

A marble bust of the statue of David, shown from the chest up. The statue has curly hair and is looking slightly to the right. A red geometric overlay, consisting of several triangles in various shades of red and orange, is positioned over the left side of the statue's face and hair. A thin black diagonal line runs from the top left corner of the image towards the bottom right, passing through the red overlay.

CENTAR E8

MEN IN SERBIA

CHANGES, RESISTANCES AND CHALLENGES

RESULTS OF RESEARCH ON MEN AND GENDER EQUALITY - IMAGES SERBIA

MARINA HUGHSON

IMAGES RESEARCH WAS IMPLEMENTED BY CENTER E8 AS A PART OF THE PROJECT "INTEGRATED RESPONSE TO VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND GIRLS II" IN PARTNERSHIP WITH THE UNFPA OFFICE IN SERBIA AND MINISTRY OF YOUTH AND SPORTS OF REPUBLIC OF SERBIA.



REALIZACIJU "IMAGES" ISTRAŽIVANJA TAKOĐE SU PODRŽALI:



IMAGES

International Men and Gender Equality Survey



MEN IN SERBIA

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TWELVE YEARS OF WORKING WITH YOUNG MEN IN SERBIA

Programme targets young men and aims to build their knowledge and attitudes concerning gender equality and healthy lifestyles and decreasing the rates of all types of violence among youth. The programme started in 2006 and from a small-size qualitative research, which explored young men's attitudes and behaviours, and over the years grew into a comprehensive programme with different components targeting young people, teachers, educational workers, students, journalists and other important stakeholders. Since its beginning, the programme directly reached over 30,000 young people through the implementation of around 2,000 different project activities.

The programme in Serbia has been implemented by Center E8 with the constant support of CARE International; through many years of work, many other organisations and institutions have understood the importance of working with youth and supported our work in this field including SIDA and UNFPA as a part of the "Integrated Response to Violence against Women and Girls in Serbia II" project.

We were able to carry out the IMAGES research mainly thanks to the support of UNFPA, but also CARE International, Oak Foundation and Promundo. This research is of great importance, not only for the development of future programmes and policies in this field, but also for a better understanding of our society. We are happy to have these data and the opportunity for planning future activities with a higher degree of certainty.

ABOUT THE IMAGES SERBIA STUDY

The IMAGES Serbia study addresses key issues in the field of men and gender equality, which include partner relations, the dynamics of family relationships, and the key health and social aspects of men. This report provides key survey findings using the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES) methodology which was developed by Promundo and International Center for Research on Women. The study has included quantitative and qualitative research components. The quantitative research was carried out on a nationally representative sample of 1060 men and 540 women 18-60 years old. The qualitative component of the research included 3 focus groups and 15 individual in-depth interviews with different groups of participants. Data collection was carried out in November and December 2017.

The study and its dissemination were conducted within the Joint Project Integrated Response to Violence against Women and Girls in Serbia II, through the partnership of UNICEF, UN Women, UNFPA and UNDP and the Government of the Republic of Serbia and led by the Coordination Body for Gender Equality. The overall objective of the Integrated Response to Violence against Women and Girls in Serbia II is the development of social and institutional environment that will contribute to zero tolerance and elimination of violence against women in Serbia. Joint actions of UN agencies and Governmental bodies contribute to solving the problem of domestic violence and violence in partner relations, enhance support to women, girls and their families and create society which does not tolerate violence.

The project is implemented with the generous support of the Government of Sweden.

This activity was coordinated by Center E8, UNFPA Country Office in Serbia and Ministry of Youth and Sports. IMAGES Serbia was additionally supported by CARE International Balkans and Oak Foundation.

CENTER E8

Center E8 is a Belgrade-based youth organisation founded in 2004, aimed at working with young people across Serbia. Center E8 focuses primarily on educating and engaging young men, and men in general, in the topics of gender equality, prevention of violence, particularly gender-based violence, and promotion of healthy lifestyles. By using various innovative methods, Center E8 works on education, empowerment, awareness raising and engagement of young people and adults in these themes. Its activities include numerous educational training events and seminars, accredited training courses for school staff, designing and conducting campaigns and public actions, conducting research, issuing publications, organising conferences and expert meetings, educating through theatrical performances, etc.

UNFPA

UNFPA calls for the realisation of reproductive rights for all and supports access to a wide range of sexual and reproductive health services – including voluntary family planning, maternal health care and comprehensive sexuality education. UNFPA works in more than 150 countries and territories that are home to the vast majority of the world's people with the mission to ensure that every pregnancy is wanted, every childbirth is safe and every young person's potential is fulfilled.

UNFPA Country Office in Serbia opened in 2006. Work of UNFPA in Serbia is aligned with national priorities, the United Nations Development Assistance Framework (2016-2020), the UNFPA Strategic Plan, 2014-2017 and the country's aspiration for European integration. Applying a human rights-based approach in all interventions, activities of UNFPA are guided by four key priorities: (a) access to affordable, integrated sexual and reproductive health services that are of high quality and meet human rights standards; (b) strengthened accountability in order to eliminate all forms of discrimination; (c) empowerment of marginalized groups; and (d) development of human rights-based population policies. The programming strategies include advocacy, policy dialogue and advice, capacity building and knowledge management.

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AŽIN

Women's Initiatives Association

FAO

Food and Agriculture Organization

GAD

Gender and development orientation

GEM SCALE

Gender Equitable Men Scale

GEQ

Gender Equality and Quality of Life survey

ICRW

International Center for Research on Women

IFAD

International Fund for Agricultural Development

IMAGES

International Men and Gender Equality Survey

GEI

Gender Equality Index

CSMM

Critical studies of men and masculinities

NATO

North Atlantic Treaty Organization

OSCE

Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe

SEFEM

Section for Feminist Research and Critical Studies of Masculinity

UNICEF

United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

UNDP

United Nations Development Programme

UNFPA

United Nations Population Fund

USAID

United States Agency for International Development

WID

Women in development orientation

EXECU SUMM

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MARY

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

ABOUT IMAGES STUDIES

This study presents the findings of the survey done by using the methodology of IMAGES studies on men, which has been applied in more than 20 countries and territories in the world. IMAGES studies were launched in 2008 by Promundo and the International Center for Research on Women (ICRW). In our region, these studies have been carried out in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo¹ (UNSCR 12441) . The specificity of IMAGES studies is a standardised questionnaire used (70-80%) in all the surveyed countries, as well as a qualitative component of the research that varies across countries. In Serbia, the quantitative research was carried out on a nationally representative sample of 1060 men and 540 women 18-60 years old. The qualitative component of the research included 3 focus groups and 15 individual in-depth interviews with different groups of participants. Data collection was carried out in November and December 2017.

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

The sample consisted of men and women 18-60 years old. Over half of men in the sample have secondary education. About three-fifths of men live in cities. Only 45.3% of respondents 31-40 years of age have children, unlike those 51-60 years old, 86.5% of whom have children. On average, the respondents perform a paid job 45.5 hours a week. Over nine-tenths of respondents are Serbs and Orthodox Christians. The most educated generation of men is in the age group 31-40, including as many as 35.6% of men with junior college or university education. The most educated are also most frequently employed (72.9% of them). The largest share of the unemployed is among the men 25-30 years old - as many as 20.2%. Over 40% of respondents have never been married. In the youngest group (18-24) surveyed, as many as half of the men who said they were married lived in cohabitation. Every hundredth man in Serbia lives with his male partner, and over one-third of men live with their parents and sibling/s. The primary source of income is formal employment - in as many as 50.9% of cases, while agriculture is the second most important source of additional income for men. Men have 44.500 dinars of income on average. In over two-thirds of households, the main source of income is formal employment. The vast majority of men consider that their family/household belongs to the working class (43.5%), and only 1.5% of them believe to belong to the "social elite". 36% of men would emigrate from Serbia.

RELATIONSHIPS IN THE PRIMARY FAMILY

Most respondents come from the families where both mothers and fathers have secondary education. In the growing up of both men and women, the most important father figure is their biological father. The dominant family model consists of two parents and children, which means that the father is present both in older and younger generations. The father is the most important figure for only 55.2% of the least educated men and as many as 80.1% of the most educated ones. The gender division of labour between the parents is very clear. In most cases, fathers had never performed the tasks of food preparation, house cleaning, clothes washing or bathroom and toilet cleaning. On the other hand, they "took care of children", did some home repairs, took care of the yard and car. They also purchased food and paid bills. The most egalitarian division of labour was in the families of the most educated men. Over half of parents decided together about the education and activities of their children. Both men and women usually did not participate in family duties when they were adolescents. However, in cases where they did participate, the gender division of roles has spilled over from the parental families to younger generations.

EXPERIENCE OF VIOLENCE IN CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH

The majority of both men and women answered that they had never experienced violence in their parental families. However, in one-fourth of the families of both women and men, in their childhood they witnessed physical violence against their mother by their father or mother's partner. Somewhat less than one-tenth of boys were exposed to unwanted touching of their genitals or buttocks, while the share of girls exposed to such situations is even bigger. About one-tenth of respondents were forced into sexual intercourse by threats. As many as one-fourth of boys were victims of corporal punishment in school. Corporal punishment was even more common at home. Material deprivation occurred more often than physical violence, with only 61.9% of men stating that they have never lived in extreme poverty. Corporal punishment in school decreases with the age of respondents. Thus, 84.6% of the youngest men surveyed have never been punished, unlike 63.1% of men in the oldest age group. 73.1% of the youngest men and 46.2% of the oldest men were not beaten with "a belt or rod" at home. Nearly half of young men participated in school fights against rival groups, and only 81.4% of young men never took drugs, which indirectly indicates that nearly one-fifth of them took drugs at school.

1 Any reference to Kosovo in the text should be interpreted in accordance with the UN Security Council Resolution 1244 (1999).

RELATIONSHIPS IN THE PRESENT FAMILY

As in all other cases, the majority of male or female partners have secondary school education. Nearly every second man in the sample has a partner with secondary education, and the partner of every fourth man has junior college or university education. About two-thirds of female partners are employed, while about one-fifth of them are unemployed (and they are looking or not looking for a job). This means that a vast majority of women in intimate partnerships have their own income (including pensions, rentals, etc.) or contribute to the family budget (with monetary contribution, while non-monetary contribution provided through unpaid domestic work is not included here). As regards decision making related to children, a large majority of respondents answered that they participated in decision making "equally" (68.1%), with the frequency of this response increasing in younger age groups. In the age group 25-30, as many as three-fourths of answers were "together". Unlike in the families of origin, in the families of procreation, that is - in the next generation, there is a shift towards a more egalitarian division of labour; the progress is rather significant and the sons are excluded from the division of labour to a much lesser extent. Satisfaction with the division of labour in the family and household varies in both women and men and in relation to education. Men with the lowest level of education are most dissatisfied with the division of labour, while women with the highest level of education are most satisfied. Satisfaction with marriage and partners is generally high in both men and women. As many as about 85% of men and about 75% of women are very satisfied and satisfied with their marriage/cohabitation. As many as four-fifths of men agree with the statement that after divorce both parents should assume equal responsibility in raising their children, and almost the same share of men believe that women who do not allow men to see their children after divorce should be punished.

