudosrodstva: članovi jedni druge nazivaju „braćom”, ističu lojalnost „porodici” navijača iznad lojalnosti prema „običnim” drugovima iz škole ili komšiluka (Mustapić and Perasović 2020). Za manji deo mladih, grupa očigledno ispunjava potrebe za bliskošću i podrškom koje bi idealno pružala porodica – što može biti posebno značajno za one koji potiču iz nestabilnih porodičnih okolnosti. (Trebalo ipak napomenuti da prema našem uzorku velika većina članova navijačkih grupa živi sa oba roditelja, slično kao i vršnjaci van grupa, što sugerise da grupa više dopunjuje nego što nadomešta porodičnu strukturu.)

Neki članovi su priznali i da im članstvo donekle služi svrsi „ubijanja vremena” – tu tvrdnju je označilo oko 7,5% članova. To implicira da se manjina možda priključila iz dosade ili nedostatka drugih sadržaja, pa im grupne aktivnosti ispunjavaju vreme. Još manji procenat (oko 5%)

naveo je „neki drugi” poseban razlog koji nije pokriven ponuđenim kategorijama (moguće specifične lične motive). Važno je naglasiti da gotovo nijedan član u okviru ovog pitanja nije označio elemente nasilja kao nešto što mu članstvo znači – npr. kategorija „fizički sukobi sa suparnicima” ponuđena je u zasebnom sklopu pitanja o tome šta znači „navijati”, ali u domenu ličnog značenja članstva mladi očigledno nisu percipirali nasilje kao vrednost, već pre kao sredstvo ili nuspojavu. To dodatno osvetljava raskorak između unutrašnje perspektive navijača i spoljašnje percepcije: za članove, njihova družina ima pre svega pozitivan identitetski i socijalni značaj, dok je nasilje, iako prisutno, racionalizovano kao deo borbe za viši cilj (klub ili odbranu „porođice” navijača).

Stav prema autoritetu u grupi: Jedan deo upitnika ispitao je i odnos mladih navijača prema vođama navijačkih grupa. Ti nalazi ovde se ukratko mogu sumirati radi konteksta. Otkriveno je da među članovima postoji izvesna podela: oko 13% slepo prati vođu kao autoritet („vođa je moj ‘vođa’ koga uvek sledim”), dok 10% ide dalje i kaže da više ceni vođu navijača nego školske nastavnike. Ipak, veći deo ima nijansiraniji stav – oko 19% vidi vođu kao „prvog među jednakima”, 18% ga smatra dobrim drugom, a najveći pojedinačni deo (25%) iskazuje autonomiju mišljenja: „ne mislim da treba uvek da sledim vođu, jer se ne slažem uvek s njim” (prema odgovorima ispitanika članova). Ovi podaci sugerišu da, iako hijerarhija postoji, mnogi mladi u grupama zadržavaju kritičku svest i ne pristupaju grupi isključivo autoritarno. Za našu temu (motivacija i značenje članstva) to znači da članstvo nije nužno motivisano potragom za autoritetom, već pre za jednakopravnim pripadanjem kolektivu vršnjaka koji dele strast.

Članstvo i školske obaveze: Jedan od indikatora promenjenih vrednosnih orijentacija usled jakog grupnog identiteta jeste i stav prema školi. Upitnik je ponudio tvrdnju „Škola mi znači manje od kluba” (tj. da li je uspeh kluba važniji od školskog uspeha/diplome). Većina srednjoškolaca se sa ovom tvrdnjom ne slaže – čak i među navijačima mnogi nisu spremni otvoreno reći da im je klub važniji od sopstvene budućnosti – ali rezultati pokazuju značajnu razliku između članova navijačkih grupa i ostalih učenika. Među mladima koji nisu članovi grupa, samo oko 3,3% je potvrdilo da im je „škola manje važna od kluba”. Nasuprot tome, čak 27,1% članova navijačkih grupa složilo se s tom tvrdnjom, što znači da više od četvrtine aktivnih mladih navijača svesno postavlja navijačku lojalnost iznad formalnog obrazovanja. Ova razlika je statistički visoko značajna (χ^2 test, $p < 0,001$) i praktično veoma uočljiva. Drugim rečima, mladi navijači koji su duboko involvirani u grupu često prioritet daju klupskim aktivnostima (npr. odlasku na utakmice, pripremi koreografija, grupnim druženjima) nauštrb školskih obaveza. To se poklapa sa svakodnevnim zapažanjima nastavnika – nije retkost da strastveni navijači izostanu iz škole zbog utakmice ili gostovanja (Milašinović, Milojević and Krstić-Mistridžilović 2014). Naš nalaz kvantifikuje tu pojavu i sugeriše da je članstvo u navijačkoj grupi povezano s nižom akademskom orijentacijom i potencijalno slabijim školskim uspehom (iako mi nismo direktno merili ocene). Ovakav vrednosni pomak može se tumačiti kroz teoriju društvenog identiteta: kako mlada osoba sve više internalizuje identitet navijača, tako identitet đaka postaje manje važan za nju (Tajfel and Turner 1979). Školski uspeh možda ne donosi brzu slavu ni adrenalin, dok kroz grupu mladi mogu steći status „borca za

boje kluba", što im u tom uzrastu deluje privlačnije ili smislenije.

Članstvo i nasilno ponašanje: Jedno od ključnih pitanja ovog rada jeste da li je uključenost u navijačku grupu povezana sa većom sklonošću ka nasilju i konfliktima kod mladih. Prema dobijenim podacima, razlike su dramatične. Uporedili smo samoprijavljeno učestvovanje u fizičkim sukobima (tučama) između članova i ne-članova navijačkih grupa. Rezultati pokazuju da je čak 70,8% mladih koji su članovi grupe imalo iskustvo u nekom fizičkom sukobu navijačkog karaktera, naspram svega 18,0% onih koji nisu članovi (χ^2 test pokazuje da je ova razlika statistički izuzetno značajna, $p < 0,001$). Dakle, velika većina mladića u navijačkim grupama je već učestvovala u navijačkim tučama, dok je među vršnjacima van tih grupa takvo iskustvo relativno retko. Ovo potvrđuje očekivanje da organizovano navijanje nosi visok rizik od uključenja u nasilje, čak i kada pojedinac lično možda nije sklon tuči u drugim okolnostima. Naše dodatne analize pokazuju da se nasilje uglavnom ispoljava u specifičnim prilikama vezanim za sport: npr. među članovima navijačkih grupa, 64% je reklo da su učestvovali u tuči na sportskom objektu (stadionu ili dvorani), 58% u tuči van sportskog objekta (npr. na putu ka stadionu ili u gradu posle utakmice), a 45% čak i u unapred „dogovorenoj” tuči sa suparničkom grupom. To potvrđuje nalaze poput Newson et al. (2018) da je nasilje navijača usmereno ka rivalskim grupama i situaciono – retko je slučajno ili nasumično, već je gotovo uvek povezano sa sportskim događajem i intergrupnom dinamikom.

Povezanost članstva i nasilnih ishoda ogleda se i kroz podatke o sukobu sa zakonom. Oko 23,5% mladih članova navijačkih grupa izjavilo je da su bili privedeni od strane policije, naspram samo 2,6%

onih koji nisu članovi. Slično tome, oko 15% članova imalo je neku prekršajnu prijavu (najčešće zbog tuče, remećenja javnog reda na utakmici i sl.), u poređenju sa neznatnih 1,8% ne-članova. Čak i za ozbiljnije konsekvence – 13,6% članova navodi da je protiv njih vođen krivični postupak ili optužba zbog nasilnog ponašanja, dok je to slučaj kod jedva 1,4% vršnjaka van grupa. Sve navedene razlike su statistički visoko značajne ($p < 0,001$). Ovi brojevi nedvosmisleno ukazuju da su mladi koji su uključeni u navijačke grupe višestruko skloniji da budu uvučeni u nasilne incidente koji rezultiraju policijskom intervencijom ili sudskim epilogom. Naravno, važno je primetiti da članstvo per se ne mora biti „uzrok” – moguće je i da oni mladići koji su po temperamentu skloniji tuči prirodno teže navijačkim grupama – ali kvalitativni uvidi (Spaaij 2008; Milošević and Milašinović 2011) sugerišu da čak i relativno „mirni” momci unutar uzavrele grupne atmosfere tribine mogu biti povučeni u kolektivnu tuču, vođeni osećajem dužnosti prema grupi i adrenalinom mase.

Dodatna zapažanja: Analiza nije pokazala bitne razlike između članova i ne-članova u pogledu osnovnih porodičnih i ekonomskih karakteristika. Većina jednih i drugih (približno 82%) živi sa oba roditelja, dok manji procenat potiče iz jednoroditeljskih porodica ili van roditeljskog doma, i tu nismo našli statistički značajnu disproporciju. Takođe, socio-ekonomski status (meren zaposlenošću roditelja i subjektivnom materijalnom situacijom) sličan je u obe grupe – npr. preko polovine ispitanika i među članovima i među ostalima kaže da su im oba roditelja zaposlena, a oko 4–5% u obe grupe pripada porodicama koje žive u teškim materijalnim uslovima bez stalnih primanja. Ovi podaci su važni jer kontriraju tezi da su navijački huligani pretežno proizvod socijalne

bede ili razorenih porodica. Tipičan mladi član navijačke grupe nije socijalni otpadnik, već dolazi iz prosečne porodice i uporedivog je socio-ekonomskog statusa kao i njegovi vršnjaci (Newson et al. 2018). Razlozi za njegovo problematično ponašanje, dakle, ne leže toliko u porodičnom kontekstu koliko u grupnoj dinamici i vrednostima koje grupa promoviše.

Zanimljivo je i da među mladima van navijačkih grupa postoji određen indirektni uticaj navijačke supkulture: znatan deo ne-članova (oko 32%) ima najboljeg prijatelja koji jeste strastveni navijač ili čak član neke navijačke grupe. To govori o prožimanju supkulture i šireg okruženja – i mladi koji sami nisu aktivni u grupama često poznaju i druže se sa onima koji jesu, što može uticati na njihovo razumevanje i stav prema navijačkom svetu. No, detaljnija analiza takvih međudnosa prelazi okvire ovog rada.

U celini, dobijeni rezultati potvrdili su postavljenu hipotezu: motivaciona osnova članstva u navijačkim grupama kod mladih pre svega se zasniva na socijalnim i identitetskim faktorima – želi da se bude deo zajednice istomišljenika i da se podrži voljeni klub na organizovan i značajan način. Istovremeno, posledice te intenzivne grupne lojalnosti vidljive su u pomeranju ličnih prioriteta (grupni ciljevi ispred školskih) i spremnosti na sukobe sa rivalskim grupama.

4 DISKUSIJA

Nalazi našeg istraživanja pružaju uvid u unutrašnju logiku navijačkih grupa iz perspektive njihovih mladih članova i istovremeno ilustruju spoljne manifestacije te pripadnosti. Ključna tema – *značenje i motivacija članstva* – pokazala se slojevitom. Za većinu mladih, priključenje navijačkoj grupi nije puki hir ili sredstvo za ispoljavanje agresije, već pre svega

ispunjava *duboke psihosocijalne potrebe*: potrebu za pripadanjem vršnjačkoj zajednici, za jasno definisanim identitetom u osetljivoj životnoj fazi, kao i za strukturiranim okvirom u kom mogu kanalisati strast prema sportu.

4.1 GRUPA KAO IZVOR IDENTITETA I ZAJEDNICE

Rezultati su potvrdili da mladi navijači članstvo primarno vide kao *pozitivnu vrednost* – način da budu „deo nečeg većeg“ i da *njihov glas i prisustvo značajno doprinesu* uspehu voljenog kluba. Ova *idealistička komponenta* motivacije često se prenebregava u javnim prikazima huligana, ali je veoma važna. Mnogi naši ispitanici praktično su rekli: „Navijačka grupa mi omogućuje da budem istinski navijač, da se moje navijanje računa.“ To je u skladu sa fenomenom koji Giulianotti (2002) opisuje – moderni fanovi traže *autentičnost navijačkog iskustva*, a ultras supkultura im to pruža kroz aktivno, gromko i beskompromisno navijanje, za razliku od pasivnog gledanja utakmice. Sociološki gledano, mladi kroz grupu pronalaze *identitet navijača* kao centralni element svog društvenog identiteta, što potvrđuje i teorija društvenog identiteta: pojedinac definiše sebe u terminima pripadnosti grupi (Tajfel and Turner 1979). Ta identitetska veza objašnjava i nalaz da četvrtina mladih navijača priznaje da im je klub ispred škole – njihov salijentni identitet jeste „ja sam Zvezdaš/Grobar“ više nego „ja sam odličan učenik“. Kako navode Mustapić i Perasović (2020), navijačka zajednica stvara čvrst habitus i sistem značenja za mladog čoveka; vrednosti grupe (lojalnost, hrabrost, drugarstvo) postaju merilo uspeha, možda važnije od školskih ocena koje doživljavaju kao nametnute od strane autoriteta s kojima se ne identifikuju.

Grupa zadovoljava i potrebu za *društvenom interakcijom i prihvaćenošću*. Nije neočekivano da petina članova u našem uzorku kaže da su tu radi druženja i provoda – navijačke aktivnosti su za njih i oblik zabave, ali s dodatnom „težinom“ zajedničke misije. Osećaj *kamradstva i solidarnosti* unutar navijačkih grupa je legendaran: dele se rizici (npr. bežanje od policije, sukobi), dele se radosti (pobede kluba) i tuge (porazi, kazne). Takva intenzivna iskustva stvaraju *emocionalne veze* daleko jače od površnih poznanstava – otuda ne čudi što dobar deo mladih navodi da su im najbolji prijatelji upravo iz grupe, a neki idu i korak dalje nazivajući grupu porodicom. Ovaj nalaz ima paralele i u drugim omladinskim supkulturama (npr. kod bandi ili ekstremnih sportskih družina), gde članovi preuzimaju fiktivno srodstvo i koriste terminologiju braće/sestara (Cohen 1972). U kontekstu navijača, ovakva „porodična“ povezanost može biti pojačana ako porodica pojedinca inače ne pruža stabilnost ili razumevanje – mladić čiji roditelji možda ne mare za njegove probleme može u starijem vođi grupe videti očinsku figuru, a u grupnoj koheziji naći utehu i strukturu koju kod kuće nema (Milošević and Milašinović 2011). Iako naše kvantitativne brojeke pokazuju da većina članova ipak potiče iz relativno urednih porodica, *kvalitativno iskustvo* pripadanja može nadmašiti biološke datosti: nije retkost da navijač kaže „moji pravi brat i otac su na tribini, ne kod kuće“.

Važno je primetiti i da mladi u grupi pronalaze svojevrсни *status i priznanje* koje možda ne dobijaju u drugim sferama. U školi je teško za kratko vreme steći „ime“, ali u navijačkoj grupi čak i tinejdžer može biti zapažen ako npr. izradi dobar transparent, povede pesmu ili pokazuje hrabrost u okršaju. Tako se ispunjava i potreba za samopoštova-

njem – kroz grupu mladi dokazuju sebi i drugima da su „neko“. Spaaij (2008) je u studijama britanskih i holandskih huligana naglasio upravo tu dimenziju: maskulinitet i ugled unutar grupe ostvaruje se pokazivanjem „muških“ vrlina – fizičke izdržljivosti, lojalnosti, drčnosti prema rivalima. Naša saznanja sugerisu da su i srpski mladi navijači motivisani delom ovim imperativom: grupni kontekst im pruža arenu da potvrde zrelost ili muškost, što inače u društvu u tranziciji možda ne mogu (npr. slaba ekonomska perspektiva, nemogućnost samostalnosti, itd., paradoksalno ih čini ponosnima što bar na tribini i u tuči „drže stvar pod kontrolom“).

4.2 GRUPA I NASILJE – ZAŠTITNIČKA AGRESIJA I IDENTITETSKA FUZIJA

Jedan od najznačajnijih aspekata rezultata je potvrda da *članstvo u navijačkoj grupi nosi sa sobom znatno viši nivo učešća u nasilnim incidentima*. Iako to može delovati trivijalno (očekivano je da „ultrasi“ više učestvuju u tučama od prosečnog učenika), važno je razumeti kontekst i psihologiju te nasilnosti. Naši podaci pokazuju da su sukobi gotovo uvek vezani za *sportsku arenu i navijačke okršaje* – mladi navijači se ne tuku nasumično s bilo kim, već suvereno navode rivale kao glavne protivnike. Tako, iako 71% članova ima iskustvo u tuči, gotovo svi oni navode rivale (drugu navijačku grupu) ili eventualno policiju kao stranu sukoba, dok se ne pominje, recimo, nasilje nad slučajnim prolaznicima ili vršnjačko nasilje u školi. Ovaj obrazac je u saglasju sa savremenim teorijama koje huligansko nasilje tumače kao formu *parohijalnog altruizma* – paradoksalno, nasilje proističe iz *želje da se zaštiti sopstvena grupa* (Choi and Bowles 2007; Newson et al. 2018).

U tom smislu, naši mladi navijači se tuku „sa razlogom”: da odbrane svoj sektor stadiona, ugled kluba ili drugare iz grupe. Psihološki, oni doživljavaju pripadnike suparničke grupe kao „pretnju” – što je situacija identitetske fuzije kako su je opisali Newson et al. (2018). Oni su u svom istraživanju brazilskih torcida pokazali su da *spoljna pretnja* (druga grupa, provociranje) enormno pojačava spremnost na nasilnu reakciju kod navijača čiji je identitet jak, dok u odsustvu pretnje čak ni visokofuzionisani navijači nisu skloni iniciranju nasilja. Slični zaključci mogu se izvesti i iz naših podataka: samo članstvo, per se, nije dovelo do toga da svaki mladi navijač pravi incidente nasumično, ali u datim okolnostima (najčešće međugrupnim susretima) velika većina ih se uključila u tuču jer je to *norma grupnog ponašanja* i pitanje „časti”.

Još jedan interesantan nalaz je da veliki deo članova navijačkih grupa ima probleme sa zakonom upravo zbog tih grupnih tuča. Ovo ima i sociološku i praktičnu implikaciju. Sociološki, potvrđuje se da su navijačke grupe jedan od glavnih izvora konflikta mladih s društvenim normama i zakonom (Milošević and Milašinović 2011). Mnogi mladići koji inače ne bi postali prestupnici dobiju prekršajne prijave u kontekstu navijanja – dakle, *kriminalitet maloletnika u Srbiji donekle se preliiva iz fenomena navijačkih obračuna*. Praktično gledano, ovo ukazuje da mere koje su dominantno represivne (policijska sila, sudsko kažnjavanje) hvataju posledicu a ne uzrok (Marković 2016). Naš nalaz da četvrtina članova biva privođena sugerise i *efekat stigmatizacije*: kada mladu osobu privedu i kazne zbog navijačke tuče, ona može biti gurnuta dublje u identitet „delinkventa” i inata, umesto da je to odvraća (Cohen 1972; teorija etiketiranja). Neki autori (npr. Stott 2007; Milojević and Janković 2012)

ističu da pretvrdo postupanje policije često homogenizuje navijače i eskalira nasilje – što implicira potrebu za rafiniranijim pristupom (radeći sa grupama, a ne samo protiv njih).