PARENTING

Only a very small percentage of men attend the birth of their child (2.4%). Only one in 50 men takes parental leave for raising children. Also, four-fifths of men state that they accompanied their partners to medical controls during pregnancy (some or all). As many as over one-third of men would leave their jobs to take care of children, if their wives earned enough money. Four-fifths of men agree with the statement that their primary role is to earn enough money for their children. Parents usually perform together various child-related activities. Women usually prepare meals for children, change diapers and give children a bath. The only activity that fathers perform or performed more than mothers was related to physical exercises and playing with children outdoors. Corporal punishment of children is widely accepted in the population. Two-thirds of the youngest men and over 70% of the youngest women mainly or fully agree that corporal punishment of children is unacceptable, but such a level of disapproval mainly decreases in older generations.

SEXUALITY, SEX WORK AND TRANSACTIONAL SEX

Over 90% of men identify themselves as heterosexual (92.6%). Men preferred not to answer the question about their sexual orientation more often than women and more rarely declared themselves to be homosexual. More than half of men are satisfied or very satisfied with sexual relations with their current partners. Nearly one-fourth of men 18-24 years old do not have a steady partner. Men with the highest level of education are most satisfied with their sexual relations. Over 70% of men in all age groups would neither feel offended nor angry if their partner asked them to use a condom. More educated men accept the use of condoms easier than less educated men. 25.6% of women from the sample had an abortion. However, men report that their partners had abortion in 16% of cases, which is less than reported by women. Particularly interesting is the fact that in the vast majority of cases male partners also participated in making a decision to undergo an abortion, and in only one-third of cases woman made such a decision on their own. Men far more often than women say that they feel uncomfortable in the company of homosexual men. Women more often than men agree that "homosexuality is natural and normal". Almost every fifth man had sexual intercourse with a sex worker (18.7%). Less than 1% of men (0.8%) had sexual intercourse with a man who provided sexual services. A separate group of questions was asked to find out whether women provided sexual services to men in exchange for goods and services. Thus, 4.6% of women provided sexual services in exchange for means of subsistence, and 4.1% of them in exchange for a raise or employment.

PERPETRATION OF VIOLENCE AND VIOLENT VICTIMISATION IN THE LIVES OF ADULT MEN

The answers to the questions about the prevalence of various forms of partner violence² show that the most common form of violence are insults and humiliation, committed by nearly one-third of men against their partners, according to their own statements. In one-fourth of cases, men deliberately intimidated their partners. Slapping and throwing objects at the partner happened in one-fifth of cases. A very widespread form of violence is economic violence, in the form of prohibition to work. The least prevalent form of violence is the one that is physically most dangerous, i.e. inflicting physical injuries and threatening with weapons (93.2% of respondents answered "never"). Over the past 12 months, every fifth man who has committed violence in the intimate partner relationship threatened his partner with a weapon, while one in four of these men insulted his partner. About nine-tenths of men stated that they had not forced to sexual intercourse any girl/woman (90.5%), while one in twenty men did it once (5.4%). Every 50th man has participated in a group rape over the past 12 months. In general, about one-tenth of men in the sample have the experience of forcing women into sexual intercourse, under different circumstances. Thus, every eighth man was hit over the past 3 months, every twenty-fifth man was threatened with a cold weapon, while every fiftieth man was threatened with a pistol. As many as 22.3% of the youngest men (18-24 years old) were hit over the past three months, as well as 26.9% of men with the lowest level of education.

HEALTH

Over three-fourths of men are satisfied with their physical and mental health. Satisfaction decreases with age and is less in lower educated men than in higher educated ones. Younger men engage in much more physical activity than men over 40 years of age. While four-fifths of the youngest men engage in regular physical activity (79.4% of them agree or fully agree), only 29.3% of 51-60-year-old men have regular physical activity. Approximately one-fifth of men sometimes feel depressed and lost, and this issue could be worked on in the future. Also, one-fifth of respondents are under stress or feel nervous and anxious. Men sustained injuries in 8.9% of cases, including as a result of violence - 1.8%, traffic or some other accident - 3.6% and disease - 3.5%. As many as 3.4% of the youngest men (18-24 years old) sustained injuries due to violence, while the percentage of the oldest men is 0.8%. 27.1% of men over 40 and 37.3% of men over 51 years of age went to prostate examination. 12.3% of men from the sample got tested for HIV, mainly those 25-40 years of age. Every fifth man with the highest level of education was tested for HIV, while 56.9% of men are smokers. When it comes to getting drunk (5 or more alcoholic beverages on one occasion), 31.2% of men "never" do that. Drugs have been used most often by men 25-30 years of age, while only 64.6% of men have "never" used any drug. 18.9% of the youngest men (18-24 years old) used cannabis and 5.1% of them used ecstasy.

WAR EXPERIENCES

Asked whether they participated in the wars in the former Yugoslavia, 15.9% of men from the sample answered affirmatively. However, if we disregard those under 40, who made up more than half of the entire sample, it means that nearly one-third of men over 40 participated in the war. With the exception of NATO air strikes experienced by the vast majority of all respondents, other negative consequences of wars and warfare suffered by men range from 1.1% (serious wounding) to 6.4% (death of a family member as a consequence of the war). Four times more men than women witnessed torture and beating up; four times more men were tortured and beaten up; and five times more men were seriously wounded in the war.

IDENTITY

Men express a higher level of agreement than women with the statement that their ethnicity is important to them. The analysis of the responses related to agreeing with the statement "all human beings are the same, regardless of which nation they belong to" (group of answers "mainly" and "fully") reveals that mostly 25-30-year-old men are xenophobic; this is the age group that grew up during the wars and could not avoid the exposure to war propaganda. However, the differences between the men of different generations are generally small.

² Only the men who stated that they were in an intimate partnership or marriage were asked this question (a total of 615 out of 1,060).

GEM SCALE AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS GENDER EQUALITY

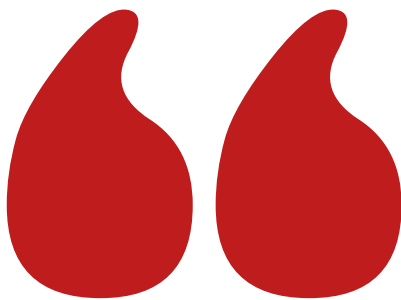
The examination of attitudes by using the GEM scale shows that women have less conservative attitudes towards gender equality than men. On a 0-3 scale (0 - the most negative attitude towards gender equality, 3 - the most affirmative attitude), men scored 1.73, while women scored 1.99. The least educated men scored 1.57, while the most educated ones scored 1.88. 25-30-year-old men have the most egalitarian attitudes (1.84). Some interesting findings from this measurement of attitudes show the following: about 70% of men disagree with the statement that "more rights for women means fewer rights for men"; 46.5% of men disagree with the statement that "the equality of women and men has been reached in our society"; 53.1% of men disagree with the statement that the most important role of a woman is to "take care of her home and cook for her family"; nearly half of men disagree with the statement that men need sex more than women do; 18.8% of them agree with the statement that "there are situations in which a woman deserves to be beaten"; about two-thirds of men disagree with the statement that "a woman should be the one who takes care not to get pregnant". 11.9% of respondents agree that a woman "should tolerate violence to keep her family together", while 68.5% of respondents agree that a man and a woman should decide together about contraception.

NEW GENDER PATTERNS? RESULTS OF QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

Overall, the qualitative analysis has shown that the "islands" of transformation are not only very narrow, but that the level of understanding and self-reflection of young people about their own gender identity is dramatically low. Both gender and other identities (national, generational, religious) are most often perceived instrumentally, as something that is given, determined and therefore something that should be used in the pre-determined but also in a pragmatic way. In the absence of self-reflection, the general formulas, taken from the misogynous and re-traditionalised public discourse, are used. Thus, what remains on the surface is an unusual hybrid of attitudes showing that the inevitability of a shift towards gender equality is accepted, but that, on the other hand, a sort of special concession is sought for the loss of "patriarchal dividend".

CONCLUSION - IMPORTANCE OF EDUCATION

The complexity of the transformation of gender relations in Serbia towards the achievement of a higher level of gender equality is facing numerous, very serious challenges. Many of them are simply contextual, linked to the low development of Serbia, poverty, the adverse consequences of wars, as well as the intensive aging of the population and the intensive emigration of the most educated young people. The long-term, multi-decade influence of negative factors has led to repatriarchalisation and retraditionalisation, which not only have very negative effects on women, but expose also men, especially younger generations, to an extremely high risk of harmful lifestyles pursued to confirm the imaginary ideal of a "real man", including the acceptance of dangerous extreme ideologies. Therefore, it is necessary to focus strongly on gender equality education, which would include contemporary knowledge in the field of critical studies of men. It is necessary to ensure proper gender mainstreaming of educational institutions and contents at all levels but also to encourage non-formal education for different groups and categories of men. In addition, educational contents should be contextualised and adjusted to the specific life circumstances and needs of men, especially the young ones.



The following analysis is largely based on the results of the survey, i.e. the quantitative indicators related to the position, attitudes and behaviours of men in Serbia. But before the results, we present some of the voices of men gathered in the process of qualitative analysis, primarily as an illustration of many different ideological and personal positions, different discourses and attitudes. These attitudes reveal a high complexity of the transformation of the gender regime in Serbia and its social context as a whole.

Deconstruction of gender identity

Deconstruction of gender identity is certainly an advantage, because it is freedom. Freedom is not physical. Freedom from social constructs is freedom. You are freed and you can have freedom to create an identity... I am not saying that a man should become a woman and vice versa, but that everyone can construct themselves according to their needs and their own story. A man is a thought paradigm, which, in fact, needs to be overcome.

Peer violence

And then, over time, these friends of mine have become more and more serious in a kind of "bad boys" behaviour. There has always been some kind of admiration for mobsters. This Nenad guy was a member of that group, but I didn't like it and therefore I distanced myself.