4.3 ODNOS PREMA DRUŠTVU I MAINSTREAM VREDNOSTIMA

Članstvo u navijačkoj grupi kod mladih neminovno donosi i *sukob vrednosti* sa institucijama poput škole, pa i porodice. Već smo videli da značajan deo mladih navijača školu stavlja u drugi plan. Takođe, iako nismo detaljno izlagali ranije, podaci pokazuju da članovi češće izostaju sa nastave (što je logično ako prioritet daju odlasku na utakmice ili oporavku posle noćnih proslava/nemira). Ovo upućuje na problem integracije: navijačke grupe svojom supkulturalnom privlačnošću mogu mlade udaljiti od konvencionalnih putanja (obrazovanje, formalna postignuća). Mnogi naši ispitanici su verovatno prosečni učenici ili čak ponavlači koji energiju i vreme radije troše na tribini nego nad knjigom. Ovaj trend ima dugoročne posledice – ukoliko mladi navijač prekine školovanje ili ga zapostavi, njegov životni kurs može ostati vezan za supkulturu duže nego što bi inače, možda prelazeći i u polje delinkvencije (posebno ako grupa ima veze sa kriminalnim poslovima, što nije neuobičajeno u nekim slučajevima). *Sociološki zadatak* je stoga pronaći načine da se mladi zadrže u „dve zone”: da budu i navijači, ali i konstruktivni članovi šire zajednice.

Jedan od nalaza koji to ilustruje je i činjenica da značajan segment naših mladih navijača ima ambivalentan stav prema institucionalnim autoritetima. Neki čak kažu da im je vođa navijača značajniji od nastavnika. To oslikava krizu *legitimiteta formalnih* institucija (škole,

možda i roditelja) u očima tih adolescenata – oni poštovanje i inspiraciju nalaze u neformalnom lideru iz svog miljea, a ne u društveno postavljenim autoritetima. Takav razvoj misli je plodno tle za potencijalnu antisocijalnost: ako mlada osoba ne vidi vrednost u onome što društvo nudi (obrazovanje, karijera), već samo u grupnoj „uličnoj slavi“, biće sklonija da zanemari opšte društvene norme. To se donekle događa u navijačkom univerzumu: stvara se supkultura sa sopstvenim kodeksom časti i uspeha, gde su važna merila ko je lojalan, ko „ima srce“ (hrabrost u tuči), ko peva 90 minuta bez prestanka, itd., dok su ocene, pristojnost i slično irelevantne ili čak ismevane vrednosti. Ovi procesi su ranije primećeni i u drugim supkultutama devijantnih mladih (Cohen 1955), a u našem slučaju konkretni su ali i reverzibilni – mnogi navijači ipak sazru i kasnije ponovo prihvate društvene tokove (posao, porodica). Pitanje je kako *usmeriti tu energiju* dok su mladi.

4.4 ŠIRA PERSPEKTIVA I UPOREDNI KONTEKST

Važno je staviti naše nalaze u širi kontekst drugih istraživanja i iskustava. U zapadnoevropskim studijama fudbalskih navijača često se naglašava radnička klasa i muški rituali kao srž huliganizma (Dunning 1994). Kod nas vidimo da ekonomska klasa nije presudna – članovi dolaze iz raznih slojeva – ali *muški ritual* svakako jeste: od dokazivanja hrabrosti do kreiranja zajedničkih simboličkih svetova (pesme, grafiti, tetovaže). Spaij (2008) je analizirao kako nasilje i mačizam služe konstruisanju kolektivnog identiteta „pravih muškaraca“ nasuprot „običnim momcima“. U našem uzorku to se očituje u nepisanom pravilu da „ko nije spreman na tuču, nije pravi član“ –

otud tako visoka stopa učestvovanja u sukobima među članovima. Moguće je da neki mladi i ne bi učestvovali da nisu osećali grupni pritisak (Milojević et al. 2014a). To je bitna psihološka dinamika: *konformizam i želja za statusom u grupi* mogu naterati pojedinca da se ponaša nasilnije nego što bi samostalno (što su klasično pokazali i eksperimentalni socijalni psiholozi).

Međutim, valja istaći i potencijale navijačkih grupa za *pozitivne društvene akcije*, što se pojavljuje sve više poslednjih godina (Mustapić and Perasović 2020). Na primer, neke ultras grupe su se angažovale u humanitarnim akcijama, protestima protiv korupcije u sportu („protiv modernog fudbala“), pa čak i u pružanju pomoći tokom elementarnih nepogoda (poznati su primeri masovnog odaya navijača u regionu tokom poplava 2014. godine). U našem upitniku videli smo da edukativne mere i zakone neki članovi podržavaju kao rešenje huliganizma, što znači da nisu svi isključivo destruktivni – postoji svest o problemu i želja za njegovim razrešavanjem unutar samih navijačkih redova. Mustapić and Perasović (2020) etnografski su zabeležili kako jedna grupa mladih ultrasa u Hrvatskoj kombinuje navijanje sa društvenim aktivizmom protiv kriminala u klubu – pokazujući da supkultura navijača nije monolitna, već *može evoluirati* ka konstruktivnim formama zajedništva. Naš rad to implicitno podržava: mladi navijači su prije svega tražioci zajednice i uzbuđenja, a ne nužno kriminalci po vokaciji. Kada bi se njihova energija usmerila npr. ka takmičenju u navijanju bez nasilja, kreativnim projektima za klub, ili volontiranju za lokalnu zajednicu (što su neke grupe već radile), mogli bismo imati na delu transformaciju huliganske supkulture u pozitivniji omladinski pokret (Radovanović and Velov 2020).

4.5 OGRANIČENJA ISTRAŽIVANJA I IMPLIKACIJE

Pri tumačenju naših nalaza treba uzeti u obzir i neka *metodološka ograničenja*. Podaci su samoprijavljeni, što znači da postoji mogućnost subjektivne pristranosti. Na primer, neki ispitanici (posebno članovi grupa) mogli su *minimizirati* svoje učešće u nasilju iz straha od potencijalnih posledica ili želeći da zaštite reputaciju grupe; s druge strane, nije isključeno ni da su pojedini preterivali nastojeći da impresioniraju (npr. mladić se lažno pohvali da je učestvovao u tuči kako bi ostavio utisak „pravog navijača”). Ipak, obim uzorka i anonimnost ankete verovatno su umanjili te iskrivljenja, a ekstremno visoke razlike između članova i ne-članova u stopama incidenata ukazuju da je tendencija jasna čak i ako apsolutni procenti možda odstupe za koji poen. Dalje, korelacijska priroda podataka ne dopušta tvrdnju o *uzroku i posledici* – mi vidimo da su članstvo i nasilje povezani, ali ne možemo sa sigurnošću reći da je članstvo uzrokovalo nasilje (moguće je da su skloni nasilju tražili grupu). Ipak, kombinacija naših rezultata sa teorijskim uvidima (Newson et al. 2018; Spaaij 2008) podržava interpretaciju da grupna dinamika pojačava nasilje. Idealan pristup bio bi longitudinalno pratiti mlade pre i posle uključenja u grupu, što ovde nije bilo izvodljivo.

Treba uzeti u obzir i da je uzorak obuhvatio samo mlade koji su u školi – oni koji su eventualno napustili školovanje (što se može desiti kod najekstremnijih slučajeva maloletnih huligana) nisu bili uključeni. Takođe, devojke-navijačice su bile malobrojne, te fenomen ženske perspektive u navijačkim grupama ostaje otvoren za dalje analize (postoje kvalitativne studije koje pokazuju da one prolaze kroz posebne izazove dokazivanja u

„muškom” svetu navijača – npr. Poczwadowski (2019) – no, naš uzorak nije omogućio kvantitativno poređenje).

Uprkos ovim ograničenjima, smatramo da dobijeni rezultati imaju značajne *naučne i društvene implikacije*. Naučno, oni doprinose razumevanju navijačkih grupa kao dela šireg fenomena omladinskih supkultura i grupnih identiteta. Posebno je vredno što kvantitativno potkrepljuju neke navode ranije zasnovane na intervjuima i etnografiji – npr. da navijači vide grupu kao porodicu (Mustapić and Perasović 2020) ili da huligani nisu nužno antisocijalni van konteksta navijanja (Newson et al. 2018). Naš rad spaja socijalno-psihološki ugao (motivacija, identitet) sa sociološkim (supkulturne vrednosti, konflikt s institucijama), pružajući relativno sveobuhvatan pregled.

Sa društvenog stanovišta, nalazi sugerišu da bi preventivne strategije za navijačko nasilje trebalo da se bave *uzrocima u motivaciji mladih*, a ne samo posledicama. Ako mladi idu u navijačke grupe jer traže uzbuđenje, status i zajednicu, onda im društvo treba ponuditi *alternativne kanale* za te legitimne potrebe. To bi mogli biti programi sportskih aktivnosti uz vođstvo trenera/mentora, podrška osnivanju klubova navijača koji su nezavisni od ekstremnih vođa i orijentisani na pozitivno navijanje, edukativne radionice koje bi pomogle navijačima da prepoznaju rizike a da pritom ne osećaju da im se „drži pridika” (Janković, Milojević and Milojković 2014). Takođe, *fan-projekti* kakvi postoje u Nemačkoj i Engleskoj – gde socijalni radnici rade sa navijačima kao posrednici između njih i policije/klubova – mogli bi se primeniti i ovde da se smanji antagonizam. Naši podaci pokazuju da su mladi itekako svesni koncepta lojalnosti i fer-pleja; to se može iskoristiti da se promoviše poruka da pravi navijač štiti svoj klub i tako što

izbegava kazne koje klubu nanosi navijačko nasilje (setimo se da klubovi često trpe sankcije zbog ispada svojih navijača). U suštini, rešenja leže u integrativnom pristupu: *kanalisati grupnu koheziju u prosocijalne aktivnosti*, umesto razbijati grupu represijom (jer represija, istorijski gledano, često samo radikalizuje navijače i produbljuje „mi protiv njih” mentalitet) (Stott 2007).

5 ZAKLJUČAK

U ovom radu istražili smo šta motivise mlade da se pridruže navijačkim grupama i kakvo značenje oni pridaju svom članstvu, uz ispitivanje posledica tog članstva na njihove stavove i ponašanja. Dobijeni nalazi pokazuju da navijačke grupe za mnoge mlade predstavljaju *važan izvor identiteta, socijalne podrške i životnog smisla*. Članstvo ispunjava potrebe za pripadanjem grupi vršnjaka, za jasno definisanom ulogom (navijač–borac za klub), za uzbuđenjem i izazovima, pa čak i za emotivnom bliskošću koja nekim nedostaje u drugim sferama. Mladi navijači su, dakle, mnogo više od stereotipa „problematičnih huligana” – oni su prvenstveno *strastveni fanovi i druželjubi tinejdžeri* koji su pronašli zajednicu istomišljenika. Njihova destruktivna ponašanja, koja se nažalost često ispoljavaju (veliki procenat je učestvovao u tučama i sukobima sa policijom), proističu uglavnom iz te snažne lojalnosti grupi i klubu, a ne iz puke zlobnosti ili kriminalnih poriva. Kao što su istakli Newson et al. (2018), navijačko nasilje je u suštini *ekstremna manifestacija pozitivne želje da se zaštite „svoji”* – naši podaci ovo osvetljavaju brojkama, gde je jasna veza između grupe pripadnosti i targetiranog nasilja prema suparnicima.

Hipoteza postavljena u uvodu dobila je potporu: mladi se pridružuju navi-

jačkim grupama pre svega iz socijalnih i identifikacijskih razloga, a ne zbog inherentne sklonosti devijaciji. Njima je značajno što navijaju organizovano – osećaju da time potvrđuju svoj identitet i doprinos klubu. Istovremeno, članstvo donosi i određenu „*cenu*”: sukob sa društvenim normama (škola trpi, zakoni se krše). Na teorijskom planu, ovi nalazi uklapaju se u okvire teorije društvenog identiteta i supkulturnih teorija – navijačka grupa postaje primarna referentna grupa za mladog čoveka, oblikujući njegov sistem vrednosti i ponašanja (Milojević, Janković and Otašević 2019). Takođe, koncept identitetske fuzije (Newson et al. 2018) pomaže da razumemo zašto tako visok procenat članova učestvuje u riskantnim tučama: oni su „stopljeni” sa grupom do mere da doživljavaju napad na grupu kao napad na sebe, te reagovanje nasiljem vide kao opravdano i čak herojsko.

Naravno, ne treba idealizovati – nisu svi mladi navijači samo zaneseni romantičari zajedništva; u grupama se ponekad javljaju i devijantne sub-strukture, poput onih sklonih kriminalu, narkoticima ili ekstremnoj ideologiji (Milošević and Milašinović 2011). Naš kvantitativni pregled nije ulazio u tu unutrašnju heterogenost, već je tretirao navijačke članove kao jednu grupu. Buduća istraživanja mogla bi ići dublje: recimo, razlikovati „jezgro” najvatrenijih (koji možda imaju i vođstvo ili kriminalne aspiracije) od šireg kruga povremenih članova, pa videti kako se motivi razlikuju. Takođe, kvalitativna istraživanja – intervjui sa mladim navijačima – mogla bi obogatiti razumevanje nijansi koje anketa ne hvata: npr. lične priče o ulasku u grupu, emotivna stanja tokom utakmica, itd. Jedno od ograničenja naše studije je što se oslanja samo na kvantitativne izjave; spoj metoda (anketa + dubinski intervjui) dao bi još potpuniju sliku.

Takođe, zanimljiv pravac za buduća istraživanja bilo bi praćenje *dugoročnih ishoda*: koliko mladi ostaju u navijačkim grupama u dvadesetim godinama, kakav im je dalji životni put (da li ih članstvo odvede u kriminal ili se većina ipak „smiri” nakon adolescencije). Takve longitudinalne spoznaje imale bi i praktičnu vrednost za društvo – da li je navijački huliganizam prolazna faza ili traje kao životni stil. Literatura ukazuje da mnogi huligani „okače kopačke o klin” u zrelijem dobu, kada dođu porodične i poslovne obaveze (van der Meij et al. 2012), ali ekstremniji ostaju aktivni i dalje.

Iz perspektive prevencije i intervencije, naši rezultati sugerišu da *rešenje problema navijačkog nasilja* ne leži isključivo u represiji (kažnjavanje, zabrane), već i u *edukaciji i saradnji*. Ako prepoznamo da mladi navijači imaju pozitivne potrebe koje zadovoljavaju u grupi, možemo raditi na tome da se *negativne prakse (nasilje, vandalizam)* svedu na minimum bez razbijanja same supkulture. Klubovi, škole i omladinske organizacije mogli bi više da komuniciraju s navijačima – npr. organizovanje susreta igrača i navijača, uključivanje navijačkih vođa u kampanje protiv nasilja (ne kao protivnika, nego kao partnera koji će uticati iznutra) (Milojević, Janković and Milojević 2016). Policija bi mogla primenjivati tzv. „meki pristup” u situacijama kada je moguće – pokazalo se uspešnim u nekim zemljama da dijalog policijskih oficira za navijače sa umerenim frakcijama doprinosi smirivanju tenzija (Stott et al. 2012; Milojević and Janković 2011). Ukratko, *socijalno uključivanje* navijačkih grupa, umesto isključivo stigmatizacije, moglo bi dati bolje rezultate.

Za širu društvenu javnost, važno je razbiti crno-bele slike. Mladi koji su pred-

met ovog istraživanja istovremeno su i potencijalno nasilni huligani i mladi ljudi sa razumljivim socijalnim težnjama. Ignorirati jednu ili drugu stranu značilo bi prevideti celinu problema. Ovaj rad pokušava da ponudi izbalansiran uvid: navijačke grupe kod mladih su *mač sa dve oštrice* – s jedne strane, one su zajednice koje mogu pružiti podršku, identitet i životnu radost, a s druge strane nose rizik skretanja u devijaciju i konflikt sa zakonom. Društvo koje želi da reši problem huliganizma mora stoga imati dvostruku strategiju: podržati i prepoznati pozitivne elemente navijačke kulture (npr. strast, kreativnost navijanja, humanitarni potencijal zajednice), a istovremeno odlučno sankcionirati neprihvatljiva ponašanja (nasilje, rasizam, uništavanje imovine) (Milojević, Janković and Vučković 2016; Janković and Milojević 2016) – ali uz razumevanje *konteksta i motivacije* počinilaca, kako bi kazne bile vaspitne, a ne samo retributivne.

U zaključku, mladi navijači su „dvostruki buntovnici”: oni prkose protivničkim klubovima i društvenim pravilima, ali su lojalni svojoj „druvoj porodici” – navijačkoj grupi i klubu. Njihovo članstvo možemo shvatiti kao poziv da im društvo ponudi načine da budu heroji svoje zajednice bez borbe na ulici. Kako je jedan od ispitanika u našem istraživanju usmeno primetio: „Kada bi nas država bodrila kao što mi bodrimo Zvezdu/Partizan, gde bi nam bio kraj!” Upravo u toj rečenici krije se važna pouka – mladi trebaju osećaj zajedništva i cilja; ako ga ne nađu u glavnom toku, naći će ga na tribini. Na nama je da mostom razumevanja povežemo ta dva sveta, kako bi strast navijača ostala slavlje sporta, a ne izvor društvenog konflikta.

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Izjava o dostupnosti podataka

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Srđan Milašinović: obezbeđivanje finansiranja, metodologija, nadzor, validacija, pisanje – pregled i uređivanje;

Bojan Janković: konceptualizacija, upravljanje podacima, formalna analiza, istraživanje, pisanje – originalni nacrt.

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A New Interpretation of Social Needs in Hungarian Law

Gábor Mélypataki ¹

ABSTRACT

The Hungarian legislator's approach to means-tested social benefits is complex, often focusing on reducing expenditures. The emergence of new social and family support benefits has somewhat overshadowed these traditional benefits, with substantive changes being rare. However, introducing the social reference base has resulted in a significant shift in Hungarian law. This paper aims to delve into the antecedents and immediately expected effects of this change, which profoundly impact the lives of many in need.

KEYWORDS

social needs, social benefit, poverty, social law

¹ University of Miskolc,
Faculty of Law, Institute
of Private Law, Miskolc,
Hungary

Correspondence:

Gábor Mélypataki,
University of Miskolc,
Faculty of Law, Institute of
Private Law, A/6 1st floor
121, Miskolc, Hungary

Email:

gabor.melypataki@uni-miskolc.hu

1 INTRODUCTION

The social reference base as a new basis for social benefits was introduced by the latest amendment to Act III of 1993 on Social Benefits and Administration (hereinafter Act). It has become the new benchmark for many benefits and has replaced (at least nominally) the minimum pension amount. The question is: Has this amendment brought, or will it bring, any change in the lives and circumstances of the beneficiaries? The relevance of this question is highlighted by the fact that these changes affect a significant part of the population. The degree of need cannot be defined uniformly. Some benefits set a higher threshold for means-testing. It appears that there are no uniform principles for defining means-testing. When each benefit is concerned, it now seems somewhat random which rate is set for which benefit. This appears to be so, because they are not systematised along common sorting principles. An excellent example is the inclusion of the Child Care Home Allowance (hereinafter Gyod) in the SST. This paper aims to analyse the impact of these changes on the lives of beneficiaries and provide insights into the antecedents and expected effects of the change.

The change of the regime brought to the fore a responsibility of the state that was not important before. The state used protectionist instruments to shield citizens from the effects of the market. If I may say so, it has swept the problem under the carpet. Everyone had a job on paper, but that was enough to cover the issues. It was a strange form of state care that was out of touch with reality and involved belief in the immutability of the system. That is why it shocked a large part of the population when the eco-

nomic bubble that had kept the socialist market economy going burst (Laki 1993). It was a transition without transition to a capitalist-based market economy, which also operates fundamentally differently. In this economic framework, a completely new sense of responsibility was needed. The problems previously swept under the carpet suddenly came to the fore. The transition period generated a social crisis whose effects are still felt today. The failure to draft a new social law since 1993 is a symptom of this crisis. The law of that time has been and is still being applied with constant amendments, being one of our most amended pieces of legislation. It provides neither legal certainty, nor social security. The crisis of the early 1990s was political, economic and social (Tausz 2017). This has led to a crisis of confidence, typical of the current years, mixed with the nostalgia for the Kádár regime. The nostalgia is based on protectionist policies that shield citizens from the effects of the market (Solymosi-Szekeres 2023). At the same time, many people were disappointed by the regime change because of over-idealistic expectations (Ferge 1996). Everyone expected only positive effects of a previously desired system. This romantic picture did not consider that the new system would also have adverse effects, bringing about elementary changes and a difficult transition period. For most people, this disappointment slowly caused a crisis of confidence. The best example of this is the rapid decline in trade union membership, or the distrust of specific institutions (Bíró-Nagy et al. 2016).

Of course, the confidence was not helped by the fact that problems swept under the carpet by the previous system have come to the surface. At the same time, economic relations with the Soviet

Union collapsed. In the absence of raw materials from Soviet imports, large, heavy industry plants closed down. With the closures, those employed yet without a job within the factory gates were also brought to the surface. Colleagues who lived in workers' hostels and had no other housing were also exposed. Many people were left on the street after leaving the shacks had closed (Nagy 2009). The social problems previously bottled up in the socialist market economy, have been released.

The social crisis was dealt with in several stages; the first was the adoption of Act IV of 1991 on the Promotion of Employment and Unemployment Benefits, and the next was the adoption of labour law. This was followed in 1993 by adopting Act III of 1993 on Social Administration and Social Benefits. The benefits set out in the Act were adapted to the needs of the time. However, these ideas were formulated at a time which coincided with the need for economic austerity.

2 CHANGES IN THE LEVEL OF PUBLIC LIABILITY

The starting point of social rights is to be found in the care of people with low incomes, while the source of economic rights is the demand for decent working conditions (Balogh and Balogh-Békési 2020). The state cannot be indifferent to the issue in any way. One priority area of the state's social responsibility is social assistance. This does not mean that the individual's responsibility should not be discussed. However, it is also necessary to see that the limit to individual responsibility is the action limit, which is linked to a constantly deteriorating social status. The big question, however, is whether the individuals affected by these

processes can stand up for their rights. Can they correctly assert their rights? Do they even have the capacity to do so? There are many open questions, some of which have a known answer. Many people cannot use the rights enshrined in the Fundamental Law, either because they lack knowledge, or because they are hindered by poverty as a barrier to action. These people are pushed to the other side of the Rubicon, or as Júlia Szalai puts it (Szalai 2002) they are relegated to the lower social strata, from which there is no turning back.

How the state sees its role in this issue is essential to slowing down and stopping these processes. The principles of the State's role as set out in the Statute reflect subsidiarity. However, Can subsidiarity mean shifting responsibility to the individual, local government, civil and church organisations? The State determines the amount of the envelope in the redistribution process by the principle of solidarity. From this point of view, it is in the State's interest to keep aid at a low level. However, this in no way correlates with the principles and action plans set out in the National Social Policy Concept of the previous period. The problem, however, is not the total failure of this document but the lack of legislative ambition. The conceptual changes laid down in the document were not reflected in the parallel legislative amendments. There has been a reduction in benefits from 2011 onwards, culminating in a significant amendment that came into force on 1 March 2015 (Mózer, Tausz and Varga, 2015). This also means that the most recent change has occurred in this area. This change still defines the options available to those in need and shows precisely how the state approaches the issue. The state has transferred a significant part of cash

benefits from the municipal level to the level of the district offices (Mózer, Tausz and Varga, 2015). On the one hand, this could also be seen as an increased sense of responsibility. However, the fact is that there has been more of a structural change, which has meant that a significant proportion of benefits have been delivered further away from those in need. Moreover, distance also brings with it the risk of inaccessibility. To counter this, the system of municipal assistants was devised. However, they cannot connect to the central IT system during the outreach hours, so they cannot conduct substantive administration on the spot.

The other direction of change is the removal of *sui generis* equity-based benefits from the system. This is not unique to assistance benefits, but the recipients of such benefits have been most affected by this change. In addition to people in need, it has also put municipalities in a difficult situation, as it has incorporated the abolished *sui generis* equity-based benefits into the benefit known as the municipal allowance, which is provided by the municipality without being given any specific funding. This benefit must be financed by the city from business tax revenue. The state appears to have taken a big step backwards in 2015. The state contributed significantly to the benefits previously provided at the municipal level. Following the change, municipalities are left to decide which elements of the increased municipal subsidy they can offer and how much actual funding they can allocate to this. Moreover, the limitation of state responsibility has put many municipalities in a difficult situation. Municipalities in difficulty cannot provide the same level of care as they previously could with the backing of the state. This situation is made more dif-

ficult by the series of provisions adopted during the pandemic, which have diverted a significant proportion of municipalities' tax revenues from the treasury (Kovács 2020).

For a long time, it seemed that the state would not back down after the 2015 amendment. Instead, the recent amendments have required minimal adjustments to the means-test levels. The next major step was the introduction of the childcare home fee. From the moment of its introduction, it has been the highest cash benefit. Here, it seemed the state just wanted to take on more responsibility. This seemed to be the case even if it could be said that the benefit was part of the Government's flagship family policy. However, the complete picture must include the large disproportionalities that have arisen in the benefits system due to the introduction of this legal instrument. The current discrepancy is between a share of the social reference base (28.500 HUF) and the minimum wage amount. Therefore, the disproportionality affects the whole system and not only the care allowance, which is the parent institution of the Gyod. It is not the amount of the Gyod per se that is the problem, but that the amounts of other benefits have not changed for a decade. Greater responsibility on the part of the state is not applied proportionally and equally everywhere, but only in the priority areas with relevance to it.

After the partial step forward, came another major general step backwards: the state's amendment to the law, which came into force in January 2023, makes explicit what has hitherto been only implied. The individual's responsibility for his/her social security is first and foremost his/her own, then that of his/her family, then that of the municipality,

the church and only then the state. This first version of the text has caused quite a stir. The State has, therefore, revised its position somewhat and refined the rule. The revised proposal removed social security from the first sentence, reducing the individual's responsibility to a general one. The responsibility of close relatives, and hence of the family, is now limited to removing the concept of fault from the text. The most significant change is that the state has been relegated to the penultimate place. Lastly, it mentions NGOs, with which the State and local authorities cooperate. At the same time, a social reference fund was introduced. Previously, the means-testing basis was the minimum amount of the old-age pension. The most recent amendment to the law renamed this concept to social reference base, but the amount has remained unchanged.

The state has increasingly withdrawn as far as possible from the aid field within its framework. One might legitimately ask whether there are any external constraints or commitments that would limit the state's disengagement. Regarding social security benefits, there are some constraints under the social security conventions concluded by the European Union and other international organisations. Among the most essential EU provisions are the Coordination Regulation and the Charter of Fundamental Rights, which set out the framework for access to benefits. In this context, the Council of Europe's case law on Article 12 of the European Social Charter can be cited as an example. This is also where the prohibition of regression is enshrined. In a broader sense, insurance-based social security benefits are one of the pillars of social protection. These benefits are subject to international control. The other pillar of social

protection is social assistance. Here, we are talking about national solutions that are so different that they cannot be coordinated even to the extent of social security (Ashiagbor 2023). That is why we will not find EU rules in this area; international conventions only declare the protection of these rights. In the field of social benefits, there is no such marked limit as in the case of insurance-based benefits. The state can step back more courageously in these areas and shift responsibility to other societal actors, including people in need. This process can be very clearly traced, first disguised as structural reform and later, without any disguise, as an open means of discharging responsibility. Changes to the benefits system cannot be dissociated from the social system. As mentioned above, the benefits system can be seen as a subsidiary instrument that acts as a last-resort safety net. It comes to the fore when the person concerned can no longer benefit from other solidarity funds. Assistance can take several forms, the extent and actual level of which varies from country to country. There is one fixed point, and that is the basis of means-tested need. Who is considered a person in need depends significantly on the country's traditions. That is why we believe it is important not to focus only on the spectacular backward step, but also the simultaneous exodus that the introduction of the social reference base has represented.

3 THE SOCIAL REFERENCE BASE

Introducing a social reference base is a logical step, as it would provide an opportunity to rethink the means test for individual social benefits. This would better define the framework for public responsibility. It would have made

it possible to redefine the assumption of responsibility for each benefit and the general assumption of responsibility formulated in the previous section. Indeed, in our reading, there are two strands of state responsibility in the present case. The first is the general social responsibility set out in the previous section, and the second is the responsibility for each group of persons needing each means-tested benefit. The social reference base had the potential for this to happen. However, the legislator quickly stated its intention not to do so. The amount of the social reference base was set at 28,500 HUF, equal to the minimum amount of the old-age pension previously applicable (hereinafter the minimum pension). This decision raises several questions. Firstly, why the legal institution of the minimum pension was not replaced for all benefits? What is the point of renaming if the amount does not change? Can its application be interpreted as discriminatory?

The answer to the first question is not easy to find because it introduces a new element into an already fragmented system. The old-age pension remains linked to the minimum pension, the basis for health and childcare allowances remains 90% of the net public employment wage, the care allowance is related to the essential amounts set in the Finance Act, and the childcare allowance at home is equal to the minimum wage. The social reference base has been included as a new element. Why was an additional indicator necessary? Why was it not good to link it to pensions? Much criticism boils down to the link to the minimum pension no longer being sufficient because of the excessive inflation. It was a unique solution to link the means-testing threshold for means-tested benefits to a social security benefit. This had its rele-

vance in the early days, but inflation has not stopped. Over the last decade, it has reached such proportions that the minimum pension framework is well above the minimum living wage threshold set (Ferge 1996). The aim is, therefore, to keep these benefits at a low level, with a framework that does not allow them to keep pace with general social changes. It is also interesting bearing in mind that the amount previously set was also well below the subsistence threshold. On top of this, it also takes a rather demagogic stance that you have to work for benefits. Of course, the structure of social benefits cannot and should not be separated from labour market issues. In the context of the ever-increasing labour shortage, we must also talk about the situation of the working-age population, who are considered to need social benefits. The problem of the people concerned is that they are tied to a particular situation, preventing them from seeking employment. Public employment and, for the time being, social employment through social cooperatives, have not been able to break this deadlock. However, the problem is not alleviated by the mass import of workers from third countries.

As we can see from the above, it has effectively become obsolete. However, why is the amount the same if it has become obsolete? The short answer to this question is that the state does not want to spend on this segment of social policy, as neither its political nor social interests compel it to do so. The state is self-limiting its role and hiding behind specific economic policy slogans, ignoring people in need, and shifting the responsibility onto those concerned. We have not yet argued that the responsibility of individuals should not be discussed, but this does not mean that the

state's responsibility should be limited in this respect. To solve the problem, the state must go beyond individual responsibility to think of a longer-term solution. Without this, all the dangers raised in the National Social Policy Concept 2011–2020 will be realised. Allowing the situation to escalate is a part of the state's responsibility, making it much more expensive to solve the problem later. Still, in the meantime, it will keep this segment of people in need in an artificial poverty that does not meet the social subsistence threshold. There is a lack of recognition that public employment, especially in areas without a primary labour market with the possibility of moving on, will not be a solution, and unfortunately, even in many cases where there is a primary labour market. In the current situation, many people live within a cycle of public employment and employment support. Based on what has been outlined, the state does not want to take on more responsibility in this area.

Be that as it may, what was the purpose of the amendment then? The framework provided by the previous minimum pension has been exceeded. However, we also see that even if this has been recognised, it is not of real help, since the state does not want to take on more responsibility. The amount of the social reference base is determined by Government Decree 613/2022 (29.12.20).

This change should also be seen in Hungary's commitment to changing its pension legislation to draw down the amount of the Restoration Fund and the amount of the loan (Simonovits 2023). According to press reports, a public consultation was to be launched in the first half of 2024 (Varga 2024). The to change the pension system is beyond debate.

This was also foreshadowed in the 2022 need Discussion Paper of the Hungarian National Bank (hereinafter: MNB) (Matolcsy, Kandrács, and Virág, 2022), but there is also a growing body of academic literature on the subject (Barta 2020; Varga 2022). The scenarios for the near future are increasingly ominous, which is why the new legislation is justified and perhaps not overdue. From this perspective, it is understandable that the basis for means-tested benefits is decoupled from the minimum pension amount. This fits in with what we have said before: the problem is not that the legislator invented the social reference base *per se*, but how it is used to preserve the status quo. The number of means-tested benefits, and therefore the level of means-testing, will not increase with the minimum pension amount. Nor is it the intention that means-tested and insurance-based benefits should be at the same level. There is also a clear division of responsibilities between them. Social security is the first line of defence, and the social assistance system is the second. However, their roles are not identical, which does not mean they cannot move together. If this does not happen, the gap will be so vast that we believe it will lead to a significant social and societal crisis. However, a trend is clear. Those systems that do not fit the current political course are left to fend for themselves. Similar experiences have been made with the classic family support institutions for the wider population (family allowances, child benefits, child support and maternity allowance). In this case, there is a continuous disintegration of benefits, which cannot fulfil their previous functions and thus do not ensure solidarity regarding social redistribution. The state is, therefore, abdicating its responsibility and

providing apparent assistance to the losers in the market. It continues to provide means-tested benefits, but does nothing to improve them. On the one hand, this stems from the idea of a work-based society, while on the other, every society is based on work, but this is no substitute for social care (Lindner and Reizer 2023), and general responsibility. EU and national policies do not allow the state to abdicate its responsibility in the context of the CSR. This essentially means that corporate responsibility can only be to an extent that cannot replace the role of the state (European Parliament 2013). If we turn it around, this first prescribes the states' self-restraint, which would mean the assignment of tasks to responsible economic actors.

4 SUMMARY

To summarise, we see a trend where the state does not feel responsible for developing the non-insurance-based benefits inherited from previous systems. This is particularly noticeable in the case of means-tested social benefits. Recent legislative changes have all aimed to reduce or significantly limit the overall responsibility. Although the picture is more varied as regards the assumption of responsibility for individual benefits, following the introduction of the childcare allowance, there is still an overall

sense of a continuing need to limit responsibility. The childcare allowance has become the highest social benefit. The amount is the same as the minimum wage now in force. However, this benefit fits in with the political course. At the same time, the other benefits are steadily losing value because the high inflation has devalued these benefits, the value of which was not very high in the first place. The legislator had the chance to change this at any time. The most recent such moment would have been the introduction of the social reference base. This has already been described as not being a bad or good thing. In this case, it is used to preserve the status quo. So its only function, while increases in pensions may be considered, is for the social reference base to artificially keep the benefit low, presuming that people will move towards the labour market, forcing passive people into work. Here again, however, coercion alone is not enough. Just because the state refuses to acknowledge that there are poor people, this does not mean that they don't exist, and a basic level of responsibility and assistance is needed to deal with the problem effectively. It is in the state's long-term interest to do this, because if the number of people in need would increase and the state ignore a growing mass of people, it will affect its future and survival.

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Nova interpretacija socijalnih potreba u mađarskom pravu

PROŠIRENI SAŽETAK

U mađarskom socijalnom pravu, sistem socijalne pomoći predstavlja sekundarni oblik zaštite. Ova davanja čine osnovu socijalne pomoći u okviru mađarskog zakonodavstva. Ipak, jasno je da se radi o pomoći koja se dodeljuje na osnovu imovinskog cenzusa i da je reč o nižem stepenu podrške. Ona ne pripada sistemu socijalnog osiguranja, iako su neka od tih davanja bila vezana za minimalni iznos penzije. Međutim, u poslednje vreme došlo je do značajne promene u načinu utvrđivanja imovinskog cenzusa.

S jedne strane, država je pokušala da umanju sopstvenu odgovornost. Razlog za to leži u činjenici da se tokom protekle decenije postepeno povlačila iz ove oblasti. Čini se da država više ne smatra da davanja namenjena socijalno ugroženima predstavljaju deo društvene solidarnosti. Značajna promena dogodila se već 2015. godine, kada je broj socijalnih davanja znatno smanjen.

Najnovijom izmenom uvedena je nova referentna osnovica za procenu imovinskog stanja. Pri likom njenog uvođenja postojala je izvesna nada da će se, posle gotovo 20 godina, ne samo promeniti naziv fonda na osnovu kojeg se vrši obračun, već i sam iznos pomoći. Ipak, visina te osnovice ostala je 28.500 forinti, što na dan pisanja ovog sažetka (29.06.2025) iznosi 71,36 evra. Ta vrednost ostala je nepromenjena i nakon zakonske izmene, ali sada nosi naziv socijalna referentna osnovica.