Divorce and paternity

I grew up without a father and I think I may be a little bit more sensitive in that respect and that I've made that kind of decision. That's one of the reasons why I didn't leave immediately; I thought about how my child would bear it, I know how I felt, and so I supposed how my son would feel like... Later in my life, I realised that my father was violent, regardless of being a teacher. According to her stories, when he got angry at us, their life was hardly ideal. But I don't remember that and therefore for a long time I thought: "A father is a father", I loved him, and I still do, no matter that I grew up without him... As regards our life since our mother took us, since she suffered from a mental illness, it's very difficult, in some periods of our lives we lived with our uncle...

A typical man?

*He can drink a lot, watches football matches, goes to family's patron saint celebrations. He's a sexist, thinking of s*****g a woman. Pseudopolitics from the positions of power. Cynicism is an important feature of this patriarchy because you have to show that you are not naive. Because everything is a fraud. It's the the position of an infantile patriarchy. Authoritarianism.*

You're looking around and see your dad, grandfather, brother, school mates who are always measuring something, measuring some power, competing and rivalling. Boys and men often feel the need to be right, to have it their own way. And since as a kid I watched and listened to what other people were doing, I absorbed a lot of these things, but did not necessarily reproduce them, because it was not really my thing; however, you must meet certain expectations to fit in the peer group and you have to play by these rules.

Spirituality and theology

I think there are some prejudices about the students of the Faculty of Theology in the sense that we are not normal like other people, that we have some special consciousness and behaviour, and all of us here are ordinary guys, just like our female colleagues are. We are all normal like students from other faculties, but, as my colleagues have said, we have some deeper interest in spirituality. And perhaps it has nothing to do with spirituality, but some people are more interested in some truths of faith or relationship with other religions. Many enter the faculty to find spirituality, but it cannot be found at the faculty because there is no spirituality there; it is an academic study of theology and therefore it happens that many students become agnostics or atheists at that faculty.

Feminism

I think that it is about the ethical message being sent out and I think that feminism has brought the key to unlocking the code of ethics. In fact, it's a matter of justice. Of love, of understanding yourself. Not an individual against others but an individual as a part of others. (...). So feminism is a key that unlocks culture, unlocks policies in order to understand the depth of social injustice.

Violence in the 1990s

Well, I saw violence more, how to explain, I grew up in Voždovac. I went to the primary school Nušić. It was a disturbed system of values, no plan, hopelessness. A completely different value system. Let me explain it - chavs, looting, shooting, you know, everything is allowed for cash, and there is no any. People work for peanuts, and you're wearing a checked shirt, which automatically makes you weird, out of the group. Or, for example, you have some unbranded sneakers and you're mocked; criminal; f'd-up times... The 1990s passed a long time ago but they have left consequences. Many of these people are in prison, addicted, all kinds of stories. Very few people from that generation got out of it. It's the generation portrayed in the Wounds. That's it.



Causes of violence and responsibility of the Church

The causes of violence in Serbia are multiple; first of all, people have lost the frame of reference; they have lost contact with God, so they have a problem with the meaning of life, on the one hand, and on the other hand they feel the economic pressure because, let's be honest, Serbia is now one of the five poorest countries in Europe and it affects people. Also, a better life is presented to them on a daily basis and it creates frustration, which probably results in a certain percentage of violence, verbal or physical. And what could the Church do? It could definitely have an influence because it still has a certain reputation in this country, although to a smaller extent. It is possible that it would be good for both the Church and the society if the Church and its heads changed a bit their attitudes, which means that a certain spirit of time must be followed, no matter how religious one may be. These messages sent by the Church do not reach people. Maybe another way should be found.

The vulnerability of men?

There are different types of violence and I think not only women are at risk. I think this story has been promoted by the feminist movements over the past 20 years or so, in a pretentious and aggressive way. I even have the impression that in 20 years time men will have to associate and organise their movements to protect themselves. Violence does not have a name and violence should not be suffered by either a man or a woman, or by a child, by an old or a young person, simply violence cannot be categorised in that way. That's why I wouldn't say that only women are at risk or that only men are abusers. I think that it exists in both groups. There are certainly more abusers among men; however, it's never mentioned in public discourse that women can also be those who manifest some kind of violence.

Dying of nation

There are discourses about the dying of the nation, about the dying of Serbdom, about abortion, about being the old nation. But I think that no one is guiltier than those who created these wars and not the LGBT population that has existed and will exist. Everybody should do what they want to do. While you are a citizen and pay your taxes, you can do what you want, that's how it should be.

About LGBT people - majorities and minorities

I think that this is a bad marketing for children and as such suitable for the minority, but it undermines the stability of the large majority. Why do my children have to know that a guy with the beard wears a dress and sings at Eurovision? Why should it be normal? So a boy may say: "Maybe I could wear a dress too." A very bad marketing for growing up of children in the majority population. I define this as tyranny of the minority over the majority. Like the oligarchy, in the political sense, is the tyranny of the majority over the minority, like the consumer society is tyranny of big tycoons over the majority, like so much advocacy for Roma rights, I think, is also tyranny of the minority over the majority. We live in a time when it is more important to belong to a minority than to belong to the mainstream or to be straight. It's clear to me, it's because of the demographic boom and because people have to be killed, prevented from reproducing. The economic system has its limit and cannot be inflated for an indefinite period, and the main limitation is the population. And when you impose something that is not natural to children, it only creates subsequent aggression, division, dilemma and similar situations. I have no objection to having children in adolescence deciding whether they will be homosexuals or not; they are capable of deciding at that age. But until their hormones wake up, why do you show them such things, that it's normal that two men are kissing? It's bad for the growing up of children.

LGBT and child adoption

Why not? How many abandoned children are in the street? It would be better if they adopted a child. Really. The child would be better off with them than in the street. At least from my point of view. I do not mind, let people do what they want, for heaven's sake. I'm not against it at all. I'm not superior to them. They are not much more different than we are, they just have a different orientation. As far as children are concerned, I believe that they would be better parents than a bunch of idiots who raise children, for example.

LGBT and education

Basically, I support them; I was in one or two Parades. I am not an LGBT, but I support their fight and I understand it. Since I entered the NGO world, I have met many LGBT people. And surely I also had some prejudices and homophobic moments in that secondary school period that we've talked about. Afterwards, I have educated myself and met people, spent time with them; I think that in addition to education, it is very important to have a direct contact and good conversations. It helps in breaking prejudices and stereotypes. And now I know many LGBT people and have a lot of LGBT friends. I support their fight, I understand what they want and I know what they want to achieve with these Pride Parades and I also understand the purpose of their marriage and I support it.

Divorce and property

One of the issues raised in this whole divorce thing is property. A great thing in my relationship and in my divorces is that I've never had a property in my name. The apartment I live in, in which we lived, is registered in my mother's name; I only had a car that I left to my second wife. And no matter how much the wives wanted to take or seize everything from me in such situations, they were not able to do anything. I protected myself in time, deliberately, and they couldn't do anything. They were left to use their own capacity, not mine, and to invest it in children, while I'm using my own capacity and investing in my children. It's an important relationship because people change. People are greedy. Especially women because they are attached to the material level more than men. Though, I'm not saying that there aren't the same examples in both groups. That's why I easily got divorced amicably. No property, no discussion. The only property is my salary. This is an important thing. One needs to think in advance. So, now we are dealing with children, not with assets or our relationship, thanks to me. I managed to do it because I didn't have any property.

A good divorce?

If a divorce is good, then OK; if it's traumatic, it's bad. I know many people who were divorcing with knives, axes, fists, judges, social workers, restraining orders, imprisonment, and in such cases children have traumas. If a marriage has lost its purpose, it should be ended in the least painful way, not through some traumatic scenes, use of violence and mediation of a third person. I don't see why I need an intermediary to tell me what I need for my child, whether he/she should live with me or with you; it's a stupid idea. If there is a child, the divorce cannot end the relationship completely. If there is no child, everyone goes their own path and they can go ... If there is a child, there is still a close relationship with the child; one should always choose words when talking about the child's parent, and there's no place for spitefulness. It's very bad to show a shock in the child's presence. For example, if I am somewhat better off financially, it's stupid to show to the child that I can give him or her more than his or her mum. If I've already given the child a lot today, and she goes with the child tomorrow, I will rather meet her and throw her some money so that she can also spend it if she needs a lot, to show the child that love is not bought; it should never be used as an advantage. You will have less there, you will eat a Big Mac with me and some green beans with her - this must never be done..

Violence as an accepted form of communication

A lot of work on education and prevention must be done with both children and adults. If you have been taught that violence is not a form of socially accepted communication since your early age, then you will use it less often in kindergarten and school, in the street, wherever. Let's see, over the past five years, 25 women were killed in Serbia each year on average, which may not be a high number out of 6 million people, but the number of women who suffer violence is much higher. The problem is that this violence is not reported, and even if it is reported, the police do not respond properly, so we have women who have reported abusers seven times and no provisional measures have been imposed yet. Violence is a social phenomenon that is present and will always be present; it is present also in Sweden, Denmark and Norway; it's something that exists across the globe, but the attitude towards violence here is that it is a socially accepted form of communication. Beating a child, shouting at a child, woman, brother, yelling, aggression - these kinds of negative approaches.

Knowledge

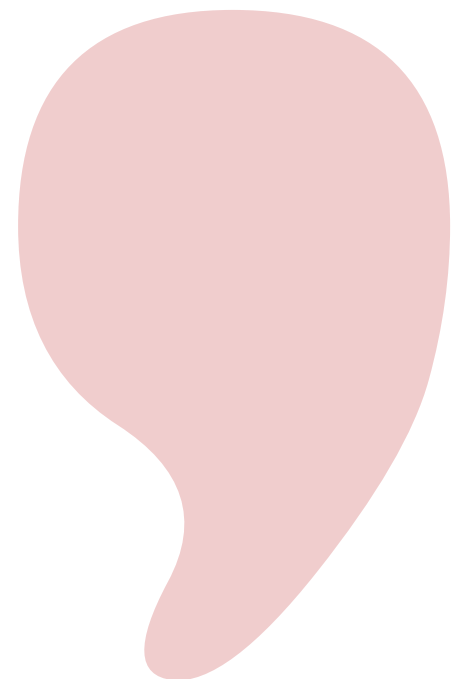
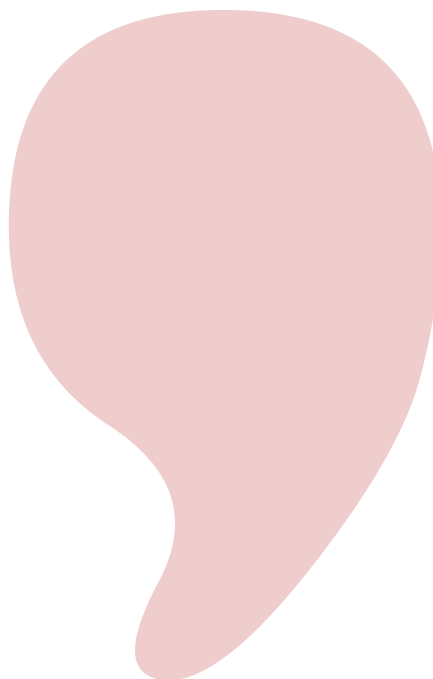
*And then, in fact, anthropology and all the knowledge I gathered there formed me mostly because I got some arguments and distance from all that nonsense: nationalism, chauvinism, xenophobia, racism. All these things that surround you while you're growing up: we hate G***s, we hate Croats, we hate these, we hate those. And nothing of it exists; we have kind of agreed that this is something different, while essentially ... we don't have any bread to eat, figuratively speaking.*

Who is a social activist?