Ovo otvara pitanje odgovornosti države. Država ima dvostruki režim odgovornosti – opštu društvenu odgovornost i odgovornost vezanu za konkretne oblike staranja. Primarna funkcija socijalne referentne osnovice jeste da se visina socijalnih davanja veštački održi na niskom nivou, polazeći od pretpostavke da će time osobe iz pasivne kategorije biti primorane da se uključe na tržište rada. Ipak, ni prisila nije dovoljna. Samo zato što država odbija da prizna postojanje siromašnih, ne znači da oni ne postoje – osnovna odgovornost i pomoć su i dalje neophodni da bi se ovaj problem rešavao na delotvoran način.

U dugoročnom interesu same države jeste da se time bavi, jer ukoliko bi broj socijalno ugroženih nastavio da raste, a država nastavila da ignoriše to rastuće stanovništvo, to bi imalo negativne posledice po njenu budućnost i stabilnost. Cilj ovog rada jeste da pokaže na koji način mađarski zakonodavac redefiniše pojam siromaštva i kako istovremeno smanjuje sopstvenu odgovornost.

KLJUČNE REČI

socijalne potrebe, socijalna davanja, siromaštvo, socijalno pravo



Occupational Safety for Workers in Unstable Industries: International and Legal Frameworks of the European Union

Vladyslav Volynets¹  Ivan Kaylo²  Ivan Yatskevych³ 
Serhii Boyko⁴  Mariia Denysiuk¹ 

ABSTRACT

Ensuring occupational safety in unstable industries such as construction and agriculture is critical because of the high level of risk to workers. These industries require careful regulation by state and international organizations. The International Labor Organization (hereinafter – ILO) and the European Union (hereinafter – EU) develop standards and directives to protect workers' health in such settings. The purpose of the study is a comparative analysis of these international norms and recommendations for improving national legislation. The following scientific methods were used in the survey: logical method, system method, statistical method, dialectical method, metaphysical method, methods of analysis and synthesis, induction and deduction, formal-dogmatic method, method of comparative law, and method of legal forecasting.

KEYWORDS

occupational safety, unstable industries, international standards, EU standards, working conditions

¹ Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, Ukraine

² Kononenko, Kaylo & Partners JSC, Kyiv, Ukraine

³ National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, Kyiv, Ukraine

⁴ Interregional Academy of Personnel Management, Kyiv, Ukraine

Correspondence:

Vladyslav Volynets,
Taras Shevchenko
National University of Kyiv,
Department of Labour Law
and Social Security Law,
01033, 60 Volodymyrska
Str., Kyiv, Ukraine

Email:

vladyslav_volynets@
edu-iosa.org

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Since precarious working conditions pose a serious risk to workers' health and lives, existing labor laws should give priority to ensuring the safety of workers in precarious enterprises. Industries in which working conditions change frequently due to the intricacies of the production process, economic ups and downs, and technological advances are considered volatile industries. This is true for industries where there is still a significant degree of insecurity, such as mining, construction, and agriculture. Workers in these sectors are exposed to occupational diseases and injuries, which require strict regulation by national and international institutions (Shcherbyna 2024).

The importance of vocational training, which covers both professional skills and information on safe working practices, is particularly growing in emerging economies. Protecting the life and health of employees is the main objective of state policy in the field of occupational safety and health and takes precedence over any financial benefits. A safe workplace helps to reduce the number of accidents and occupational diseases. This is achieved through the introduction of new technologies, improvement of existing production methods, and constant review of safety rules.

The International Labour Organisation (ILO) and the European Union (EU) play a key role in setting occupational safety and health standards by developing recommendations and directives to ensure good conditions in the workplace. The ILO's annual World Day for Safety and Health at Work draws attention to the scale of the problem, with more than 2.78 million deaths each year

due to accidents and occupational diseases. This underlines the importance of global efforts in the field of occupational safety and health, as the economic losses from work-related injuries account for around 3.94% of the global GDP (Cremers 2020). In this context, EU directives and ILO standards are crucial for establishing effective occupational health and safety mechanisms aimed at reducing risks in volatile industries. A comparative analysis of these regulatory documents allows us to identify areas for their further improvement and adaptation to modern challenges, which is critical for employee safety and sustainable economic development.

Several scholars have studied the field of labor protection, in particular Polovyi (2023) who investigated the correlation between the exercise of the right to safe working conditions in Ukraine and Europe, focusing on judicial practice. The study emphasizes the importance of clear regulations for workers' right to safe workplace, focusing on the concept of "decent work" recognized in the European framework and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights. The author examines the legal aspects of ensuring these rights, concerning various scholars, to compare working conditions in Ukraine and European countries.

Ivchuk (2021) analyses the regulation of labor safety at the international level, focusing on EU and Ukrainian legislation. He emphasizes the importance of implementing the International Labour Organization's international standards into national legislation and draws attention to the main EU directives requiring safe working conditions. The author also identifies the shortcomings of Ukrainian legislation, such as instability and lack of consistency, and emphasizes the need

to harmonize national regulations with international standards.

Tykhonovych (2024) examines the right of workers to transparent and predictable working conditions, emphasizing the importance of this right for health and economic efficiency. In his article, he analyses EU Directive 2019/1152, which enshrines this right, and its implementation in Ukrainian legislation, in particular, the Labour Code. The author emphasizes the need not only for legislative support but also for a moral obligation of employers to create safe working conditions. Walters and Wadsworth (2020) examine employee participation in workplace safety and health in Europe. The authors analyze how worker representation affects the effectiveness of safety and health measures, emphasizing the importance of the active participation of workers in decision-making processes. The study emphasizes the role of social dialogue and collective bargaining in improving working conditions. Jakob et al. (2021) examine the organization, legislation, and support for occupational health and safety in agriculture in selected European countries. The paper analyses key aspects of the legal framework, available resources, and practices that contribute to improving the safety of workers in the agricultural sector. The authors emphasize the need to implement effective policies and programs to improve working conditions in agriculture.

The purpose of the study is to conduct a comparative analysis of international standards and EU directives on regulating labor safety for workers in high-risk industries (such as construction and agriculture), as well as to develop recommendations for improving national legislation based on international best practices.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

The study of “Regulation of Occupational Safety for Workers in Volatile Industries: International Approach and EU Directives” used a system of scientific methods that allowed for a comprehensive review of occupational safety and health issues, analysis of international standards, and formulation of recommendations for improving legal regulation. General scientific methods included the logical method, which facilitated a consistent presentation of theoretical provisions on occupational safety and health regulation, the systemic method, which allowed us to study occupational safety and health as a complex phenomenon with numerous legal and socio-economic links, and the statistical method, which helped to collect and process data, including accident statistics, making it possible to identify the main trends in occupational safety and health.

Among the general philosophical methods, the dialectical method was used to formulate new scientific provisions on labor safety regulation and study the relationship between legal norms and unstable working conditions. The use of the metaphysical method contributed to a static consideration of the legal status of employees and employers’ obligations, which allowed them to be recorded as basic elements in labor safety relations.

Among the general logical methods used were the methods of analysis and synthesis, which facilitated a detailed study of international documents, such as EU directives and ILO standards, and allowed the author to identify the main principles of labor safety regulation and formulate new concepts based on them. Induction and deduction methods made it possible to examine administrative and

legal phenomena, from general principles to specific cases and vice versa, particularly in comparing approaches to legal regulation in EU countries.

Special legal research methods included formal and dogmatic methods, which provided an analysis of legislative acts and their interpretation from a legal point of view. The method of comparative jurisprudence was used to compare the systems of labor safety regulation in EU and ILO regulations and to identify their features and effective practices. The method of legal forecasting was useful in developing recommendations for improving the current legislation, taking into account current trends and possible challenges in the field of occupational safety and health. Interpretation of the current legislation allowed us to clarify the content of the norms regulating occupational safety and draw conclusions about the need to update them.

The application of this set of methods allowed us not only to analyze in depth the legal framework for occupational safety and health in unstable industries, but also to provide reasonable proposals for improving the legal regulation system at both the international and national levels.

RESULTS

It is well known that the global community as a whole bears a heavy burden of costs caused by accidents at work, which result in human suffering and material losses. The scale of the problem is evidenced by the fact that significantly more people worldwide have been injured at work than wounded in combat during the six years of World War II.

Given this, in the second half of the twentieth century, industrialized coun-

tries began to pay considerable attention to occupational health and safety and industrial amenities. Today, in European countries, attention is paid to this issue both by states and by the subjects of labor relations. This is manifested in the establishment of a significant number of rules, and technical and legal standards relating to requirements for production facilities, provision of safety devices for machines and machinery, seating for workers, electrical and explosion safety, and the maintenance and operation of steam boilers, protection against radioactive radiation, fire safety, personal protective equipment, temperature and humidity conditions, air environment, noise and vibration, lighting, drinking water, canteens and cafeterias, as well as sanitary facilities and devices (toilets, showers, changing rooms, etc.). It establishes criteria for classifying enterprises according to the degree of their hazard to the health of workers, the responsibility of manufacturers and suppliers of production equipment, and standards for training employees in safe working practices (Dudyk 2024).

At the international level, occupational health and safety are governed by several standards and documents developed by reputable organizations such as the ILO and the International Organisation for Standardisation (ISO). The ILO has established several key conventions and recommendations that form a common framework for ensuring occupational safety and health regardless of industry or geography. One of the main documents is Occupational Safety and Health Convention No. 155 (ILO 1981), which establishes general principles for the development of occupational safety and health policy and imposes responsibility on employers of creating safe working conditions.

The Convention provides for the implementation of procedures to assess risks and protect employees from accidents, which is actively respected, for example, in the Scandinavian countries, where companies conduct regular audits and train employees on safe working practices (Polovyi 2023).

Another important document is the Promotional Framework for Occupational Safety and Health Convention No. 187 (ILO 2006), which obliges ILO member states to implement national policies and programs aimed at improving occupational safety and health. Thanks to this document, many countries, including those in the European Union, have adapted their laws to create a unified framework for occupational safety and health. For example, Germany has developed and implemented the Vision Zero program, a strategy aimed at achieving zero workplace fatalities, based on this convention. It covers not only large enterprises but also small companies, for which training programs are organized and free consultancy support is offered.

An effective system of labor inspection worldwide is largely shaped by international standards established by the ILO. The two main instruments are Labour Inspection Convention No. 129 (ILO 1969) and Labour Inspection Convention No. 81 (ILO 1947) (industry and trade). Under these criteria, states are required to offer impartial, qualified, and well-funded labor inspection services that have the authority to monitor compliance with labor standards, especially those relating to occupational safety and health.

In the context of OSHA (Occupational Safety and Health Administration) regulations, ILO standards on labor inspection are often used as a benchmark to assess the effectiveness of sur-

veillance in other countries. Unlike the United States, where OSHA has clearly defined mechanisms for monitoring and enforcing legislation, in most countries, including European ones, the effectiveness of inspection is often limited by a lack of resources, low automation, political interference, or limited mandates of inspectors (Smokvina and Kiminchydzhy 2020).

According to a comparative study, Nordic countries (such as Finland and Sweden) have made significant progress in implementing digital inspection technologies, a risk-based strategy, and the autonomy of supervisory authorities. At the same time, Ukraine and other countries in Eastern and Southern Europe often complain about ineffective supervision, formal inspections, and the lack of a quick response to violations. These comparisons show that in order to truly enforce regulations like OSHA, it is important to establish both standards and effective inspection processes. These mechanisms should include sufficient funding, greater openness, the use of digital technologies, and guarantees of the independence of inspectors. Through technical assistance and assessment of compliance with international standards, the ILO, for its part, helps countries modernize their inspection systems.

In addition to the ILO Conventions, the ISO 45001:2018 Occupational Health and Safety Management Systems standard (ISO 2018) is widely used in international practice. This standard provides a unified approach to managing risks in the workplace, focusing on preventing potential hazards and creating an environment where employees are protected from potential injuries. In Japan, where a safety culture is a priority, companies such as Toyota are actively

implementing this standard, which allows them not only to protect their employees but also to reduce the costs associated with workplace injuries. Toyota uses a comprehensive safety audit and monitoring system that includes daily risk checks at all production sites. This helps prevent injuries and illnesses while improving the overall working environment.

The EU has developed several directives to harmonize safety and health conditions among Member States aimed at protecting the health of workers regardless of the industry. The key is the Directive 89/391/EEC on the introduction of measures to encourage improvements in the safety and health of workers at work (Council of European Communities 1989). It covers the general principles of prevention, which include the assessment of risks in the workplace, the introduction of measures to prevent accidents and diseases, the training of staff on occupational health and safety issues, and the involvement of workers in safety decision-making processes.

Thanks to this directive, many EU countries have created internal security audit systems in enterprises that allow identifying potential risks even before they arise. For example, in France, mandatory risk audits are legally regulated in all companies with more than 50 employees. This includes an annual assessment of working conditions with the mandatory involvement of trade unions to analyze and make changes that improve working conditions (Minderhoud 2022).

The EU has created additional rules with minimum safety standards for individual industries where there is a higher degree of risk. Thus, the basis for regulating the construction sector, where

working at height and with heavy equipment requires strict safety measures, has been the 92/57/EEC Directive on minimum safety and health standards on temporary or mobile construction sites. The Health and Safety in Construction Act, which obliges construction companies to comply with strict safety requirements, represents the implementation of this directive in the UK. For example, before starting work, risk assessment and careful instruction of workers, especially those who work at height, are carried out at each site. When this rule was implemented in Sweden, construction sites had to have mobile fall prevention equipment, which greatly reduced the number of accidents that occurred there.

The 92/91/EEC Regulation, which sets minimum standards for the safety of workers in the extractive industry, including drilling, is another important regulation. This covers specifications for oil platforms, drilling rigs, and other production facilities, access to which is limited, where massive equipment must operate, and chemicals are present, thus making the working conditions hazardous. This directive is implemented in Norway, where oil production is one of the main sectors of the economy, by establishing strict rules for manufacturing corporations. Each oil production facility has ventilation and emergency shutdown systems, and the personnel regularly receive training on how to evacuate and stay safe in emergencies (Tykhonovych 2024).

The main objective of the Directive 92/104/EEC (Council of European Communities 1992b) is to improve working conditions in the extractive sector, which covers both open and underground mining. The purpose of this directive is to regulate the safety of miners and quarry

workers working in dangerous and difficult conditions. This regulation has been put in place in Poland, where one of the most important activities is coal mining, requiring mines to have modern ventilation, evacuation routes, and air monitoring systems. Furthermore, in Germany, where there are numerous mines, this directive obliges enterprises to regularly analyze working conditions and provide workers with special protection against dust and for respiration, which reduces the level of diseases among workers (Ivchuk 2021).

In addition to improving overall safety standards, the EU's implementation of these directives promotes a culture of responsibility for the lives and well-being of workers. Many European governments are creating programs to assist small and medium-sized enterprises in adhering to the regulations. This is particularly crucial for high-risk sectors like construction and mining.

In particular, according to paragraph 3 of Part I of the European Social Charter (as amended), all workers have the right to safe and healthy working conditions. Article 3 of Part II of the Charter discloses the following information about this right: The parties agree to: 1. Create, implement, and regularly update a uniform national policy in the areas of occupational health, health, and the working environment to guarantee the successful realization of the right to safe and healthy working conditions. This policy aims to: 1. the adoption of occupational safety and health regulations; 2. ensure the implementation of these regulations by introducing supervision of compliance with their requirements; 3. promote the gradual development of industrial hygiene services intended for all workers whose primary task is to perform preventive and advisory functions;

4. improving the level of occupational safety and health, as well as preventing accidents and injuries arising in connection with it or during its implementation, in particular by minimizing the causes of risks inherent in the production environment.

The creation of a common internal market should improve the standard of living and working conditions for workers in the European Community, where according to the paragraphs 7 and 19 of section I of the Charter of Fundamental Social Rights of Workers; every worker must have safe and satisfactory working conditions and this requires taking the necessary measures to harmonize further working conditions (Yaroshenko et al. 2023).

According to Article 31 (1) of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (Council of Europe 2000), every worker has the right to work in conditions that protect his health, safety and dignity. On 17 December 2017, at a special summit on fair labor practices and economic growth in Gothenburg, Sweden, the European Parliament, the Council, and the Commission formally signed the European Framework for Social Rights. Workers have the right to a high level of protection of their health and safety at work (a) by Article 10 of the European Framework of Social Rights (b).

Builders face several risks, including a significant chance of accidents (in 2012, the rate of construction-related injuries was about double that in other sectors, and fatal accidents were three times more common). In addition, many independent contractors and complex sub-contracts complicate construction and increase the risk of industrial accidents (Britchenko et al. 2018; Tykhonovych 2024).

The fact that the EU requires other countries to amend their laws, such as the Directives 89/391/EEC and 92/57/EEC when signing association agreements with them, once again demonstrates how important it is for the EU to ensure labor safety in construction. An incomplete list of construction works (for example, underground or earthworks, etc.) and types of construction (such as new construction, reconstruction, technical re-equipment, major repairs, restoration, etc.) to be carried out by the requirements of this act is defined in Annex I of the Directive 92/57/EEC (Council of the European Communities 1992a).

In our opinion, the methodology set out in the Directive 92/57/EEC should be applied when creating this list. It should not be intended to list all potential types of construction projects, but rather to identify those that, during their execution, will not be subject to the stipulated minimum requirements. These minimum standards shall apply to customers, construction managers, general contractors, contractors, sub-contractors, and independent contractors, where section I, paragraph 2, General Provisions. Paragraph 5 “Minimum requirements” of the above section describes each of the previously mentioned entities (Davydenko 2020).

Establishing a clear list of individuals classified as employees, employers, and self-employed persons is essential. According to Article 6(b) and (d) of Directive 92/57/EEC, the employer, who is the health and safety coordinator during the project execution stage, shall be responsible for ensuring accident prevention for both employees and self-employed individuals. However, Section IV of the Decree “On Approval of the Minimum Requirements

for Labor Protection at Temporary or Mobile Construction Sites” (Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine 2017) outlines that, during the project execution stage, the safety coordinator is obliged to: 1) ensure that contractors and self-employed persons comply with Section VI of these “Minimum Requirements,” the site safety plan, and general labor safety regulations (paragraph 2, item 2); 2) organize coordination among contractors and facilitate their collaboration to protect workers and prevent workplace accidents and occupational diseases. According to Nahorna and Ohorodnyk (2022), this includes establishing a mutual system of information exchange among contractors, employees, their representatives, and independent contractors.