A person who advocate for some values, for a collective well-being. It's practically impossible to be a person who is isolated from society in your own cell and excluded from everyone else because personal is also political, and then you have to engage yourself, at least to save a cat in front of your building or help a neighbour to cross the street. Social activism can be a broad category; there are social activists who are not publicly exposed but are the heroes of their neighbourhood.

The position of men in Serbia?

*They are certainly in a better position than women; that's a fact; they have a greater freedom of decision making, movement, but we are equally stuck in the s**t due to the very fact that we are here.*





INTRODU

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INTRODUCTION³

About IMAGES studies

IMAGES studies were launched in 2008 by Promundo and the International Center for Research on Women (ICRW) as globally applicable surveys that can be conducted continuously. Studies have been conducted in more than 20 countries and territories. In our region, these studies have been carried out in Croatia (Bjelić, 2011), Bosnia and Herzegovina (Dušanić, 2012) and Kosovo (UNSCR 1244)⁴ (Limani et al. 2017).

The aim of the research is to collect data on men and their attitudes on gender equality in order to allow awareness raising among decision-makers as well as among those who create gender policies. It has become evident over time that the inclusion of men and the "male perspective" is necessary both for the implementation of gender policies, especially those related to the fight against gender-based violence, and for very specific public policies in the field of health, education and economic development. Such development of interest is heading towards leaving the WID (women in development) orientation and accepting the GAD (gender and development) orientation in the UN-advocated transnational development policies.

The specificity of IMAGES studies is a standardised questionnaire used (70-80% of identical content) in all the surveyed countries, as well as a qualitative component of the survey that varies across countries. The IMAGES questionnaire is partly inspired by the questionnaire of Gender Equality and Quality of Life survey (GEQ), conducted in Norway in 2006. The IMAGES questionnaire itself has been designed to include gender-related issues, focused on men and women in heterosexual relationships, but also to involve various forms of vulnerability stemming from the dominant gender and sexual order. Although the IMAGES questionnaire is mainly focused on heterosexual intimate partner relationships, it also includes the questions related to homosexuality, given that homophobia is treated as one of the key mechanisms in the social construction of masculinities. The questionnaire also includes some questions related to partner violence and violence suffered by men in their everyday lives.

IMAGES in Serbia – notes on methodology

In the period November-December 2017 in Serbia, a quantitative and qualitative research was conducted, the results of which are presented here. Like other research studies from this series, it consisted of two components: 1. quantitative research (questionnaire-based survey) and 2. qualitative research (interviews and focus groups).

The questionnaire was designed on the basis of similar IMAGES questionnaires and contains about 80% of the questions from them and about 20% of context-specific questions. It was a structured questionnaire, mostly with closed-type questions. Also, many other "standard" questions were slightly changed to be adjusted to the context, which is also a common IMAGES practice. The logic of the survey research is almost completely shaped by the IMAGES approach.

The technique of the questionnaire-based survey, which covered 1,060 men and 540 women, was "face-to-face," using tablet computers. The interviewing lasted for about 45 minutes on average and was conducted by the interviewers who had experience in similar surveys and had undergone additional training. The survey was conducted in the respondents' households. A pilot survey was conducted before the main field survey and the comments were incorporated in a new version of the questionnaire. The survey was conducted in the territory of Serbia (excluding Kosovo⁴, UNSCR 1244). The participation refusal rate was about 50%, which is considered a relatively good response, since it rarely exceeds 60%. It is also important to note that the interviewers did not encounter any problems in the field related to the refusal or completion of the questionnaire, which certainly was partly due to the fact that the respondents were allowed to answer sensitive questions by using the tablets to write the responses by themselves.

3 The author's work on this project is also part of the project of the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development (No. 47011)

4 Any reference to Kosovo in this text should be interpreted in accordance with the UN Security Council Resolution 1244 (1999).

The qualitative analysis included 15 interviews and 3 focus groups. The interviews were conducted with 5 respondents from each of the following groups: 1. activists, pro-feminist, heterosexual, 2. "happily divorced" men who maintain good relations with their ex-wives and who care about their child/children after divorce, 3. female university students who are being educated for "atypical" occupations (at the faculties of mechanical and electrical engineering). The first two groups represent the men who differ from the majority of men in Serbia, and the third group represents the women who also differ from the majority female population. A similar logic was applied in the selection of focus groups. Three focus groups included: 1. secondary school male pupils preparing for "typical female" occupations, such as nurse or teacher, 2. male students of the faculties of pedagogy, andragogy and teaching who represent a minority in the highly feminised educational profiles, and 3. students of the Faculty of Theology, because of the great and growing influence that religion has in the lives of a large number of young people and because of the real impact that they will have as future priests in their religious communities.

This selection of interviewees and the first two focus groups was based on the idea that it was necessary to search for the "points of reversal", that is - to map the most advanced practices and discourses in the field of gender equality. On the other hand, the focus group with the students of the Faculty of Theology aimed at identifying the points where it was possible to open a dialogue for defining the "smallest common denominator" in terms of reaching an agreement on the basic humanistic principles, even while retaining different ideological positions ("to agree on not agreeing").

The aim of the qualitative research was to contribute not only to determining the extent and way of the functioning of different emancipatory practices (both privately and through professions), but also to the mapping of prevailing discourses on gender in/equality, in order to make the language, definitions, stereotypes and misogyny visible and tangible (discourse of conflict and irreconcilable differences, discourse of extremism, exclusion), just like the negative consequences they produce (violence, discrimination, gender "war", lack of empathy and solidarity, etc.).

About the method of presentation

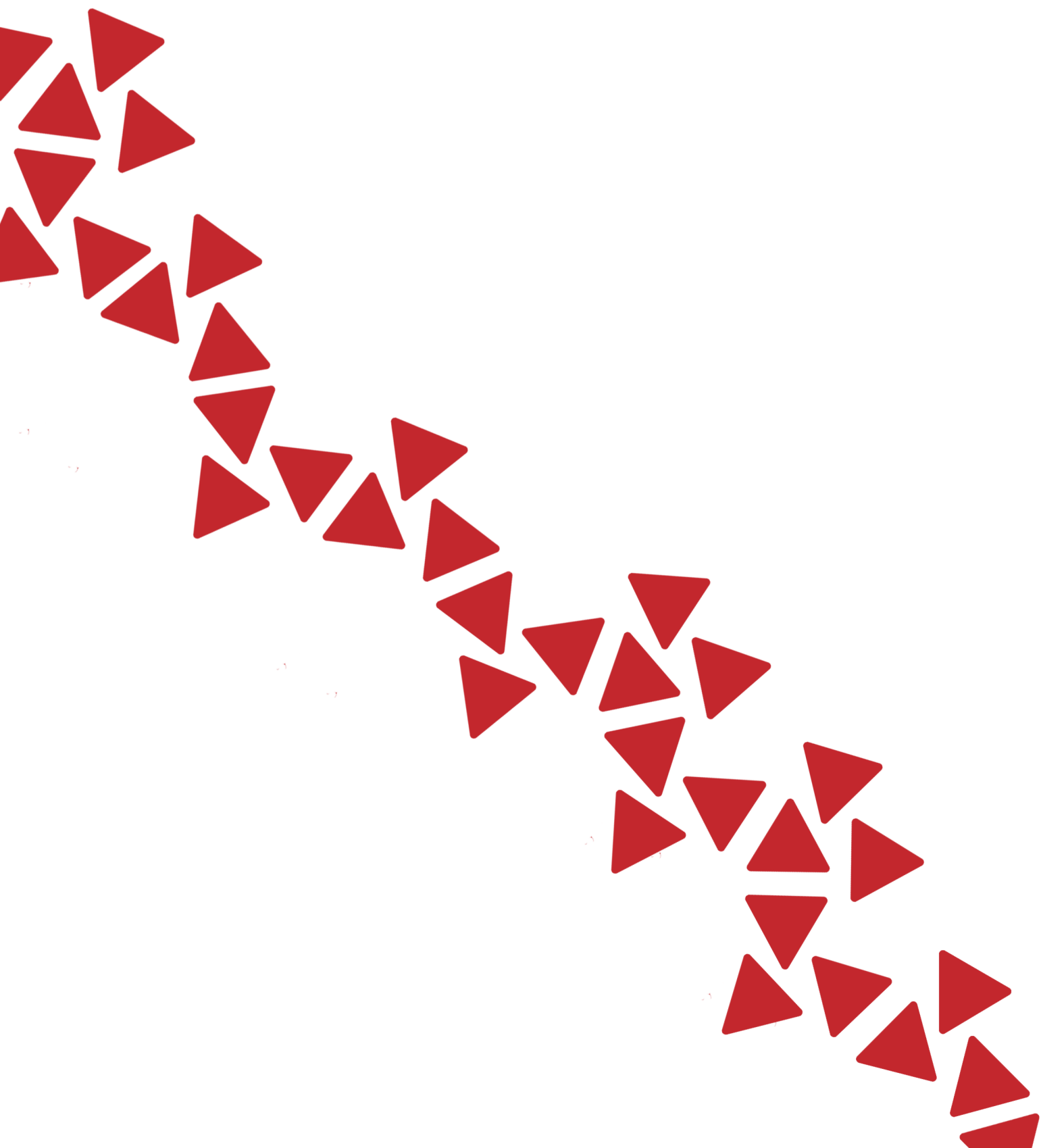
This text presents the basic findings of research, primarily of the quantitative component and a summary of the qualitative one. For that reason, report is a dominant form. Its main goal is to provide detailed and comprehensive information (data) obtained by the questionnaire-based survey. There are several reasons for this approach, which is somewhat narrower and more simplified than the approach that would be expected, for example, in sociological research with similar methodology.