In addition, the term “worker” has a broad definition in the EU and is protected by guarantees of protection in the field of occupational health and safety. Case law of the Court of Justice of the EU facilitates this. In its judgment in the case C-518/15 of the European Court of Justice (2018) specifically stressed that the “concept of ‘employee’ cannot be interpreted differently by the legislation of the Member States, [as] it has an autonomous meaning specific to the EU”. According to established judicial practice, anyone who performs real and meaningful work, which is beyond tasks that are merely supportive or incidental, is considered an employee. According to paragraph 28 of this Decision, “the defining feature of an employment relationship is that for a certain time, such a person provides services to another person and under his leadership, for which he receives a reward”.

Similar legal positions are set out in paragraphs 25 and 28 of the judgments in cases C-316/13 (European Court of

Justice 2015) and C-428/09 (European Court of Justice 2010) respectively. According to the reasonable precedent of the Court, the term “employee” should be defined using objective standards that distinguish labor interactions based on the range of rights and obligations of the parties involved. Therefore, everyone involved in legitimate activities should be classified as an “employee”, except small operations, which should be considered as completely peripheral and marginal. According to paragraph 27 of the judgment in case C-316/13 (European Court of Justice 2015), the fact that a person provides services under the supervision of another person for a certain period in exchange for payment is a fundamental aspect of the employment relationship. Mityuk and Yavorsky (2023) analyzed these judgments and concluded that paragraph 28 of the judgment in C-428/09 (European Court of Justice 2010) reflects similar findings.

The European Court of Justice (2016) stresses in paragraph 27 of its judgment in case C-216/15 that “by the case law of the Court, the most important feature of an employment relationship is that during a certain period, a person provides services to another person and under the guidance of another person, for which it receives remuneration, the legal characteristic of which, by national law, is the form and nature of the legal relationship between two persons. Are not decisive in this respect”. Under EU law, a person’s status as an employee cannot be affected by the “subjective” nature of the employment relationship under national law. Accordingly, the possibility of classifying persons with special needs as “workers” cannot be excluded if only a part of these requirements are satisfied as per paragraph 30

of the judgment in case C-316/13 (European Court of Justice 2015).

In its judgment in case C-256/01, the European Court of Justice (2004) stressed that “the formal classification of a self-employed person under national law does not preclude the possibility that such a person should be classified as an employee according to Article 141 (1) of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (hereinafter – TFEU) (EU 2007) if his independence is only conditional, which only masks the employment relationship”. However, the drafters of the TFEU did not intend for the term “employee,” as defined in Article 141(1) EC, to include independent service providers who do not have a subordinate relationship with the recipient of the services (EU 2007). This interpretation is supported by paragraph 68 of the Court of Justice of the EU’s judgment in case C-256/01 (European Court of Justice 2004).

According to the European Court of Justice, the employee thus differs from other subjects of EU labor law, as Article 3 (a) of the Directive 89/391/EEC defines that the employee should be understood as any person employed by an employer, including trainees and apprentices, but excluding domestic servants (Council of European Communities 1989). This is because the employee performs real activities, except small activities such as marginal and auxiliary activities; is engaged in real, genuine activities, except activities on such a small scale that can be considered purely marginal and auxiliary; and receives compensation for this.

In general, EU legislation in the field of labor protection is based on four basic principles:

- 1) better standards of labor protection are designed to strengthen competition;

2) legislation on labor protection can bring the expected results only if it is properly implemented;

3) social dialogue remains the main means in the development of labor protection policy, the success of which will depend on the joint efforts of social partners;

4) the emergence of new risks will require the development of new legal norms.

New legal standards and safeguards will be required due to the emergence of new hazards in modern workplaces, particularly psychological risks exacerbated by digitalization, accelerated work schedules, and the blurring of the lines between work and personal life. According to Zlatanovic and Škobo (2023), the “twilight” of traditional occupational health and safety protections in the digital age is characterized by constant connectivity, expectations of permanent availability, and insufficient rest periods. These factors all lead to higher levels of stress, burnout, and other mental health issues. Regulations that specifically acknowledge mental health as a fundamental aspect of occupational health are necessary due to the psychosocial effects of such occurrences. In this regard, Lerouge and Trujillo Pons (2022) analyze the comparative experiences of France and Spain and demonstrate how national and EU legal frameworks can start addressing these issues through the emerging concept of the right to disconnect. According to their results, ensuring that employees stop communicating about work-related matters after hours might be crucial to reducing psychosocial hazards. The legal system must thus change to include new guidelines and safeguards that take into account the reality of modern, digital workplaces and guarantee the comprehensive

protection of employees’ physical and mental well-being.

The EU’s occupational safety policy aims to achieve two main objectives:

1) According to Article 153 of the TFEU (EU 2007), social – protection of employees by ensuring an appropriate level of labor protection;

2) According to Article 115 of the TFEU (EU 2007), economic – ensuring compliance of goods produced within this sector with safety and hygiene standards.

The purpose of ensuring safe working conditions for all workers is shared by the directives of the EU and the standards of the ILO in the field of regulation of labor protection; however, their methods and methods of implementation differ, which is especially important in unstable industries such as mining, construction, and agriculture.

Mandatory criteria that establish basic standards for member states and propose national control mechanisms form the basis of EU directives. For example, businesses should carry out risk assessments, involve employees in safety decision-making, and offer mandatory training in line with the 89/391/EEC Framework Directive, which deals with general occupational safety criteria. Based on this directive, Italy introduced strict guidelines for construction companies to create an occupational safety system. These instructions include requirements for protective structures at height, as well as regular training and inspection of equipment. Thanks to these standards, the number of construction accidents has sharply decreased, which has become a model for other EU countries (Mustchin and Martínez Lucio 2020).

In response, the ILO offers broader proposals that countries can change de-

pending on their financial capabilities. The development of national occupational safety and compliance programs are the objectives of the ILO's main conventions, including Occupational Safety and Health Convention No. 155 (ILO 1981) and the Promotional Framework for Occupational Safety and Health Convention No. 187 (ILO 2006). The ILO offers technical assistance to apply these proposals in developing countries such as Brazil and India, helping to create national programs that take into account the unique characteristics of vulnerable industries.

For example, in India, where the agricultural sector is one of the most dangerous, the ILO works with the government to implement safety training programs, including recommendations for working with chemicals and providing protective clothing for workers in the field (Dennerlein et al. 2020).

Despite the common objectives, the EU and the ILO take different approaches to implementation. The Directive 92/57/EEC, which sets out the criteria for temporary and movable construction sites, is one example of an EU regulation with strict rules for certain businesses. Based on this document, national laws were created in countries such as France, that oblige enterprises to supply protective equipment to all builders and conduct the necessary safety briefings before starting work. In the unstable conditions of construction projects, where circumstances can change rapidly depending on the stage of work, it is a useful tool to reduce risks.

In the extractive industry, which is also unstable due to hazardous working conditions such as explosive atmosphere or risk of collapse, the EU applies the Directive 92/104/EEC which requires special safety measures for mines and

quarries. For example, this directive was transformed into a national law in Poland, where it obliges mines to have modern gas monitoring and ventilation systems, and the staff to undergo regular training to prevent accidents. This helped Poland significantly reduce the number of deaths in the coal industry, which had been a difficult problem before the adoption of these rules (Sagan and Schüller, 2020).

However, the more lenient requirements of the ILO allow nations to gradually improve working conditions in line with economic realities. In Brazil, for example, because the extractive industry contributes significantly to the country's GDP, the ILO works with the government to promote national initiatives that improve occupational safety in this sector (Ovsak et al. 2024). Here, programs aim to increase employee awareness of safety and encourage employers to implement new risk control methods.

International rules should be changed to reflect the changing dynamics of modern markets to improve worker safety standards in fragile industries. For example, cybersecurity is becoming an important component of employee protection in the context of the rapid technological progress taking place in the IT industry. Today's difficulties require consideration of digital security, even though older standards place greater emphasis on physical safety in the workplace. To protect the physical and mental health of workers exposed to information hazards, persistently high levels of stress, and cyber attacks, EU regulations must adapt to these new hazards. For example, companies that deal with online platforms, or storage of personal data, should provide comprehensive measures to reduce the risk

of “burnout” of the employees who process a large amount of confidential information (Sorensen et al. 2021).

More specific standards for assessing safety in high-risk workplaces could be incorporated into EU rules to improve monitoring and reporting. For example, there are often many injuries in the construction sector, so managers must have clear guidance on assessing compliance with safety regulations at every stage of the project. In addition to assessing the conformity of the facility, this may entail the development of incident response procedures, frequent security checks, and a mandatory review of personnel training methods.

Actively expanding the database of hazardous events in high-risk areas would be a beneficial step for the ILO, as it would enable countries to share data on successful interventions in different contexts. For example, countries can share security management expertise in high-risk manufacturing plants to identify common problems and address them effectively (Walters and Wadsworth, 2020).

Another important proposal is to use the latest technologies, such as digital monitoring platforms. Danger to workers at work can be monitored in real-time using digital devices. For example, in the mining industry, sensors that measure vibration or the amount of hazardous compounds present allow you to quickly respond to changes in working conditions and avoid accidents. Together, the EU and the ILO can create a unified platform for the collection and analysis of massive data that will reflect the dynamics of workplace safety in many countries and sectors. This will make it easier for nations to coordinate more effectively and provide decision-makers with reliable information.

A strong emphasis on the awareness and training is critical to workplace safety. Insufficient training of personnel for new hazards is a common characteristic of unstable sectors. To make sure that every worker is aware of the unique dangers and how to mitigate them, the EU and the ILO can establish uniform guidelines on the training required in these areas. For example, stress management training programs and relaxation techniques can significantly reduce the mental health hazards of employees in the e-commerce industry, where workers often face greater workload and stress.

Another important element of improving workplace safety is international cooperation. Through joint initiatives, the EU and the ILO can incorporate EU best practices into ILO international standards, modifying them for different contexts. For example, effective safety measures for workers in the logistics and transport systems of EU countries can be changed according to the needs of countries with different infrastructures. The development of standards that take into account local characteristics will facilitate such an exchange, guaranteeing more effective international protection of workers in uncertain industries.

DISCUSSION

It is much more difficult to guarantee the safety of workers in unstable industries, where safety rules are constantly changing, and technologies quickly appear due to specific working circumstances and characteristics of industrial processes. To achieve high standards, these enterprises must constantly update their monitoring tools and modify security systems to new conditions. For example, automated surveillance systems and

unmanned technology are required to detect hazards in real-time in the construction sector, where the high speed of building structures requires the use of the latest materials and technologies. However, since current security systems require significant financial costs, small and medium-sized businesses often cannot afford to deploy them.

By guaranteeing the installation of motion sensors, automated warning systems, and other risk mitigation measures, government assistance in the form of grants and subsidies can help these businesses meet minimum safety criteria. To give small businesses access to advanced technologies at discounted prices or through certain loyalty programs, it is also worth making alliances with digital firms that specialize in labor protection. The lack of job security is another important issue, as many workers in high-risk industries such as services and agriculture work part-time or temporarily. This reduces the chances of safe and effective learning.

For example, safety training becomes a formality in agriculture, where seasonal workers often have short-term contracts because they cannot fully familiarize themselves with all the necessary protocols. It is recommended that businesses create unique, adaptable tutorials that include short training sessions, smartphone apps, or illustrated guides with basic security rules to solve this problem. Even if they do not work long, it will help to minimize the dangers in the workplace and accelerate the training of new employees.

Government agencies may also encourage security in temporary positions by following stricter guidelines on modified training methods and conducting routine corporate compliance inspections. Passing laws that would incentiv-

ize businesses to hire full or long-term workers by providing tax breaks for doing so would also help stabilize working conditions. Another strategy is to create information platforms for businesses to share best security practices. This will spread practical solutions and reduce the cost of creating your security tools (Jakob et al. 2021).

The introduction of security measures is seriously hampered by financial constraints, especially in unstable climates. Businesses typically reduce their spending on health and safety during a recession or financial crisis, which can have catastrophic consequences for worker safety. For example, several European businesses drastically reduced safety measures during the 2008 financial crisis, leading to an increase in injuries. Fewer health and safety training programs were offered in Spain, leading to an increase in industrial accidents, as the workers did not have the necessary education and training. Governments should introduce anti-crisis subsidies or tax breaks for businesses that invest in worker safety even in times of economic hardship to reduce the impact of such financial constraints. The creation of new technologies also allows enterprises to automate risky procedures and reduce the risk of human errors.

German automakers such as BMW and Volkswagen, for example, extensively use robots to perform dangerous actions for people. Artificial intelligence ensures the early adoption of preventive measures, which allows analyzing data on risks and predicting potentially dangerous scenarios. Automation and artificial intelligence can significantly reduce health and safety costs, which is extremely important for the enterprises operating in unstable sectors of the economy.

Improving security also requires spending on modern means of protection. In sectors such as the oil and gas industry, the use of materials that provide excellent protection in harsh environments is becoming increasingly important. The risk of hypothermia and other risks associated with extreme working conditions on drilling rigs is significantly reduced by Norwegian enterprises operating in the North Sea, for example, with the help of special protective suits, which consist of materials that provide resistance to moisture and low temperatures.

Creating ongoing training programs for employees that allow them to quickly adapt to and enforce new safety regulations is also critical to improving workplace safety in volatile industries. Especially in an environment where reducing security costs is essential, flexible and low-cost learning formats, including online courses, smartphone apps, short video tutorials, and security infographics, help increase employee knowledge and training. Additionally, cooperation with other companies and organizations in the field of labor protection, for example, through the exchange of experience or joint initiatives, can help reduce the cost of developing and maintaining safety measures (Blažič 2021).

In particular, in unstable areas, EU legislation and international standards are an important basis for ensuring effective security measures. They provide enterprises with standardized occupational health and safety rules that help protect workers from possible risks and ensure consistent application of safety rules in all countries. Public authorities in the Netherlands, for example, carefully monitor business compliance with European safety requirements, especially in the agricultural sector,

which is more dangerous due to the use of chemicals and large equipment. This strategy encourages businesses to adopt strict safety rules that force them to follow the procedures and provide workers with safe working conditions even during an economically unstable period.

As a result, employees become more aware and responsible for the compliance with the rules, which promotes a culture of safety. Regular monitoring and risk assessment are also recommended to support this strategy, as they allow you to identify security flaws and solve new problems caused by technological progress or changes in the economy. It is also worth using information campaigns involving employees of all levels to increase the effectiveness of the implementation of European norms and international standards, since this helps creating a sense of shared responsibility and increases motivation to comply.

In addition to improving working conditions, this strategy helps enterprises to develop steadily, increases their credibility as moral employers, and gives them a competitive advantage in global markets. Subsidy programs and cooperation with international organizations that support occupational health and safety can be beneficial for small and medium-sized enterprises, which often lack the funding needed to adopt such standards. This will improve the national and international culture of occupational safety in addition to ensuring compliance with EU regulations and raising public awareness of the value of safety in the workplace.

Even though EU directives and ILO world standards provide progressive criteria for inspection operations, most countries, especially those with limited

resources or economies in transition, cannot guarantee their full implementation in practice. State labor inspections are often underfunded, have a small workforce, outdated technology, and few modern digital tools for monitoring and responding.

This significantly limits the ability of inspections to quickly detect and eliminate violations, especially in high-risk industries such as mining, construction, and agriculture. The ILO states that in many countries, including several EU members, the workload for each inspector is many times higher than the recommended standard, which makes it physically difficult to reach businesses effectively. It is also important to remember that the ability of the inspection service to levy fines or take prompt action in cases where the lives or health of workers are at risk is limited in many countries.

Even the most precise rules turn into declarations without practical influence if the control bodies are not reformed due to a lack of political will and stable funding. Therefore, in addition to harmonizing laws with international standards, one of the most important requirements for improving the efficiency of the occupational safety system is the institutional ability of the state to guarantee compliance with the requirements through sufficient funding, independence of supervisory authorities, digitalization of processes and frequent training of employees. Thus, in addition to studying the legislative framework, future studies should assess the actual condition of state labor inspections and their ability to fulfill their powers.

CONCLUSION

Since industrial injuries lead to significant material and human losses, the issue of labor protection remains relevant. In response, industrialized countries began aggressively implementing strict national and international rules to protect workers. To improve security in all sectors, especially those that are vulnerable, the ILO and the EU have been instrumental in the creation of relevant conventions and directives such as the ISO 45001 and Framework Directive 89/391/EEC. Thanks to these regulations, many European countries implement full risk mitigation measures, making workplaces safer and reducing the frequency of accidents.

Although the standards of the ILO and the regulations of the EU are aimed at ensuring safe working conditions for all workers, the methods and means of their implementation are very different. For industries prone to instability, including construction, mining, and agriculture, EU laws provide the necessary criteria and minimum standards with specialized control methods. The success of these instructions in reducing the accident rate through strict safety standards is illustrated by examples, especially from Italy and Poland.

In addition, the ILO provides more adaptive recommendations that are adjusted to the financial capabilities of different countries, which allows them to create their own national health and safety initiatives. Through technical assistance and awareness-raising, the ILO assists countries in implementing programs that take into account the unique characteristics of vulnerable sectors, as exemplified by Brazil and India.

International standards should be adapted to the dynamic circumstances of modern markets, especially when new dangers related to technological progress and cybersecurity are considered, to further improve the safety standards of workers in unstable industries. Improving workplace safety involves increased supervision, stricter standards for staff training, and the use of advanced technology.

The integration of best practices and the creation of standards that take into account regional differences may result from cooperation between the EU and the ILO. In addition to improving working conditions in industries that are prone to instability, this will help ensure that workers are adequately protected on a global scale.

Maintaining workplace safety in volatile sectors is a complex affair that requires adjusting to rapidly changing circumstances and technological advances. Businesses in industries such as mining, construction, and agriculture deal with a variety of problems such as lack of funding, seasonal employment, and the need for innovative teaching methods. While investment in new technologies such as automation and artificial intelligence can reduce risks, international standards and EU directives must also be adhered to, in order to ensure uniform principles of occupational safety. The successful implementation of these measures not only increases safety in the workplace, but also contributes to the stable development of companies and the formation of a positive reputation of responsible employers.

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Coauthor contributions

Vladyslav Volynets: Writing – Review & Editing, Supervision, Data Curation;

Ivan Kaylo: Investigation, Resources;

Ivan Yatskevych: Conceptualization, Software, Validation;

Serhii Boyko: Visualization, Formal analysis;

Mariia Denysiuk: Project administration; Writing – Original Draft; Methodology.