Firstly, this approach is guided by the idea that the research is intended for those who deal with gender policies, who need to have concrete and reliable data that they could use in creating such policies. Secondly, the IMAGES studies have their purpose, design and logic that does not allow a complete and in-depth contextualisation of research. In order to be comparative in a wide range of rather different gender regimes (patriarchies), these studies remain at a level that allows such comparison. In a large number of countries where these studies were conducted, they were the first "such" studies, which meant that there was no previous knowledge of how the survey could be contextualised to suit the needs of particular environment, that is - to reflect the specific characteristics of a particular gender regime. Thirdly, on one end there is the IMAGES instrument - survey, which, although evolving over the years, essentially remains unchanged, while on the other end there is not only a context, but also a specific (social, historical) time in which research is being carried out, as well as a certain theoretical starting point. However, both "theory" and "context of research" are constantly changing, just like the search for optimal gender policies. The dominant discourses that shape the approach to the topics of "gender equality" are also present in the context, at a certain historical point. This also applies to Serbia where three topics dominate: 1. the new Law on the Prevention of Domestic Violence (2016)⁵ 2. Draft Law on Gender Equality⁶ and 3. high rates of all forms of violence including peer violence and violence against women. However, although very important, these discussions should not affect the interpretation of the results, but precisely to the contrary, they should contribute to using "hard facts" in debates, but also in some concrete policies that will be formulated. This is why the form of report, rather than a more in-depth study of causes and consequences, is far more suitable (on this occasion) for a wider use of results. Finally, the said form allows additional analyses and interpretations of these data, precisely because at this moment and in this place, the interpretation is minimised, at the expense of data and their description. In other words, the abundance of data prevails in this analysis, as it is the basis that allows their availability and further use.

5 https://www.paragraf.rs/propisi/zakon_o_sprecavanju_nasilja_u_porodici.html

6 <http://www.rsjp.gov.rs/misljenja/1361/nac/Nacr%20zakon%20o%20rodnoj%20ravnopravnosti.pdf>

The goals of this analysis have determined also other specific characteristics of the text. In order to facilitate the reception of data, the easily readable charts have been created, containing also concrete figures about the explored phenomena. Since this is a study that focuses on men, the charts referring only to women are included in Appendix (in order to allow possible additional analysis for those who are interested), while the main body of text includes only the charts referring to the comparison of women and men. Data interpretation was focused on men, not on women. However, it should be noted that neither is it necessary nor possible or useful to insist on the complete "separation" of men because men themselves are only one gender category. On the other hand, it is not good either to establish a false symmetry between women and men and to lose sight of the causality of the hierarchy created by patriarchy.



**THEORETICAL
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THEORETICAL AND HYPOTHETICAL FRAMEWORK OF RESEARCH

The IMAGES study conducted in Serbia is based on three important theoretical pillars.

The first pillar consists of the knowledge about men and masculinities accumulated for decades (Segal, 1990; Connell, 1993; Connell, 1995; Connell, 2000; Connell, 2002; Hearn, 2012; Pollack, 1998), particularly in the field of critical studies of men and masculinities (CSMM) which rely on feminist theories and feminist knowledge (Hearn, 1997; Hearn, 1998; Hearn and Pringle, 2006; Hearn, 2015; Kaufman, 1993; Kimmel, 1992; Greig, Kimmel, Lang, 2000; Aboim, 2010;). It is very important to point out that not all knowledge about men is at the same time feminist-conscious knowledge, that is, there is also knowledge about men based on rightist ideologies and a false "gender neutrality" that hides misogyny, hate speech towards women and denial of patriarchy. It is necessary to make a clear demarcation between these things to constructively address the issue of gender policies. That is why it is precisely the source of knowledge based on feminist theory and critical of patriarchy as a power structure the one that allows a departure from the pattern where men themselves are the "victims of patriarchy" in a specific way, while still enjoying, to a greater or lesser extent, the "patriarchal dividend" (Connell, 1995).

The other part consists of similar reports and research conducted by PROMUNDO in cooperation with its numerous partners around the world, which also resulted in a series of scientific texts and publications (<https://promundoglobal.org/programs/international-men-and-gender-equality-survey-images/>).

Finally, the third pillar is made up of knowledge relating to the accumulated results of research on the division of roles in micro-spheres and especially in parenting. The first such research in Serbia dates back to the late 1980s and establishes significant differences between men and women in performing domestic work and in parenting, but also among men themselves (by age, education, place of residence, see: Blagojević Hjuron, 2014a). In addition, in 2008 and 2012 two major research studies on gender relations were published under the title Gender Barometer (Blagojević, 2006; Blagojević Hjuron, 2013).

These findings are to a certain extent incorporated in this questionnaire (in 20% of the questions), but even more in the interpretation of the results. In Serbia, there is also an attempt to develop a specific theoretical approach that connects the critical studies of men and masculinities with the "theory of semiperipherality" and determination of the specificities of the dominant gender regime from that perspective (Hughson, 2017). In Serbia, for many years, various authors dealing with empirical research in the field of gender studies, or in other disciplines, from the explicitly or implicitly feminist perspective, have been acquiring new insights about the position of men in the private and public sphere, most often through comparison with women (Bobić, 2000, 2010, 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2012; Babović, 2007, Babović, 2009, 2010a, 2010b; Jarić, 2006; Milić, 1994, 1995, 2004a, 2004b; Milić i Tomanović, 2009; Milić et al. 2010; Mršević, 2012, 2013a, 2013b, 2014; Nikolić Ristanović, 2000, 2002, 2008, 2010; Tomanović, 2004, 2010, 2012; Stanojević, 2015; Stjepanović-Zaharijevski, 2010; Rosić, 2015; Pavičević i Simeunović Patić, 2011; Petrović, 2011). The interconnectedness of these findings creates a relatively consistent system of insights into the empirical reality of the everyday life of men in Serbia. In other words, this research does not start from the "zero point", but enters into the already existing system of knowledge, both internationally and contextually, with the aim of improving it, developing and introducing updated knowledge as well as new concrete empirical data that will be usable in the creation of gender policies. Such a theoretical approach also influenced the creation of a hypothetical framework, which, more implicitly than explicitly, shaped the interpretation of these data. It was rather unlikely to do it explicitly since the IMAGES study framework already existed.

The first hypothesis is that changes in the micro-sphere are directed towards establishing an egalitarian pattern of behaviour and an egalitarian division of roles in the process of constant strengthening and that they are unstoppable. These changes are gradual, more pronounced in younger than in older generations of men and more in higher educated than in lower educated men. The changes affect different areas of private life with various intensities, starting mainly from paternity where they are most present.

Another hypothesis is that attitudes towards equality of women and human rights are changing towards the steering away from gender stereotypes, which is more pronounced in younger generations of men and among higher educated men.

The third hypothesis is that there is a tension between discourses and practices, especially expressed between macro-discourses (meta-discourses on gender issues) and micro-practices. Behavioural changes in the micro-sphere and changes in attitudes about gender issues are heading towards progressive transformation, but misogynous formulations are retained in public discourses, thus showing resistance to change.

The fourth hypothesis is about violence. Violence is widespread in many forms and modalities, and while women are incomparably more often victims in intimate partner relationships, men are victims of other men in the public sphere.

The fifth hypothesis concerns health and is based on the assumption that men, precisely due to their gender role, are more susceptible to risky behaviours (drugs, alcohol, smoking, fights, etc.) than women are.

The sixth hypothesis refers to possible "points of reversal", that is, fields of activity and life in which new patterns of behaviour are established (egalitarianism). The assumption is that these points are related to the individuals (male and female) who, in a positive sense, break out of the classic gender roles, including "happily divorced" men or men who choose atypical professions (caring, nursing professions).

The seventh hypothesis relates to the dynamics of change and to the bearers of change in the total population. It is assumed that younger men, as well as those more educated, are more prone to make a positive change in the direction of egalitarian values and non-violence, but also that the change is not simply linear due to the impact of "transition" and stopping of progressive movement toward a higher level of gender equality.

**MEN IN P
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MEN IN PUBLIC POLICIES AND STATISTICS

Serbia is at a kind of double beginning. On the one hand, different public policies are not properly gender-based (Antoniјеvić, 2018), while on the other hand, men are insufficiently visible as gendered citizens, gendered individuals. Generally, there is neither sufficient knowledge nor well-developed awareness or decision-making culture that would take into account the effects of different public policies on different social segments, including different genders, that is, men and women. Thanks to the women's movement and women's studies, there is already an articulated level of knowledge about the female part of the population, which can be used in the government's planning of development and included in certain strategies. On the other hand, the fact that men are gendered and that different public policies can also affect them differently than women remains on the margins. Gender approach, even gender mainstreaming, are understood mainly as something that, above all, allows women to be visible and empowered. But generally, Serbia is at the very beginning of perceiving gender as an important social category that largely shapes the lives of both women and men. "Gender blindness" produces the so-called universal citizen, who is primarily a man, but a man who is not a representative of his gender, but an abstract citizen. A man who is gendered, like a woman, remains beyond the reach of thus understood public policies. Only the awareness of men about being gendered can lead, in the next step, to a better understanding of the needs of men as equal, rather than superior, members of society.

As regards statistical indicators on gender inequalities, Gender Equality Index (GEI, 2016) is certainly the most important for Serbia. The Index applies equally to women and men because the inequalities measured by this Index arise from their different social positions. Therefore, this Index is not, in any aspect, relevant to women only, but also to men. In other words, it can be assumed that the Index measures the departure from what would be optimal, and it is the full equality of women and men, which would be a win-win for both groups.

The Index was developed by the European Institute for Gender Equality for EU member states (28) to support gender policies. The first results, in 2013, showed that the EU is only about half way to reaching equality. In Serbia, the Gender Equality Index was first published in 2016 (authored by Marija Babović)⁷. The Index covers six domains: knowledge, work, money, health, time and power, and two sub-domains: violence and intersecting inequalities. The domains are divided into sub-domains:

- domain of knowledge (educational attainment, segregation, lifelong learning)
- domain of work (sub-domains: participation, segregation and quality of work)
- domain of work (sub-domains: financial resources, economic situation)
- domain of health (status, behaviour, access)
- domain of time (economic activities, household activities, social activities)
- domain of power (political power, social power, economic power)
- intersecting inequalities (age, citizenship, disability, ethnicity, marital status, religion, sexual orientation)
- violence (direct violence, indirect violence) (GEI, 2016:15)

The Gender Equality Index measures the gender gap in different domains. Therefore, a good result would be close to 100%, indicating that gender inequalities are completely eliminated. It is based on a simplified definition of gender equality: *"equal share of assets, equal dignity and integrity between women and men"*.