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Bezbednost i zdravlje na radu za radnike u nestabilnim industrijama: međunarodni i pravni okvir Evropske unije

PROŠIRENI SAŽETAK

Članak istražuje regulativu bezbednosti i zdravlja na radu u visokorizičnim, nestabilnim industrijama poput građevinarstva, rudarstva i poljoprivrede, kroz prizmu međunarodnih okvira i direktiva Evropske unije. Ovi sektori, zbog svoje inherentne nestabilnosti i visokog rizika od povreda ili smrtnih ishoda, zahtevaju snažne pravne mehanizme i proaktivne bezbednosne protokole. Autori sprovode uporednu pravnu analizu primenom metoda kao što su pravno predviđanje, uporedno pravo i formalno-dogmatska metodologija, s ciljem da ispituju na koji način međunarodni radni standardi mogu da informišu nacionalno zakonodavstvo, posebno u zemljama u razvoju i tranziciji.

Značajan deo studije posvećen je evaluaciji uloge međunarodnih organizacija, naročito Međunarodne organizacije rada (MOR) i Evropske unije. Ključne konvencije MOR-a, poput Konvencije br. 155 i Konvencije br. 187, čine osnovu globalnih principa bezbednosti na radu. Studija takođe ističe široku primenu standarda ISO 45001:2018 i značaj evropskih direktiva, uključujući 89/391/EEZ, 92/57/EEZ i 92/104/EEZ, u postavljanju minimalnih bezbednosnih standarda. Korišćenjem primera specifičnih za pojedine zemlje – Nemačku, Francusku, Švedsku, Poljsku i Indiju – članak prikazuje kako se ove direktive prilagođavaju nacionalnim kontekstima.

Autori zastupaju stav da se regulatorni model EU – zasnovan na obavezujućim direktivama i standardizovanim minimalnim zahtevima – pokazao naročito efikasnim u smanjenju profesionalnih rizika. S druge strane, pristup MOR-a, koji se oslanja na fleksibilnost i savetodavni karakter, omogućava prilagođavanje u zemljama sa nižim prihodima, ali može oskudevati u pogledu pravne obavezujuće snage.

Članak se takođe bavi novonastalim izazovima, kao što su digitalni rizici i potreba za integracijom sajber bezbednosti u okvire zaštite zdravlja na radu. Predlažu se tehnološka rešenja poput sistema za nadzor u realnom vremenu i automatizacije, uz programe obuke za unapređenje spremnosti radnika u nestabilnim sektorima. Diskusija obuhvata i strukturna pitanja koja utiču na bezbednost, uključujući privremeno zapošljavanje, finansijsku nestabilnost i ograničen pristup naprednim zaštitnim tehnologijama.

Autori predlažu mere kao što su državne subvencije, međunarodna saradnja i razvoj digitalnih platformi koje bi olakšale usklađenost sa regulativom i razmenu najboljih praksi. Zaključno, članak tvrdi da efikasna regulacija bezbednosti i zdravlja na radu zahteva dinamične i adaptivne standarde, utemeljene kako u pravu EU, tako i u međunarodnim okvirima. Harmonizacija najboljih praksi i njihovo prilagođavanje lokalnim uslovima predstavlja ključ za unapređenje bezbednosti radnog okruženja, smanjenje ekonomskih gubitaka usled nesreća na radu i očuvanje dostojanstva i prava radnika na globalnom nivou.

KLJUČNE REČI

bezbednost na radu, nestabilne industrije, međunarodni standardi, standardi Evropske unije, radni uslovi

Osvrt

Review

Dragan Stanojević

Konflikt i balans porodičnog i poslovnog života: Kako parovi u Srbiji balansiraju između posla, porodice i društvenih očekivanja

Dosije studio, Beograd, 2025, 336 str.

ISBN 978-86-6047-474-4

„Konflikt i balans porodičnog i poslovnog života“ Dragana Stanojevića je naučno-istraživačka monografija posvećena problemu kojeg malo koji savremeni par *Homo Sapiensa* može da izbegne ili ignoriše. Istovremeno, bavljenje istraživanjem problema usklađivanja porodičnog/privatnog i poslovnog života je nešto što, čini se, društvene nauke dosledno zanemaruju. Posebno nisu česte rigorozne i detaljne kvantitativne studije, zasnovane na obimnim i kvalitetnim podacima, kao i kompleksnim naprednim statističkim analizama. Monografija dr Stanojevića je upravo takva studija – koja uključuje detaljan pregled relevantne literature, sistematičnu analizu teorijskog konteksta, rigorozni metodološki pristup, te sistematsku analizu relevantnih podataka i teorijsku kontekstualizaciju donetih zaključaka.

Monografija je sa jedne strane fokusirana na apstraktni istraživački problem, a sa druge na stanje Srbije. Kako podnaslov monografije kaže, autor nastoji da odgovori na pitanje „Kako parovi u Srbiji balansiraju između posla, porodice i društvenih očekivanja“. Studija započinje

obuhvatnim a istovremeno konciznim i fokusiranim pregled postojećih istraživanja i najrelevantnijih teorijskih pristupa. Literaturu, naravno, čine istraživanja i ideje razvijene na osnovu istraživanja kapitalističkih, 'zapadnih' zemalja, pa autor pažljivo i sistematski uvodi varijable različitog istorijskog puta kojim se u Srbiji ušlo u moderne porodične odnose i savremenu ekonomiju. Uprkos teškom zadatku koje pred savremeni parove postavlja još jedna u nizu promena političkog i ekonomskog sistema, kako sam autor primećuje „o načinu na koji parovi usklađuju porodične i poslovne obaveze i o tome kako radne organizacije i institucije mogu da im pomognu, do skoro se uopšte nije javno govorilo“ (str. 11).

Da bi istražio „odnos između porodičnog i poslovnog domena muškaraca i žena koji žive u braku ili vanbračnoj zajednici u Srbiji i imaju decu starosti do devetnaest godina“ (u fokusu su „dvoroditeljske heteroseksualne porodice“), autor se opredeljuje da posmatra kako objektivnu tako i subjektivnu dimenziju odnosa poslovnog i porodičnog života. U prvom poglavlju, autor elaborira

teorijski okvir istraživačkog poduhvata, predstavljajući relevantne teorijske pristupe kao što su teorija resursa, teorija neutralizacije rodni očekivanja, teorije stigme i druge.

U narednom poglavlju, iznose se osnovni istraživački ciljevi i hipoteze, a zatim predstavljaju korišćeni podaci i analitički metodi. Važno je zapaziti da empirijsku osnovu za analize predstavljene u ovoj monografiji predstavlja originalno istraživanje, sprovedeno od strane istraživača/ica Instituta za sociološka istraživanja Filozofskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu, tokom 2019. i 2020. godine. Dakle, radi se o izvornim podacima, sa jedne strane baziranim na kvalitetnom uzorku, a sa druge upitniku dizajniranom za istraživanje problema obrađenih u monografiji. Može da izgleda banalno, ali u istraživačkoj praksi istraživača u društvenim naukama nije tako čest slučaj da se u takvom skladu nađu istraživački problem, uzorak, istraživački instrumenti, i sprovedene analize.

U narednom poglavlju se „postavlja društveni, demografski i institucionalni okvir analize“ (str. 14). Drugim rečima, rezimiraju se nalazi i zaključci ranijih istraživanja, i iznose različiti objektivni (statistički) podaci relevantni za predmet istraživanja. Na taj način ocrtava se „način na koji, društvene strukture, institucije kroz javne politike, i kultura kroz vrednosti i simbole oblikuju ponašanje muškaraca i žena u javnoj i privatnoj sferi.“

Sadržaj naredna dva poglavlja čine različite analize prikupljenih podataka, uključujući testiranje istraživačkih hipoteza, i tu je, u velikoj meri, sadržana suština istraživačkog doprinosa ovog istraživačkog poduhvata dr Stanojevića. Kako je u uvodu najavljeno, analize su podeljene u dve velike celine – prvu usmerenu na „objektivne“ relacije koje se tiču raspodela plaćenog i neplaćenog rada, i

drugu usmerenu na subjektivni doživljaj konflikta između poslovne i privatne sfere. Među objektivnim pokazateljima u poslovnoj sferi, u fokusu su, na primer, „zaposlenost, tip ugovora, nestabilnost i nepredvidivost radnih aranžmana, kao i dostupnost fleksibilnih mogućnosti na poslu“ (str. 12). Sa druge strane, među objektivnim pokazateljima u privatnoj sferi, u studiju su uključeni, na primer, stepen uključenosti partnera u „aktivnosti nege, brige o deci i kućnim poslovima, kao i stepen nejednakosti između njih“ (str. 12). Indikatori subjektivne percepcije konflikta između radne i privatne/porodične sfere su odgovori na pitanja kao na primer, da li se ispitanik/ca po dolasku sa posla oseća suviše umorno da bi se posvetio/la nekim željenim aktivnostima, i slično.

Može se zapaziti da je mnogo veći obim analiza koje se odnose na objektivnu podelu plaćenog i neplaćenog rada (preko 180 stranica), tj. osam puta više nego što je posvećeno analizama subjektivne procene konflikta između sfere rada i privatnog života (23 strane). To, naravno, nije iznenađujuće pošto se radi o sociološkoj studiji, a utisak je da postoji neformalna podela rada između psihologa i sociologa, gde se sociolozi više bave 'objektivnim' aspektom problema, a psiholozi subjektivnim doživljajima.

Nemoguće je u par rečenica adekvatno rezimirati istraživački doprinos takvih i tolikih kvantitativnih analiza kao što su one sadržane u poglavlju o problemima 'objektivne podela plaćenog i neplaćenog rada'. Radi ilustracije, analiziraju se problemi kao što su uloga radnog statusa, fleksibilnog rada, podele rada u privatnoj sferi (posebno analizirajući uticaj različitih roditeljskih faza), uloga vrednosnih orijentacija u domenu privatne sfere, zatim je tu i poglavlje o intimnosti u domenu privatne sfere (takođe vodeći

računa o interakciji sa roditeljskim fazama), kao i odeljak o uticaju prisustva više generacija u okviru domaćinstva.

Posebno potpoglavlje u segmentu koji se odnosi na objektivnu podelu rada, je posvećeno ličnim putanjama, i naročito ovde čitalac može da stekne jasnu sliku kako se kompleksni društveni problemi u savremenoj sociologiji analiziraju na kompleksan način, i kako su rezultati kompleksni, ali zato prilagođeno problemima koji se istražuju. Moguće je da će biti čitalaca koji će na momente osetiti varljivu nostalgiju, kao što sam ja osetio, za modelima koji nam pokazuju kako je varijabla A povezana sa varijablom B, ili kako varijable A, B i C predviđaju verovatnoću ishoda D. Ima toga u Stanojevićevoj monografiji, ali je glavni doprinos u mnogo kompleksnijim modelima, kao što su sekvencijalne analize u osnovi modeliranja ličnih putanja. A kompleksniji modeli i analize zahtevaju više pažnje i truda od strane čitalaca.

Ovde je, na primer, ocrtano nekoliko različitih „bračno-roditeljskih putanja“, „radno-roditeljskih tranzicija“, te stambenih tranzicija, kako kod muškaraca tako i kod žena. Kroz niz statističkih analiza i zanimljivih i intuitivnih grafičkih ilustracija, pokazalo se, na primer, da „Različite putanje u okviru tri analizirane tranzicije nemaju značajan uticaj na položaj muškaraca na tržištu rada. S druge strane, položaj žena na tržištu rada znatno je više povezan sa njihovim životnim putanjama“ (str. 259). Operacionalizacija i analiza „ličnih životnih putanja“ je svakako jedan od inovativnijih aspekata ove studije. To je inovativno posebno u kontekstu srpske sociologije jer je takav pristup omogućio dinamičnije analize i konceptualizacije kakve nisu moguće držeći se primene standardnih metoda (posebno poglavlje u delu posvećenom teorijskom kontekstu je posvećeno „životnom toku“).

Iako značajno manje po obimu, poglavlje koje se odnosi na subjektivnu percepciju konflikta između sfere rada i privatnog života predstavlja dobrodošlu kontra-težu analizama posvećenim objektivnim relacijama. Zapaženo je, na primer, da i muškarci i žene smatraju da rad često utiče negativno na privatni život, a da se obrnuti uticaj mnogo ređe zapaža. Međutim, postoji značajna interakcija sa fazom roditeljstva: „Žene su pod mnogo većim pritiskom privatnog života dok su im deca u osnovnoj školi.“ (str. 266). Autor takođe iznosi i niz 'integralnih modela', tj. multivarijantnih regresionih modela koji prikazuju kompleksnost faktora koji utiču na subjektivnu percepciju konflikta između poslovne i privatne sfere.

Kakve studije u društvenim naukama privlače pažnju, pohvale, i ostaju trajno ocenjene kao značajni istraživački doprinosi? Nije teško navesti neke od najvažnijih kriterijuma – da se radi o predmetu koji je društveno važan, pogotovo za široke društvene slojeve, zatim da se radi o nedovoljno istraženom predmetu, da studija donosi teorijski relevantne odgovore koji unapređuju nauku na više nivoa, zatim da se radi o istraživačkim poduhvatima koji koriste metode primerene istraživačkim pitanjima i daju pouzdane odgovore, od značaja za istraživače na različitim meridijanima. Ovde je reč o takvoj studiji, može se zaključiti. Mora se takođe istaći da se ovde radi o zahtevnoj literaturi, koju neće biti lako čitati sa podeljenom pažnjom. To je literatura koja će zahtevati punu pažnju čitaoca, i spremnost da se ozbiljno upozna kako sa savremenim istraživanjima u toj oblasti, tako i sa savremenim kvantitativnim metodama. Solidno poznavanje kvantitativnih metoda će sigurno olakšati praćenje pojedinih delova knjige. Dapače, pri prelistavanju knjige, čitalac/

čitateljka može da se zabrine s obzirom na količinu tabela, grafikona, statističkih testova prikazanih u knjizi. Međutim, ne bi trebalo da takav utisak umanju motivaciju za detaljnim upoznavanjem sa Stanojevićevom monografijom. Uzbudjenje usled upoznavanja sa novim sociološkim uvidima i analitičkim metodima biće više nego adekvatna kompenzacija.

Mora se istraći da je monografija pisana jasnim i pristupačnim stilom, tako da su zaključci razumljivi, tj. može se oceniti njihova empirijska zasnovanost, čak i ako čitalac nije ekspert u kvantitativnim metodama. Jedna od posebnih vrlina ovog rada je i u tome što, iako se prikazuje velika količina empirijskih podataka, koristeći kompleksne savremene statističke metode, autor ne gubi iz vida neophodnost održavanja jasne i eksplicitne veze između teorijskih konstrukcija, operacionalizacije analiziranih varijabli, te primenjenih statističkih metoda i analiza. Posebno bi trebalo istaći obilje grafičkih prikaza rezultata, što značajno olakšava razumevanje sprovedenih analiza. Moglo bi se zaključiti da je ova monografija dobra ilustracija kako se statističkim metodama i kvantitativnim pristupom ne gubi veza između teorije i empirije, nego se zapravo ta veza jasnije i upečatljivije ističe.

Ova recenzija ima da iznese i jednu zamerku. Zamerka se odnosi na manjak informacija o metodu uzorkovanja ispitnika/ca. Da li se radi o slučajnom ili prigodnom uzorku? Na jednom mestu autor kaže „Istovremeno, subjektivne

procene odnosa privatne i poslovne sfere do sada nisu sistematski istraživane na reprezentativnim uzorcima, pa je ovo prilika da se nešto više sazna o percepciji tog odnosa“, što sugerise da se radi o slučajnom uzorku (mada je ovde nejasno u kom značenju je upotrebljen pojam reprezentativnosti). Bez dileme, za potpuniju evaluaciju rezultata, bilo bi korisno da je proces uzorkovanja ispitanika/va detaljnije opisan.

Na kraju, čitalac ostaje sa jednim nerazrešenim pitanjem: kako to da se društvene nauke, ne samo sociologija, i dalje nedovoljno bave ovom izuzetno važnom problematikom? Autorova misija nije bila da odgovori na to pitanje, ali ova knjiga jasno svedoči da se konflikt i balans između privatne i poslovne sfere mogu proučavati na metodološki rigorozan način, i istovremeno biti relevantan za mnogobrojna klasična sociološka pitanja. U svakom slučaju, nadamo se da ćemo uskoro biti svedoci uticaja ove studije kroz razradu istraživačkih problema ocrtanih u ovoj studiji, u novim, posebno interdisciplinarnim i komparativnim istraživanjima.

Bojan Todosijević 

Institute of Social Sciences, Belgrade, Serbia

Correspondence:

Bojan Todosijević, Institute of Social Sciences,
45 Kraljice Natalije St., 11000 Belgrade, Serbia

Email:

btodosijevic@idn.org.rs

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Prikaz

Short review

“Is Gender Equality an Obstacle to Decisions on Family Formation?”

Belgrade, Institute of Social Sciences, 24th September 2024.

„Da li je rodna ravnopravnost prepreka za odluke o formiranju porodice?”

Beograd, Institut društvenih nauka, 24. septembar 2024.

During June and July 2024, a qualitative research study was conducted within the project “Is gender equality an obstacle to decisions on family formation?” as a part of the internal call for the Institute of Social Sciences SEED Research Grant, financed by SAIGE (Serbia Accelerating Innovation and Growth Entrepreneurship) and the World Bank. The initial idea was to take the first step toward understanding the transformation process of gender roles in heterosexual partnerships among young people in Serbia, aiming to shed light on important issues related to family life, gender roles, and their relation to policies on youth, family, and gender equality.

The workshop was the final activity of the project, which was conducted by research associate Milena Sekulić, MSc, with mentorship from Dr. Ankica Šobot, both of whom are researchers at the Centre for Demographic Research at the Institute of Social Sciences. The purpose of this event was not only to present the results but also to foster cooperation with representatives of the government agencies dealing with gender issues, youth, and family policies.

The key topics of the workshop were related to gender equality in partnership and parenthood, understanding gender roles, and issues related to balancing work and parenthood. The focus was on the barriers that young women and men in Serbia face today before deciding to get married and create offspring, but also on the reasons for their postponement, or possibly “not choosing” marriage and parenthood.

Representatives from the Ministry of Tourism and Youth, the Cabinet of the Minister without Portfolio in charge of gender equality, prevention of violence against women, and economic and political empowerment of women and the Commissioner for the Protection of Equality, along with members of the scientific and academic community, responded to the invitation to participate in the workshop.

In the first part of the workshop, project manager MSc Milena Sekulić presented the project and its qualitative research results. Highlighting the motive for conducting the study, she pointed out several questions that prompted it: How do young people who are not yet

married perceive gender equality? What are their attitudes on gender roles and gender relations within partnerships and marriages? And what is their influence on decisions about family formation? Referring to the purpose, she emphasized that the qualitative research aimed to identify differences in the attitudes of girls and boys and understand how these attitudes shape their behaviour. The goal was to use the findings to foster a climate of better mutual understanding, establish, and develop high-quality, stable partnerships and communities among young people.

The qualitative research was conducted through semi-structured interviews with women and men aged 19 to 35, not yet married at the time. In the interview guide, respondents were asked questions about partnership and emotional connection, marriage, gender roles, the disconnection or connection between marriage and parenthood, as well as gender equality as factors influencing relationship and marriage stability. During the analysis of the results, three key themes were identified. The first related to the respondents' attitudes to marriage, specifically their opinions about it. Four response patterns emerged: personal experiences of marriage, the meaning of marriage without children, reasons for getting married, and reasons against marriage. The second theme referred to understanding gender roles. The identified response modes were the role of women - acceptance of a modern role combined with traditional behaviour; the role of men - the presence of a traditional model blended with contemporary elements; and gender equality in marriage - reflecting personal attitudes and preferences shaped by upbringing and cultural norms. The third theme addressed gender equality and partnership stability,

including various statements emphasizing the importance of mutual communication and understanding regarding gender roles, as well as the potential impact of gender equality on relationship quality and family formation decisions.

The second part of the workshop consisted of a discussion and idea exchange on the topics raised with the colleagues from the academic and scientific research community, as well as with the representatives from public policy.

Full professor at the Faculty of Geography, Dr. Mirjana Devedžić, was the first to speak and pointed out that in Serbia, sociologists mainly focused on this topic, and that it was included in demographic research for nearly as long. She emphasized that gender roles were best understood through marriage and family, and that a quality partnership was essential for a stable marriage. She pointed out the concern that young men had about gender equality, stemming from their effort to balance traditional and modern values, and identified it as a possible barrier to marriage. Dr. Mirjana Devedžić concluded that young people still inclined toward patriarchal patterns of behaviour, but the change process had begun and was progressing slowly.

Men's perspectives and attitudes toward partnership and gender equality significantly influenced the discussion. Dr. Vesna Lukić, scientific advisor at the Centre for Demographic Research of the Institute of Social Sciences, observed that men were not only unwilling to provide more detailed answers, but also reluctant to participate in the research. She suggested that a closer approach in quantitative research could potentially change this. Dr. Lilijana Čičkarić, scientific advisor at the Centre for Sociological and Anthropological Research of the Institute of Social Sciences, stated that

men were confused, not scared, by the transformation of gender roles. She also emphasized that it was just as challenging for men, as it was for women, due to high expectations, tasks, and obligations. Dr. Ankica Šobot, research associate at the Centre for Demographic Research of the Institute of Social Sciences and a project mentor, emphasized the importance of the socio-economic aspect in the decisions concerning family formation, particularly from the male perspective.

During the discussion, the question of the connection between gender equality and decisions on family formation was raised more specifically. Dr. Irena Ristić, research associate at the Centre for Political Research and Public Opinion of the Institute of Social Sciences, suggested that it would be helpful to examine more specifically whether gender equality acted as an obstacle to having children. Dr. Petar Vasić, associate professor at the Faculty of Geography at the University of Belgrade, stated that the family of origin influenced attitudes toward gender equality and the decision to delay marriage, emphasizing that traditionalism should not be equated with inequality.

Jovana Stanar Vuković, representative of the Cabinet of the Minister without Portfolio in charge of gender equality, prevention of violence against women, and economic and political empowerment of women, pointed out the importance of the findings as a starting point for future research. She observed that young people did not fully understand the concept of gender equality, which led to fear, resistance, and misunderstanding. She emphasized that it was necessary to include both men and

women equally when discussing gender equality and that it was essential to educate both young women and men equally about the concept. Additionally, she highlighted the need to pass regulations and harmonize the legislative framework.

The workshop was an opportunity not only to summarize the findings of the research conducted early in the participants' careers, but also to foster closer communication with more experienced colleagues and representatives of government institutions where the issues were discussed. This event facilitated the exchange of knowledge and perspectives between the researchers and government representatives, laying the groundwork for a stronger cooperation regarding the relationship between gender equality and family formation. The workshop only hinted at potential research and practical contributions. It was especially significant that the participants engaged in a meaningful discussion during which ideas for further scientific exploration of this topic were generated, as well as potential practical impacts aimed at promoting a favourable climate toward gender equality as a vital aspect of family life.

Milena Šećerov 

Institute of Social Sciences, Belgrade, Serbia

Correspondence:

Milena Šećerov,
Institute of Social Sciences, Belgrade,
Kraljice Natalije 45, 11000 Belgrade, Serbia

Email:

msekulic@idn.org.rs

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Errata & Corrigenda



Corrigendum to: Population Ageing and Gender Gap: A Dual Challenge to Economic Growth

Jelena Zvezdanović Lobanova¹ Vasko Kelić¹ Milan Zvezdanović²

In the original publication of this article [Zvezdanović Lobanova, J., Kelić V., & Zvezdanović M. (2025). Population Ageing and Gender Gap: A Dual Challenge to Economic Growth. *Stanovništvo*, 63(1), 29–50. <https://doi.org/10.59954/stnv.681>], there was an error in the interpretation of the quantile regression coefficients for a log-level model. The authors wish to correct this error in two locations.

1. Correction in the Abstract

In the Abstract on page 29, the following sentence was published incorrectly:

Original sentence: “Specifically, a one-unit increase in the log share of older persons in the working-age population is linked with a reduced economic output growth ranging from 0.03 to 0.07 percentage points.”

This sentence should have read:

Corrected sentence: “Specifically, a 1% increase in the share of older persons in the working-age population is linked with a reduced economic output growth ranging from 0.03 to 0.07 percentage points.”

2. Correction on Page 40

A similar error appears on page 40, in the first paragraph of the results discussion (under Table 8).

Original sentence: “We find that a one-unit increase in the log proportion of older people in the working-age population results in the decrease in GDP per capita growth of 0.03-0.07 percentage points.”

This sentence should have read:

Corrected sentence: “We find that a 1% increase in the proportion of older people in the working-age population results in the decrease in GDP per capita growth of 0.03-0.07 percentage points.”

¹*Institute of Social Sciences, Belgrade, Serbia*

²*Academy for National Security, Belgrade, Serbia*

Correspondence:

Jelena Zvezdanović Lobanova, Institute of Social Sciences, Belgrade, Kraljice Natalije 45, 11000 Belgrade, Serbia

Email:

jzvezdanovic@idn.org.rs



Erratum to: Informal care givers of elderly in Serbia – towards formalisation of the status?

Marta Sjeničić¹  Marko Milenković¹  Sofija Nikolić Popadić¹ 

In the original publication of this article [Sjeničić, M., Milenković, M., & Nikolić Popadić, S. (2024). Neformalni negovatelji starijih u Srbiji – ka prepoznavanju formalnog statusa? *Stanovništvo*. <https://doi.org/10.59954/stnv.542>], there was an error made in preparing the article for production which caused three references that were cited in text to be omitted in the reference list. The missing references are:

Broese van Groenou, M. I., & De Boer, A. (2016). Providing informal care in a changing society. *European Journal of Ageing*, 13(3), 271–279. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10433-016-0370-7>

Nacionalna strategija o starenju (2006). https://www.minrzs.gov.rs/sites/default/files/2018-11/Nacionalna%20strategija%20o%20starenju_1.pdf

Stanojevic, D., Pavlović Babić, D., Matković, G., Petrović, J., Arandarenko, M., Gailey, N., ... Stamenković, Ž. (2022). *Nacionalni izveštaj o ljudskom razvoju Srbija 2022*. Beograd: UNDP Srbija. <https://serbia.un.org/sites/default/files/2022-07/Nacionalni-izvestaj-o-ljudskom-razvoju-Srbija-2022.pdf>

This error was introduced during production and has been corrected in the online version. The publisher apologizes for the oversight.

— Editorial Office, *Stanovništvo*

¹*Institute of Social Sciences, Belgrade, Serbia*

Correspondence:

Marta Sjeničić,
Institute of Social Sciences,
Belgrade, Kraljice Natalije
45, 11000 Belgrade, Serbia

Email:

msjenicic@idn.org.rs



Erratum to: Political culture and the attitude toward “the other”

Zoran Lutovac¹ 

In the original publication of this article [Lutovac, Z. (2025). Political Culture and the Attitude Toward “the Other”. *Stanovništvo*, 63(1), 167–187. <https://doi.org/10.59954/stnv.688>], an error occurred during the production process which caused two in-text references to be incorrectly presented, and one cited reference to be omitted from the reference list.

The missing reference is:

- Veber, M. (1976). Odnosi u etničkim zajednicama. *Privreda i društvo*, IV glava, tom 1 (pp. 323–337). Beograd: Prosveta.

The corrected in-text references are as follows:

- Brown (1979) should read Brown & Gray (1979).
- Lijphart (1975) should read Lijphart (2022).

This error was introduced during production and has been corrected in the online version. The publisher apologizes for the oversight.

— Editorial Office, *Stanovništvo*

¹*Institute of Social Sciences,
Belgrade, Serbia*

Correspondence:

Zoran Lutovac,
Institute of Social Sciences,
Belgrade, Kraljice Natalije
45, 11000 Belgrade, Serbia

Email:

zlutovac@idn.org.rs

Autori u ovom broju

ARSENOVIĆ, Daniela	Redovni profesor Prirodno-matematički fakultet, Univerzitet u Novom Sadu, Novi Sad (Srbija) daniela.arsenovic@dgt.uns.ac.rs
BLAGOJEVIĆ, dr Jelisaveta	Naučni saradnik Istorijski institut Univerziteta Crne Gore, Podgorica (Crna Gora) elizabetab@t-com.me
BOYKO, dr Serhii	Vanredni profesor Katedra za teoriju države i prava i ustavno pravo, Obrazovni i istraživački institut za pravo Kneza Vladimira Velikog, Međuregionalna akademija za menadžment kadrova, Kijev (Ukrajina) serhii_boyko@edu-iosa.org
ĆERIMAN, dr Jelena	Naučni saradnik Univerzitet u Beogradu, Institut za filozofiju i društvenu teoriju, Beograd (Srbija) jelena.ceriman@ifdt.bg.ac.rs
ĆUKOVIĆ, Aleksandar	Istraživač Istorijski institut Univerziteta Crne Gore, Podgorica (Crna Gora) cukovicaleksandar@yahoo.com
DENYSIUK, dr Mariia	Docent Katedra za radno pravo i pravo socijalnog osiguranja, Nacionalni univerzitet Taras Ševčenko, Kijev (Ukrajina) m_as_ha@ukr.net
ĐORĐEVIĆ, dr Biljana	Redovni profesor Ekonomski fakultet, Univerzitet u Nišu, Niš (Srbija) biljana.djordjevic@eknfak.ni.ac.rs
FILIPOVIĆ, dr Marko	Naučni saradnik Geografski institut „Jovan Cvijić“ SANU, Beograd (Srbija) m.filipovic@gi.sanu.ac.rs
JANKOVIĆ, dr Bojan	Vanredni profesor Kriminalističko-policijski univerzitet, Beograd (Srbija) bojan.jankovic@kpu.edu.rs
KAYLO, dr Ivan	Doktor pravnih nauka AD Kononenko, Kajlo i partneri, Kijev (Ukrajina) ivan_kaylo@edu-iosa.org
KRUNIĆ, dr Nikola	Naučni savetnik Institut za arhitekturu i urbanizam Srbije, Beograd (Srbija) nikola@iaus.ac.rs
KUKULJ, Nikolina	Psiholog Osnovna škola „Jovan Sterija Popović“, Vršac (Srbija) ninakukulj@hotmail.com
KURBALIJA, Dragan	Stručni saradnik Poljoprivredna škola sa domom učenika, Futog (Srbija) dragankurbalija@gmail.com
MANDIĆ, dr Stefan	Naučni saradnik Univerzitet u Beogradu, Filozofski fakultet, Institut za sociološka istraživanja, Beograd (Srbija) stefan.mandic@f.bg.ac.rs
MARIĆ OGNJENOVIĆ, Miljana	Asistent Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Novom Sadu, Novi Sad (Srbija) miljana.maric.ognjenovic@ff.uns.ac.rs
MAŠIĆ, Katarina	Asistent Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Novom Sadu, Novi Sad (Srbija) katarina.masic@ff.uns.ac.rs
MÉLYPATAKI, dr Gábor	Vanredni profesor Univerzitet u Miškolcu, Pravni fakultet, Institut za privatno pravo, Miškolc (Mađarska) gabor.melypataki@uni-miskolc.hu
MIHIĆ, dr Ivana	Vanredni profesor Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Novom Sadu, Novi Sad (Srbija) imihic@ff.uns.ac.rs

MILAŠINOVIĆ, dr Srđan	Redovni profesor Kriminalističko-policijski univerzitet, Beograd (Srbija) srdjan.milasynovic@kpu.edu.rs
MILANOVIĆ ZBILJIĆ, Sandra	Asistent Ekonomski fakultet, Univerzitet u Nišu, Niš (Srbija) sandra.milanovic@eknfak.ni.ac.rs
MILOJEVIĆ, dr Saša	Redovni profesor Kriminalističko-policijski univerzitet, Beograd (Srbija) sasa.milojevic@kpu.edu.rs
OGNJENOVIĆ, dr Kosovka	Viši naučni saradnik Institut ekonomskih nauka, Beograd (Srbija) kosovka.ognjenovic@ien.bg.ac.rs
PANTOVIĆ, dr Ljiljana	Naučni saradnik Univerzitet u Beogradu, Institut za filozofiju i društvenu teoriju, Beograd (Srbija) ljiljana.pantovic@ifdt.bg.ac.rs
POTIĆ, dr Ivan	Naučni saradnik Institut društvenih nauka, Beograd (Srbija) ipotic@gmail.com
RADOVANOVIĆ, Marija	Istraživač saradnik Univerzitet u Beogradu, Institut za filozofiju i društvenu teoriju, Beograd (Srbija) marija.radovanovic@ifdt.bg.ac.rs
SIMIĆ, dr Ivana	Redovni profesor Ekonomski fakultet, Univerzitet u Nišu, Niš (Srbija) ivana.simic@eknfak.ni.ac.rs
ŠAKOTIĆ-KURBALIJA, dr Jelena	Redovni profesor Odsek za psihologiju, Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Novom Sadu, Novi Sad (Srbija) jelenasakotickurbalija@ff.uns.ac.rs
ŠEĆEROV, Milena	Istraživač saradnik Institut društvenih nauka, Beograd (Srbija) msekulic@idn.org.rs
ŠOBOT, Ankica	Naučni saradnik Institut društvenih nauka, Beograd (Srbija) asobot@idn.org.rs
TODOSIJEVIĆ, Bojan	Naučni savetnik Institut društvenih nauka, Beograd (Srbija) btodosijevic@idn.org.rs
VINOKIĆ, Milana	Asistent Univerzitet u Beogradu, Fakultet političkih nauka, Beograd (Srbija) milana.vinokic@fpm.bg.ac.rs
VOLYNETS, dr Vladyslav	Docent Katedra za radno pravo i pravo socijalnog osiguranja, Nacionalni univerzitet Taras Ševčenko, Kijev (Ukrajina) vladyslav_volynets@edu-iosa.org
YATSKEVYCH, dr Ivan	Zamenik dekana Pravnog fakulteta Katedra za privatno pravo, Pravni fakultet, Nacionalni univerzitet Kijevsko-mogiljanska akademija, Kijev (Ukrajina) ivan.yatskevych@ukma.edu.ua
ŽUJOVIĆ, Anja	Istraživač pripravnik Institut društvenih nauka, Beograd (Srbija) azujoVIC@idn.org.rs

Authors for this issue

ARSENOVIĆ, Daniela	Full Professor Faculty of Sciences, University of Novi Sad, Novi Sad (Serbia) daniela.arsenovic@dgt.uns.ac.rs
BLAGOJEVIĆ, PhD Jelisaveta	Research Associate Historical Institute of the University of Montenegro, Podgorica (Montenegro) elizabethab@t-com.me
BOYKO, PhD Serhii	Associate Professor Department of Theory of State and Law and Constitutional Law, Prince Volodymyr the Great Educational and Research Institute of Law, Interregional Academy of Personnel Management, Kyiv (Ukraine) serhii_boyko@edu-iosa.org
ĆERIMAN, PhD Jelena	Research Fellow University of Belgrade, Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Belgrade (Serbia) jelena.ceriman@ifdt.bg.ac.rs
ĆUKOVIĆ, Aleksandar	Researcher Historical Institute of the University of Montenegro, Podgorica (Montenegro) cukovicaaleksandar@yahoo.com
DENYSIUK, PhD Mariia	Assistant Professor Department of Labour Law and Social Security Law, Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, Kyiv (Ukraine) m_as_ha@ukr.net
ĐORĐEVIĆ, PhD Biljana	Full Professor Faculty of Economics, University of Niš, Niš (Serbia) biljana.djordjevic@eknfak.ni.ac.rs
FILIPOVIĆ, PhD Marko	Research Associate Geographical Institute "Jovan Cvijić" of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Belgrade (Serbia) m.filipovic@gi.sanu.ac.rs
JANKOVIĆ, PhD Bojan	Associate Professor University of Criminal Investigation and Police Studies, Belgrade (Serbia) bojan.jankovic@kpu.edu.rs
KAYLO, PhD Ivan	Doctor of Law Kononenko, Kaylo & Partners JSC, Kyiv (Ukraine) ivan_kaylo@edu-iosa.org
KRUNIĆ, PhD Nikola	Principal Research Fellow Institute of Architecture and Urban & Spatial Planning of Serbia, Belgrade (Serbia) nikola@iaus.ac.rs
KUKULJ, Nikolina	Psychologist Elementary School "Jovan Sterija Popović", Vršac (Serbia) ninakukulj@hotmail.com
KURBALIJA, Dragan	Professional Associate Agricultural High School with Dormitory, Futog (Serbia) dragankurbalija@gmail.com
MANDIĆ, PhD Stefan	Research Associate University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philosophy, Institute for Sociological Research, Belgrade (Serbia) stefan.mandic@f.bg.ac.rs
MARIĆ OGNJENOVIĆ, Miljana	Teaching Assistant Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad, Novi Sad (Serbia) miljana.maric.ognjenovic@ff.uns.ac.rs
MAŠIĆ, Katarina	Teaching Assistant Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad, Novi Sad (Serbia) katarina.masic@ff.uns.ac.rs
MÉLYPATAKI, PhD Gábor	Associate Professor University of Miskolc, Faculty of Law, Institute of Private Law, Miskolc (Hungary) gabor.melypataki@uni-miskolc.hu
MIHIĆ, PhD Ivana	Associate Professor Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad, Novi Sad (Serbia) imihic@ff.uns.ac.rs