The Gender Equality Index for Serbia has been calculated for 2014. The score of the Gender Equality Index for Serbia is 40.6%, while for EU member states it equals 52.9%. The greatest success has been achieved in the domain of power, which is largely, but not solely, the effect of the introduction of gender quota⁸. The biggest lag is in the domain of work and money. The score of the Gender Equality Index for Serbia in the domain of work is 38.2, while for the EU it is 61.9. In the domain of money, the score for Serbia was 39.2, and for the EU 67.8. Significant inequality was recorded in the domain of income, where Serbia achieved only 26.6% out of the ideal 100% of equality, which means that less than one-third of the path towards equality has been passed. Serbia has the second lowest score compared to all EU member states.

7 For the most part, the score of this Index for Serbia is calculated based on the same type of data as used in EU countries, although the data collection and processing system should be further harmonised in the years to come

8 The real decline in the power of different institutions and exclusively party-affiliated employment is certainly one of the valid explanations for an easier "entry" of women in the realm of politics. Being a woman may even be an advantage in terms of loyalty and unwillingness to rebel.

In the domain of knowledge, there are differences in the choice of educational profiles, with women still being overrepresented in the field of social sciences. The score is especially low in the field of lifelong learning, which is still very rare in Serbia both in theory and practice. As regards the domain of time, Serbia has a score of 31.2, while the EU has 37.6. The domain of power is the only domain where Serbia has better results than the EU, due to the economic power score. The overall score for Serbia is 43.0, and for the EU 39.7. The political power score for Serbia is 43.0, while for the EU it is 49.8; the economic power score for Serbia is 43.1 and for the EU 31.7 (GEI, 2016: 64). The good ranking of Serbia can be interpreted primarily by the favourable effects of introduced quota provisions regarding the representation of women in legislative bodies (Republic and Provincial Assemblies). However, on the other hand, in as many as 85% of cases, men are members of boards in the largest companies, and in 70% of cases they are the National Bank Board members. (Source: GEI, 2016:67). The domain of health has the highest score in both Serbia and the EU, which means that difference in the treatment of men and women is smallest in this field. The sub-domains of health are status (measured by self-perceived health, life expectancy and healthy life years) and access (measured by unmet medical needs and unmet dental needs). For Serbia, the overall score for health was 82.9 and for the EU - 90.0. As regards the scores for the sub-domains of health, status scored 81.1 for Serbia and 86.4 for the EU. Access to health care scored 84.9 for Serbia and 93.8 for the EU. (GEI, 2016:71). Men more often than women assess their health as good or very good (81.6% and 53.4% respectively, age 16 and above) (GEI, 2016: 73).

The GEI provides a general overview of gender inequalities at the national level, primarily based on gender-sensitive statistics. Although it points to the still dominantly privileged position of men in the society of Serbia, it does not allow a deeper understanding of the problems that men themselves face in their lives, in the position of gendered individuals (for example, the fact that men are also victims of violence by other men or that they are under social pressure to be "breadwinners" or to prove their "masculinity" through violence, unhealthy lifestyles or advocating extreme ideologies). However, even at the level of gender-sensitive statistics, it is not easy to eliminate two types of bias: on the one hand, an androcentric view of the world, and on the other hand, the "invisibility" of men. The essence of paradox lies in the fact that androcentric inertia can make men invisible. Avlijaš cites an example from the Labour Force Survey where the reason for inactivity was "military service", but not "child care". However, in the survey on the use of time (2010/2011) these deficiencies were eliminated (Avlijaš, 2009). Another example of androcentric inertia is identifying the operative concept of the "head of household" with the functional "superior", thus strengthening gender stereotypes, when collecting data in the population census. This type of problem, or bias, is likely to be eliminated in due course. Another kind of bias is the interpretation of data, for example in the publication "Women and Men in Serbia" where gender perspective is most often reduced to female perspective, which reproduces the invisibility of men's genderness. Gender-sensitive statistics on men should be developed in a way to allow its successful use in public policies.

Speaking about the concrete introduction of men in gender policies, there are several areas. The National Strategy for Gender Equality 2016-2020 and the accompanied Action Plan 2016-2018 explicitly include men in the goal of "equal participation of women and men in parenting and care economy", where the indicators are: time spent on unpaid work, time spent on caring for children. This plan also envisages an increase in the use of paternal leave and the organisation of campaigns to promote paternity and the role of men in parenting. Men are explicitly involved in reproductive health, sexual education and responsible sexual behaviour. The emphasis is on raising awareness and informing girls and boys about sex education and preservation of reproductive health. The introduction of reproductive health and sex education content, including the issues of gender relations, gender roles and responsible sexual behaviour, is envisaged as mandatory in primary and secondary schools.

The existing Law on Gender Equality and the existing Law on the Prevention of Domestic Violence do not explicitly mention men and women, but "persons" or "person". As regards these laws in the public discourse, they are labelled as "anti-men" or "pro-women", because they are related to the change of patriarchal patterns, and therefore affect women and men differently. The draft of the new Law on Gender Equality is currently in the phase of public debate. Although, again, the public opts mainly "for" or "against" further strengthening of gender equality, which gives the impression that it is polarised, the complex issues addressed in this debate and its political dimension are beyond the scope of this brief overview.

The general conclusion that arises is that the integration of the male perspective from the aspect of gender equality, rather than from the aspect of strengthening patriarchal values, is currently only in its infancy in Serbia. In order for this process to be successful in the future, it is necessary to accumulate knowledge through research and good gender-sensitive statistics.

**SOCIO-
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04

GRAPHIC
CHARACTERISTICS
SAMPLE

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

The research was based on a nationally representative sample, which included 1,060 men and 540 women. Over half of respondents have secondary school education (54.5% of men and 50.7% of women). 24% of men and 25.2% of women are from Belgrade; somewhat more respondents are from Vojvodina and Central-West Serbia, while the lowest number of respondents are from South-East Serbia (around one-fifth). 61.1% of all men and 62.2% of all women live in cities. The two youngest age groups are less represented among respondents, while the oldest age group is the most represented.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE		N = (1060) MEN%	N = (540) WOMEN%
Age	18-24	16.5	22.2
	25-30	15.4	16.3
	31-40	22.9	24.1
	41-50	20.7	18.5
	51-60	24.5	18.9
	61-70	20.8	19.8
Region	Belgrade	24.0	25.2
	Vojvodina	27.4	26.9
	Central-West Serbia	28.4	27.8
	South-East Serbia	20.3	20.2
Type of settlement	Village	38.9	37.8
	City	61.1	62.2
Education	Primary school or lower	6.3	10.2
	Trade	17.9	12.0
	Secondary vocational school and high school	54.5	50.7
	Junior college	11.0	10.6
	Faculty	9.6	15.6
	Post-graduate studies (master, doctoral)	0.6	0.9
Occupation	Formally employed full-time	50.9	40.9
	Formally employed half-time (part-time)	2.3	1.3
	Informally employed ("black market" employment)	5.7	4.3
	Self-employed, freelancer	2.4	1.5
	Entrepreneur, company owner, employer	2.8	0.7
	Farmer, owner of agricultural household	3.1	0.7
	Supporting member of (agricultural) household	0.4	1.3
	Unemployed, looking for a job	11.0	16.1
	Unemployed, not looking for a job	1.9	5.2
	Pupil, student	15.1	21.3
	Retired	3.9	6.3
	Person with disability	0.6	0.4
TOTAL		100%	100%

Half of respondents have children, which is more often if they are older. Only 45.3% of 31-40-year-old respondents have children, unlike those 51-60 years of age, 86.5% of whom have children. The men from the sample with children have on average 1.9 children, 44.500 dinars of income and work (performing a paid job, formally, informally or periodically) on average 45.5 hours per week. The ethnicity of 91.9% of all respondents is Serbian and 90.4% of them have declared to be Orthodox Christians.

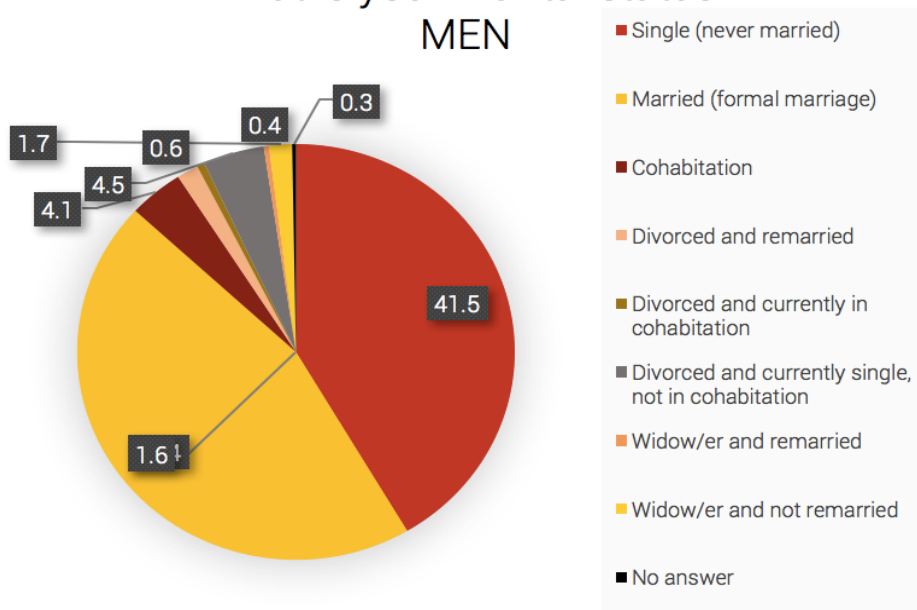
Most respondents, both men and women, live in their families with parents and siblings. The structure of households in which men and women live differs most in the case of single-parent families, which are almost four times more common among women than among men. As regards families with children, the highest number of them are families with two children.

The most educated generation of men belongs to the age group 31-40, in which as many as 35.6% of men have junior college or university education. The education of men is closely related to whether they are employed or not, so 72.9% of men with the highest education are employed, compared to only 10.4% of men with the lowest education. 77.1% of 18-24-year-old men are pupils or students, 4.0% of them are employed, and 12.6% of them are unemployed and actively seeking a job. However, the largest share of unemployed is among 25-30-year-old men - as many as 20.2%, while 15.3% of them are still students.

An equal share of both male and female respondents have never been married - more than 40%. However, more men are married than single, while the situation is opposite in case of women.

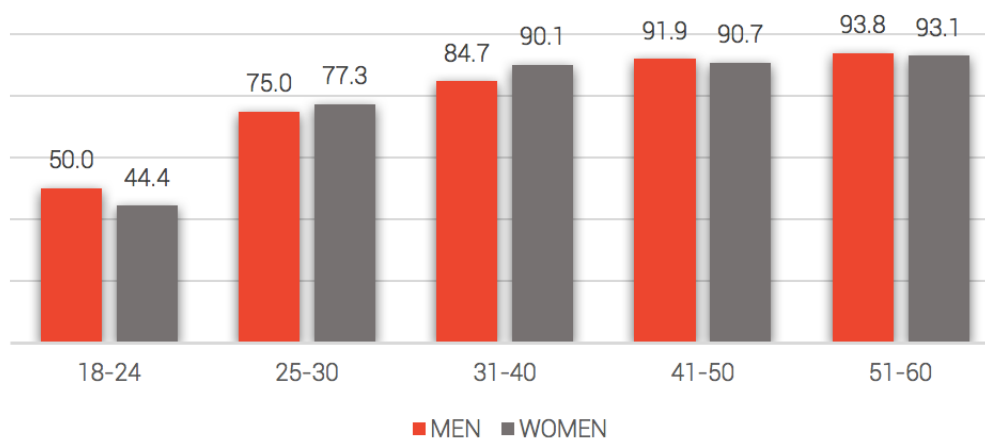
What is your marital status?

MEN



The percentage of officially registered marriages show not only that they largely outnumber the cases of cohabitation, but also that the share of cohabitation decreases with the increase of the respondents' age. In the youngest group surveyed, as many as half of the men who said they were married lived in cohabitation, as well as 44.4% of women.

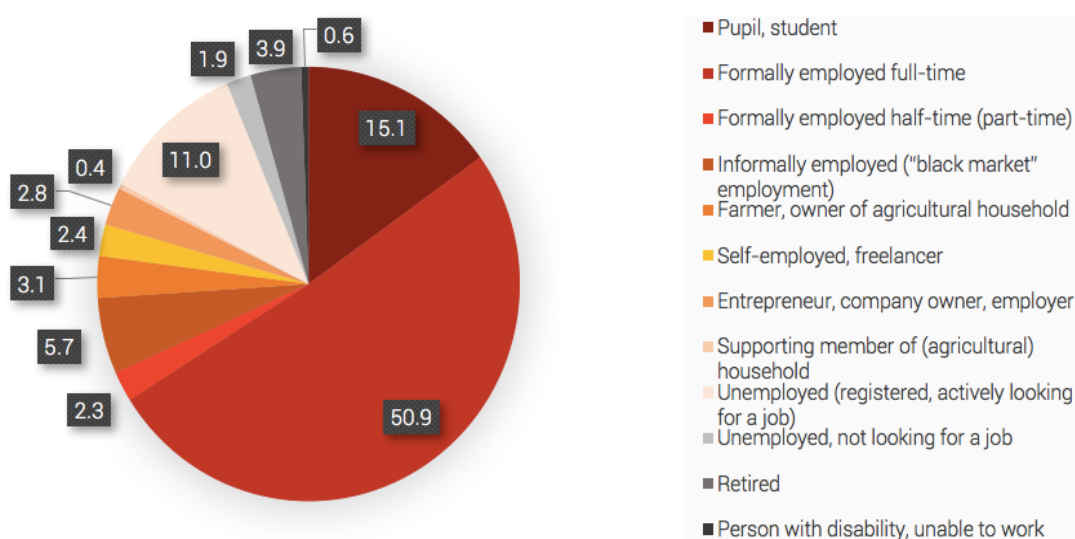
"YES" answers to question "Is your marriage officially registered?" by age



The differences between men and women are much more acute when it comes to the link between officially registered marriages and education. Thus, while 90.6% of men with junior college and university education live in an officially registered marriage, only 84.2% of women live in such a marriage. Every hundredth man in Serbia lives with his male partner, and over one-third of men live with their parents and sibling/s.

Official employment is a primary source of income for the largest number of both male and female respondents. However, this applies to as many as 50.9% of men and only 40.9% of women. In both men and women, the unemployed looking for a job are the second-largest group. Women are unemployed more often than men, and they are also more often supporting household members. Since there was also a question about the second most significant labour status, it turned out to be the supporting family member in agriculture, even more often among men than among women (4.1% of men and 2.4% of women). Linking these answers with the engagement in agriculture in the capacity of the owner of agricultural household (3.5% of men and 1.3% of women) shows that agriculture is the second most important source of additional income for men. In over two-thirds of households, the main source of income is formal employment, while the second most important source is informal employment and additional jobs (repairs, day labour, etc.).

What is your current primary employment status (occupying most of your time)? MEN

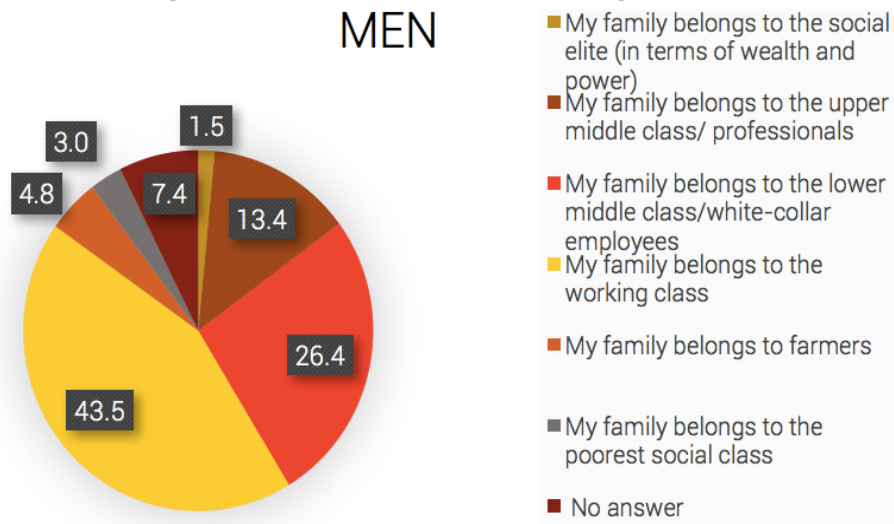


Education is also connected to formal and informal employment. The most educated are most often formally employed, while the least educated work informally. In addition to employment, which is usually the primary source of income for 76.3% of men, most additional income comes from informal employment and additional periodical jobs (day labour, repairs, etc.). However, in as many as half of the cases there is no additional source of income.

The vast majority of respondents, both men and women, consider that their household/family belongs to the working class, and in that respect there are no differences between the genders. The second most frequent answer is "lower middle class", while less than 2% of women and men consider their families to belong to the "social elite".

What do you think is the social status of your household/family?

MEN



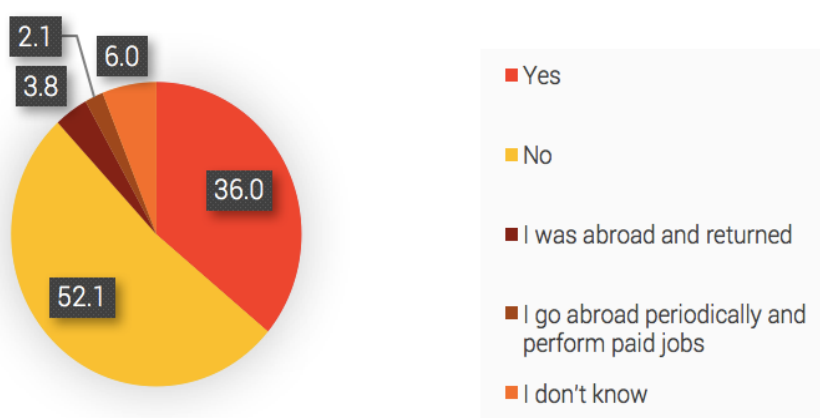
As regards the attitude towards work, there are more respondents who see their job as a source of satisfaction than those who do not. However, as many as one-fifth of men and almost one-third of women do not have an opinion on whether the job they perform is a source of their satisfaction or not. Men more often than women see their job as a source of stress and more often think that their work situation is stable. Only 6.2% of men and only 3.9% of women are fully satisfied with their earnings. 6.5% of men and 8.7% of women think that they are the victims of workplace mobbing. Among both men and women, there are more those who would change their job than those who would not.

Please indicate to which extent you agree with the following statements:		Fully disagree	Mainly disagree	Neither agree no disagree	Mainly agree	Fully agree	Don't know/no answer
My job is a source of satisfaction to me	M	6.7	12.5	22.7	25.4	11.2	21.4
	F	5.7	10.9	17.4	24.8	9.1	32.0
My job is a source of stress	M	7.7	13.8	22.7	25.4	8.8	21.6
	F	5.4	13.9	17.2	19.6	10.7	33.1
My job and situation at work are stable	M	6.3	13.3	22.4	23.9	11.0	23.1
	F	5.4	11.9	19.4	20.0	9.3	34.1
I am satisfied with my salary	M	16.1	22.1	16.3	16.7	6.2	22.5
	F	15.0	17.8	15.2	15.0	3.9	33.1
I am a victim of workplace mobbing	M	39.0	17.3	11.4	5.3	1.2	25.8
	F	30.2	14.6	11.3	7.8	0.9	35.2
I would gladly change my job if I could	M	10.6	10.7	17.9	18.7	17.0	25.2
	F	7.8	8.9	17.0	14.1	16.7	35.6

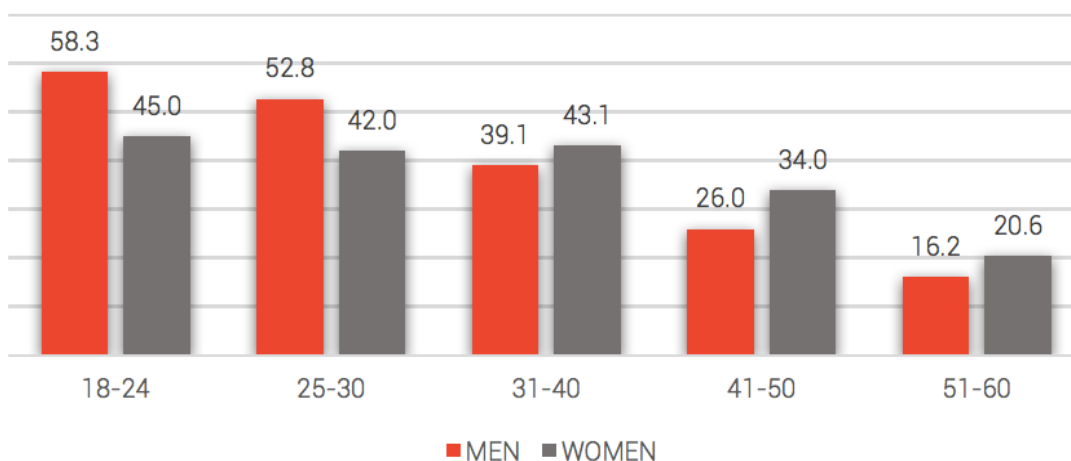
The most educated men are most satisfied with their job, and more than 60% of them agree (fully or partly) with the statement that the job they perform is the source of their satisfaction. The situation is completely opposite in case of the least educated men. Also, it is interesting that job satisfaction mainly increases with older age. The expected connection exists also between job satisfaction and social stratification. In fact, the men who agree with the statement that their job is a source of satisfaction are also those who belong to higher social strata, and vice versa. No connection has been established between the job as a source of stress and stratification. The satisfaction with salary is also connected with social stratification, and so the men from the higher social strata are more satisfied.