MILAŠINOVIĆ, PhD Srđan	Full Professor University of Criminal Investigation and Police Studies, Belgrade (Serbia) srdjan.milasynovic@kpu.edu.rs
MILANOVIĆ ZBILJIĆ, Sandra	Teaching Assistant Faculty of Economics, University of Niš, Niš (Serbia) sandra.milanovic@eknfak.ni.ac.rs
MILOJEVIĆ, PhD Saša	Full Professor University of Criminal Investigation and Police Studies, Belgrade (Serbia) sasa.milojevic@kpu.edu.rs
OGNJENOVIĆ, PhD Kosovka	Senior Research Associate Institute of Economic Sciences, Belgrade (Serbia) kosovka.ognjenovic@ien.bg.ac.rs
PANTOVIĆ, PhD Ljiljana	Research Fellow University of Belgrade, Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Belgrade (Serbia) ljiljana.pantovic@ifdt.bg.ac.rs
POTIĆ, PhD Ivan	Research Associate Institute of Social Sciences, Belgrade (Serbia) ipotic@gmail.com
RADOVANOVIĆ, Marija	Research Assistant University of Belgrade, Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Belgrade (Serbia) marija.radovanovic@ifdt.bg.ac.rs
SIMIĆ, PhD Ivana	Full Professor Faculty of Economics, University of Niš, Niš (Serbia) ivana.simic@eknfak.ni.ac.rs
ŠAKOTIĆ-KURBALIJA, PhD Jelena	Full Professor Department of Psychology, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad, Novi Sad (Serbia) jelenasakotickurbalija@ff.uns.ac.rs
ŠEĆEROV, Milena	Research Assistant Institute of Social Sciences, Belgrade (Serbia) msekulic@idn.org.rs
ŠOBOT, Ankica	Research Associate Institute of Social Sciences, Belgrade (Serbia) asobot@idn.org.rs
TODOSIJEVIĆ, Bojan	Principal Research Fellow Institute of Social Sciences, Belgrade (Serbia) btodosijevic@idn.org.rs
VINOKIĆ, Milana	Teaching Assistant University of Belgrade, Faculty of Political Sciences, Belgrade (Serbia) milana.vinokic@fpn.bg.ac.rs
VOLYNETS, PhD Vladyslav	Assistant Professor Department of Labour Law and Social Security Law, Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, Kyiv (Ukraine) vladyslav_volynets@edu-iosa.org
YATSKEVYCH, PhD Ivan	Deputy Dean of the Faculty of Law Department of Private Law, Faculty of Law, National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, Kyiv (Ukraine) ivan.yatskevych@ukma.edu.ua
ŽUJOVIĆ, Anja	Junior Research Assistant Institute of Social Sciences, Belgrade (Serbia) azujuvic@idn.org.rs

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- Autori garantuju da su kao autori navedena samo ona lica koja su značajno doprinela sadržaju rukopisa, odnosno da su sva lica koja su značajno doprinela sadržaju rukopisa navedena kao autori.
- Nakon prijema, rukopisi prolaze kroz preliminarnu proveru u redakciji kako bi se proverilo da li ispunjavaju osnovne kriterijume i standarde. Pored toga, proverava se da li su rad ili njegovi delovi plagirani.
- Samo oni rukopisi koji su u skladu sa datim uputstvima biće poslani na recenziju. U suprotnom, rukopis se neće dalje razmatrati, o čemu se autori obaveštavaju.
- **Neophodno je otpremiti dva Word dokumenta** prilikom podnošenja rukopisa:
 - 1) Dokument (npr. Tekst.docx) koji sadrži **glavni tekst rukopisa bez ikakvih informacija o autorima i zahvalnica** treba otpremiti kao **'Tekst članka'** odabirom ove opcije iz padajućeg menija sastavnih delova rada pod stavkom **'Dostavljanje dokumenta predaje'**.
 - 2) Dokument (npr. Autori.docx) koji sadrži **informacije o svim autorima** (uključujući njihova puna imena i afilijacije – akademske titule, istraživačke/naučne pozicije, e-mail adrese, kao i ORCID brojeve) **i izraze zahvalnosti** (ako postoje) treba otpremiti kao **'Autori'** odabirom ove opcije iz padajućeg menija sastavnih delova rada pod stavkom **'Dostavljanje dokumenta predaje'**. **Ukoliko rukopis ima više od jednog autora, doprinos svakog ko-autora treba opisati** prema ulogama definisanim **CRediT taksonomijom**. Informacije **o svim autorima** i eventualne izraze zahvalnosti neophodno je **uneti i kroz web formu** prilikom podnošenja rukopisa. **Jedan** autor mora biti identifikovan kao **autor za korespondenciju**. Ukoliko je nakon prihvatanja rukopisa došlo do promena prvobitno navedenih afilijacija, imajte na umu da one ne mogu biti uzete u obzir.

Tehničko uputstvo za pripremu rukopisa

- Autori su dužni da se pridržavaju uputstva za pripremu radova. Rukopisi u kojima ova uputstva nisu poštovana biće odbijeni bez recenzije.
- Radovi treba da budu napisani na engleskom ili latiničnom pismu srpskog jezika (uključujući sve književne varijante nekadašnjeg srpskohrvatskog) i da sadrže prošireni rezime na engleskom (za radove na srpskom) odnosno na srpskom (za radove na engleskom).
- Za obradu teksta treba koristiti program Microsoft Word (2013 i noviji). Rukopis treba da bude podnet kao datoteka tipa docx ili doc. Format teksta treba da bude što jednostavniji.

- **Da biste lakše pripremili svoj rukopis, preuzmite sa sajta Word-ov predložak u dotx formatu**, koji sadrži već definisane stilove i autorske smernice.
- Koristiti jednostruki prored uz obostrano poravnanje. Gde god je podesno, treba koristiti kurziv, supskripte, superskripte, kao i pogodnosti tekst procesora za prikazivanje jednačina. Dozvoljena su dva nivoa podnaslova. Fusnote se obeležavaju sukcesivno arapskim brojevima. Reference citirane u tekstu nikako ne navoditi u fusnotama, već isključivo u spisku referenci.
- Prilikom prvog uvođenja skraćenice ili akronima, obavezno u zagradi navesti pun naziv. U rukopisima na srpskom jeziku, imena stranih autora se pišu transkribovano, dok se u zagradi navodi njihov originalni oblik. U radovima na engleskom jeziku, britanska i američka varijanta pravopisa se tretiraju ravnopravno.
- Članak može imati **najviše 8.000 reči**, što uključuje sažetak na jeziku glavnog teksta, ali ne i spisak literature i opširniji rezime na engleskom (za radove na srpskom). U izuzetnim slučajevima, redakcija može odobriti i duže radove. Ostali prilozi mogu biti dužine do 2.500 reči. U određivanju dužine teksta, grafički prilozi (tabele, grafikoni, kartogrami i sl.) se računaju kao 400 reči (cela strana) odnosno 200 reči (polo strane).
- Stil pisanja i jezička kompetencija mogu biti kratko komentarisani u procesu recenziranja; sitnije propuste koriguje lektor; međutim, članci koji obiluju slovničkim i gramatičkim greškama ne mogu se prihvatiti za objavljivanje. **Koristiti rodno neutralan jezik.**
- **Preporučujemo da članke dostavljate na engleskom jeziku**, jer su takvi radovi vidljiviji i imaju veće šanse da budu citirani. Neophodno je da kvalitet engleskog bude na visokom nivou, jer redakcija vrši samo korekturu teksta.

Članak treba da bude strukturiran na sledeći način: **naslov, sažetak, ključne reči, glavni tekst** (*uvod, metodi, rezultati, diskusija i zaključak*), **spisak referenci i opširniji rezime** na engleskom (za radove na srpskom) odnosno na srpskom (za radove na engleskom).

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

Sažetak daje kratak i jasan rezime članka (od 150 do 200 reči), odražavajući osnovnu strukturu rada (predmet i cilj, metodi, rezultati i zaključak), uz upotrebu termina koji se često koriste za indeksiranje i pretragu u referentnim periodičnim publikacijama i bazama podataka. U sažetku ne treba navoditi reference. Sažetak treba da bude napisan na istom jeziku na kojem je napisan tekst članka.

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

Tekst članka bi trebalo da ima sledeću strukturu odeljaka: *uvod, metodi, rezultati, diskusija i zaključak* (ne nužno pod ovim nazivima). U zavisnosti od sadržaja i kategoriji-

je članka, moguće je izostaviti neke od odeljaka. Na primer, kod preglednog članka, moguće je izostaviti odeljke o metodima i rezultatima, dok naučna kritika ili polemika može uključiti samo odeljke o motivima rada, konkretnim istraživačkim problemima i diskusiju.

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

Reference se navode isključivo na latiničnom pismu kako bi se indeksnim bazama omogućilo brzo i tačno indeksiranje, a globalnom auditorijumu lako razumevanje. Spisak referenci treba da sadrži samo publikacije koje su citirane u tekstu. Navedene publikacije treba da budu poređane po abecednom redu, bez numeracije, i da uključuju imena (prezime i početno slovo imena) svih autora. Ukoliko citirana referenca ima osam ili više autora, u spisku se navode imena prvih šest autora, zatim (...) i ime poslednjeg autora. Poželjno je da većina referenci bude novijeg datuma, demonstrirajući aktuelni naučni značaj prikazanog istraživanja. U slučaju navođenja više radova istog autora, najpre se navodi najranije objavljeno delo. Autori bi trebalo da ogra-

niče broj citiranih referenci tako što će se pozivati samo na najrelevantnije radove. **Ćirilичne reference obavezno transkribovati na latinicu.** Gde god je dostupan, na kraju reference obavezno navesti njen **DOI** broj ili **URL**.

Stanovništvo toplo **preporučuje** autorima da **koriste softver za upravljanje referencama** kao što su Zotero, Mendeley i Endnote. Ovi softverski programi su neprocenjivi alati koji mogu u velikoj meri olakšati proces upravljanja citatima. Koristeći dodatke za citate, autori mogu jednostavno da izaberu odgovarajući šablon časopisa kada pripremaju svoj članak, omogućavajući automatsko formatiranje citata i bibliografija u propisanom stilu časopisa. Da bismo obezbedili besprekornu integraciju vaših referenci u vaš rukopis, snažno apelujemo na autore da iskoriste prednosti ovih alata. Na taj način, autori ne samo da će uštedeti dragoceno vreme i trud, već će i minimizirati rizik od grešaka pri citiranju. Kao koristan resurs, **Zotero stil za Stanovništvo** je lako dostupan za preuzimanje, omogućavajući autorima da efikasno i precizno formatiraju svoje citate i reference u skladu sa smernicama našeg časopisa.

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

Monografije, knjige:

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

Monografije, knjige sa više izdanja:

Todaro, M. P., & Smith, C. S. (2012). *Economic Development* (11th ed.). Boston: Mass Addison-Wesley.

Delovi štampanih monografija ili zbornika radova:

De Abreu, B. S. (2001). The role of media literacy education within social networking and the library. In D. E. Agosto & J. Abbas (Eds.), *Teens, libraries, and social networking* (pp. 39–48). Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO.

Delovi monografija ili zbornika radova pronađeni na internetu:

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

Članci iz časopisa:

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

Radovi sa konferencija ili poster prezentacije:

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

Istraživački izveštaji, radni dokumenti:

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

Doktorske disertacije pronađene u bazama:

Galjak, M. (2022). *Prevremeni mortalitet u Srbiji*. Univerzitet u Beogradu. <https://nardus.mpn.gov.rs/handle/123456789/21191>. Accessed 20 February 2023.

Sadržaj internet stranica:

Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia (2018). *Vital Events – Data from 2011*. Statistical Database. <http://data.stat.gov.rs/Home/Result/18030102?languageCode=en-US>

Zakonodavstvo (zakoni, uredbe, sporazumi, statuti itd.):

Zakon o sprečavanju diskriminacije osoba sa invaliditetom 2006 (2016, February 19). <http://www.pravno-informacioni-sistem.rs/SlGlas-nikPortal/eli/rep/sgrs/skupstina/zakon/2006/33/1/reg>

Novinski članci iz štampanih izdanja:

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

Novinski članci pronađeni na internetu:

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

- **Citiranje referenci u okviru teksta** podrazumeva navođenje prezimena autora i godine objavljivanja reference:
 - Direktan citat: Lee (1998);
 - Indirektan citat: (Rašević 2009; Stanić i Matković 2017).
 - Doslovno citiranje: „Sporost postsocijalističke transformacije srpskog društva učinila je ekonomsku depresiju i visoku stopu nezaposlenosti dugotrajnim fenomenima“ (Petrović 2011: 64).
 - U slučaju četiri ili više autora: (Alkema i dr. 2011); (Petrović i dr. 2017).
 - U slučaju citiranja dva ili više radova istog autora: (McDonald 2002, 2006).
 - U slučaju više od jedne reference istog autora u istoj godini: (Raftery i dr. 2012a, 2012b).

Tabele ne treba da prelaze dimenzije jedne stranice i ne treba da budu preopterećene pomoćnim linijama; slova i brojevi unutar tabela treba da budu veličine 9pt. Tabele treba da imaju jasne, samoobjašnjavajuće naslove. Treba da budu obeležene arapskim brojevima po redosledu kojim se pojavljuju u tekstu. Uredništvo treba da ima potpunu kontrolu nad tabelama, odnosno da može klikom unutar tabele da uređuje fontove reči napisanih u tabelama kako bi se zadovoljio stil časopisa i ispravile pravopisne greške. **Sve tabele moraju biti uključene u sam tekst rukopisa.**

Grafikoni, kartogrami, slike, crteži i druge ilustracije treba da budu dostavljeni i kao **posebne datoteke 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 ravnjanje). 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 ravnjanje). 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.

Molimo vas nemojte:

- dostavljati *grafičke priloge* optimizovane za korišćenje na ekranu (npr. gif, bmp, pict, wpg); oni obično imaju nisku rezoluciju i mali raspon boja;
- dostavljati *grafičke priloge* u rasterskom formatu;
- dostavljati ilustracije nesrazmerno velikih dimenzija spram formata rukopisa.

Opširniji rezime (350–400 reči) – na engleskom (za radove koji nisu na engleskom) ili na srpskom jeziku (za radove na engleskom) treba da bude napisan u skladu sa strukturom rada, rukovodeći se uputstvom za pisanje sažetka. Takođe, treba navesti naslov i ključne reči na jeziku rezimea. U radovima na srpskom, naslov, rezime i ključne reči na engleskom treba da se nalaze na početku članka, pre naslova i sažetka na srpskom (videti Word [predložak](#)). U radovima na engleskom, naslov, rezime i ključne reči na srpskom treba da se nalaze nakon spiska referenci (videti Word [template](#)).

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

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

Format i tip slova u prikazima i osvrtima treba da bude identičan onom u člancima.

Redakcija časopisa

Submission guidelines

Submission Preparation Checklist

Manuscripts should be exclusively submitted at the following web address:

<http://stnv.idn.org.rs/about/submissions>

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

- ✓ The submission has not been previously published, nor is it before another journal for consideration (unless an explanation has been provided in comments to the Editor).
- ✓ The text is in docx format, single-spaced; uses one of the standard fonts (e.g., Calibri 10-point font); employs italics rather than underlining; and all illustrations, figures, and tables are placed within the text at the appropriate points, rather than at the end.
- ✓ Where available, DOIs/URLs for the references have been provided.
- ✓ The text adheres to the stylistic requirements outlined in the author guidelines.
- ✓ In-text citations and references are prepared in the Stanovništvo style, which **differs** from the standard APA style, as outlined in the [Author Guidelines](#).
- ✓ Figures, cartograms, images, and illustrations are also uploaded as separate submission files of high resolution (PDF vector files).
- ✓ Information about all the authors (and acknowledgments) should only be contained in a separately submitted Word file (Authors) and not in the file containing the manuscript (Article text). When it comes to submissions in Serbian, affiliations should also be listed in English.
- ✓ Authors should provide a Data availability statement at the end of the manuscript (after the List of references), specifying the availability of the data ([see options](#)).
- ✓ If the manuscript has more than one author, each coauthor's contribution should be described according to the [CRediT taxonomy](#) for specifying individual contributions. Not all roles may apply to every manuscript, and authors can contribute to multiple roles.
- ✓ By submitting a manuscript to the editorial board of Stanovništvo, authors are obliged to respect the [Authors' responsibilities](#) listed in the Publication ethics & policies.

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- By submitting a manuscript, authors warrant that their contribution to the journal is their original work, that it has not been published before, that it is not under consideration for publication elsewhere, and that its publication has been approved by all co-authors (if any) and tacitly or explicitly by the responsible authorities at the institution where the work was carried out.

- Authors are exclusively responsible for the contents of their submissions and the validity of the experimental results therein. They must make sure that they have permission from all involved parties to make the data public.
- Authors wishing to include figures or text passages that have already been published elsewhere are required to obtain permission from the copyright holder(s) and to include evidence that such permission has been granted when submitting their papers. Any material received without such evidence will be assumed to originate from the authors.
- Authors must make sure that only contributors who have significantly contributed to the submission are listed as authors and, conversely, that all contributors who have significantly contributed to the submission are listed as authors.
- Manuscripts are pre-evaluated at the editorial office to check whether they meet basic publishing requirements and quality standards. They are also screened for plagiarism by iThenticate.
- Authors will be notified by email upon receiving their submission. Only those contributions that conform to the following instructions can be accepted for peer review. Otherwise, the manuscripts shall be returned to the authors with observations, comments, and annotations.
- **Two Word files have to be uploaded** during the submission procedure:
 - 1) A file (e.g. Main-text.docx) that ***contains the manuscript with no information about authors and supporting agencies*** should be uploaded as **'Article text'** by choosing this option from the drop-down menu of article components in the 'Upload submission file' section.
 - 2) A file (e.g. Authors.docx) that contains ***information about all authors*** of the article (including their full names and affiliations – academic titles, research/scientific positions, emails, and ORCID numbers) ***and acknowledgments*** (if they exist) should be uploaded as **'Affiliation'** by choosing this option from the drop-down menu of article components in the 'Upload submission file' section. ***If the manuscript has more than one author, each coauthor's contribution should be described*** according to the roles adopted by the [CRediT taxonomy](#). ***Information about all authors*** and possibly acknowledgments must ***also be entered through the web form*** when submitting the manuscript. ***One author*** will need to be identified as the ***corresponding author***. Please note that no change to the authors' affiliations can be made after your paper is accepted.

Manuscript preparation

- Authors must follow the instructions for authors strictly. If they fail to do so, their manuscript will be rejected without review.
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