Men are slightly less prone to emigrate than women. More than half of the surveyed men and women would not emigrate from Serbia. However, data on returnees from abroad are also relevant and show that more men have returned than women. More men than women occasionally go abroad to do seasonal or periodical work.

Would you emigrate from Serbia? MEN



"YES" answers to question "Would you emigrate from Serbia?" by age



When data on emigration intentions are linked to age and education, it can be seen, as expected, that the youngest generation is most oriented towards emigration. It is interesting to note that younger men are more interested in emigration than women, while in the age groups 30+ the situation is reverse.

"YES" answers to question "Would you emigrate from Serbia?" by education



Education and emigration preference are reversely connected in both men and women. While emigration propensity among women increases with education, it is the other way round in men. Almost two-fifths of women who are highly educated would like to emigrate.

**RELATION
IN THE PR
FAMILY**

05

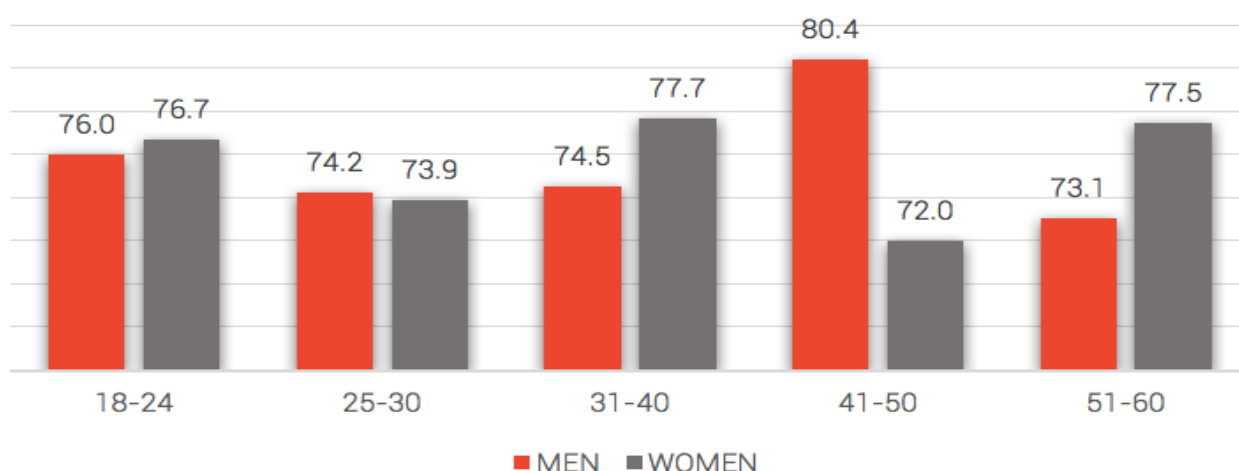
SHIPS
PRIMARY

RELATIONSHIPS IN THE PRIMARY FAMILY

Most respondents come from the families where both mothers and fathers have secondary education. The education of the parents decreases with the respondents' age. The fathers of more than 15% of respondents have junior college or university education, while over 30% of respondents have such a level of education, which shows certain social progress.

In the growing up of both men and women, the most important father figure was their biological father. Three-fourths of the respondents who lived with their biological fathers consider them the most important father figures until the age of 18. 10% of respondents answered "no one" and for 7.5% of them it was "grandfather". About half of men who did not live with their fathers maintained regular contacts with them.

"MY BIOLOGICAL FATHER" answers to question "Who was the most important father figure in your childhood?" by age



When the data are matched with age, no clear connection can be seen in either group. This leads to the conclusion that the dominant family model consists of two parents and children, which means that the father is present both in older and younger generations.

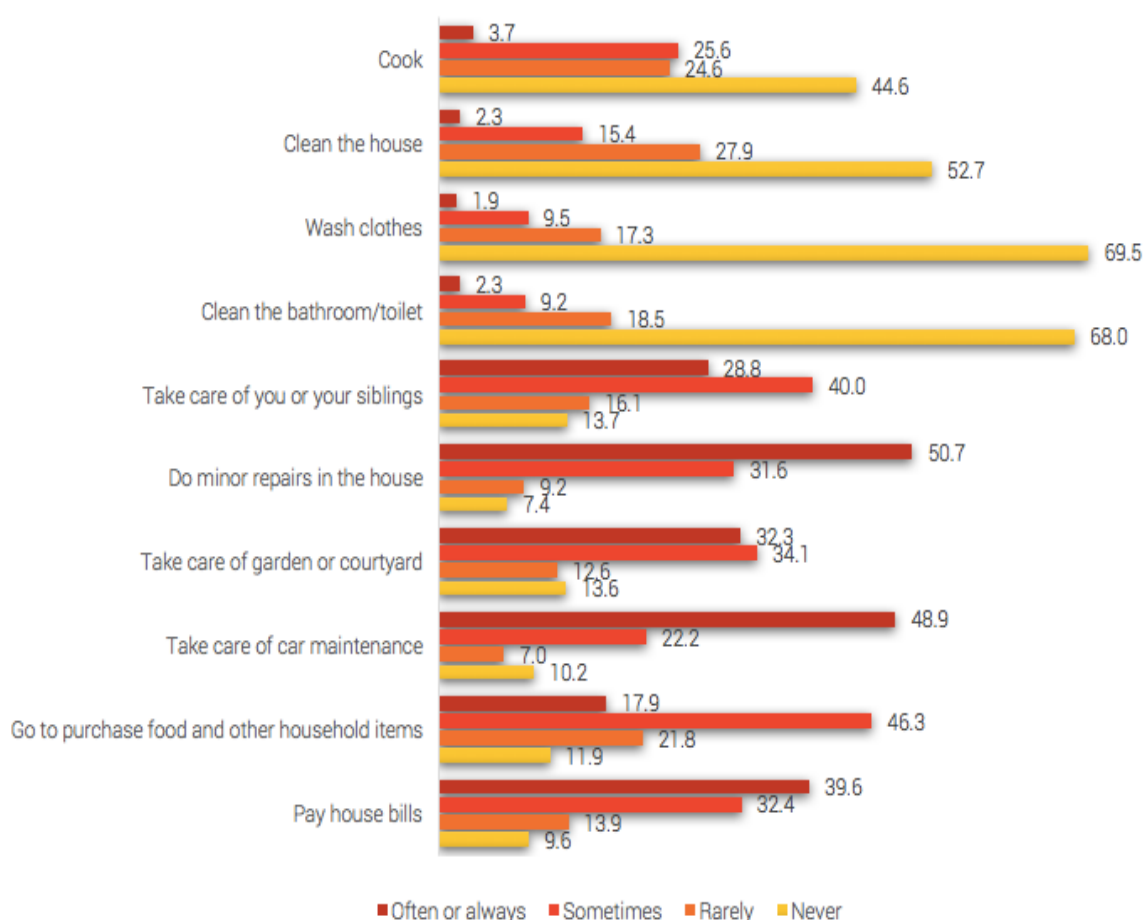
"MY BIOLOGICAL FATHER" answers to question "Who was the most important father figure in your childhood?" by education



However, there is a strong connection between the education of respondents and their father as the most important father figure during their growing up, especially in case of men. Thus, the father is the most important figure for only 55.2% of the least educated men and as many as 80.1% of the most educated ones. Such a connection exists also in case of women, but it is not as visible as in case of men.

The gender division of labour between the parents is very clear. In most cases, fathers had never performed the tasks of food preparation, house cleaning, clothes washing or cleaning of bathrooms and toilets. On the other hand, they "took care of children", did home repairs, took care of the yard and car. They also purchased food and paid bills.

When you were a child or adolescent, did your father or some other man in the house /MEN's answers/



Men grew up in the families where fathers, or some other men, usually "never" performed the following tasks: cooking, house cleaning, clothes washing, bathroom/toilet cleaning, but on the other hand, they did minor repairs in the house, took care of the garden or yard, and took care of car maintenance. This is obviously a gender-based division, which in itself, if we disregard the time spent in carrying out these tasks, does not necessarily have to be interpreted negatively, as it probably reflects "gender specialisation" rather than gender inequality. However, if we take into account the duration and frequency of work, then it becomes clear that it is gender inequality after all.

Interestingly, the division of labour was the most egalitarian in the families of the most educated men, although not yet sufficiently developed with respect to "typically female jobs". However, in the families of less educated men, sometimes there are more fathers who more often performed "typical male jobs", for example car maintenance and house repairs, and paying bills.

Who had the final say in decisions about:		Mother	Father	Father and mother equally	Others	Not applicable to me/no answer
You and your siblings (about your education, activities)?	M	20.7	24.2	51.1	0.6	3.5
	F	23.3	20.7	51.3	0.4	4.3
About how your family spends money on food and clothes	M	30.0	19.2	48.7	0.8	1.4
	F	33.7	15.7	48.1	0.7	1.7
About how your family spends money on big investments such as buying a car, a house or household appliances	M	9.8	33.3	52.5	1.0	3.4
	F	16.1	28.5	52.0	0.9	2.4

But, when it comes to child-related decisions, the division of roles was much more balanced, in the parental families of both men and women. Over half of parents decided together about the education and activities of their children. In the families of men, fathers decided more often than mothers, and in the families of women, mothers decided more often than fathers. In the families of both men and women, mothers and fathers most often made joint decisions on big investments (in over 50% of cases). However, in other cases, fathers decided more often than mothers, especially in the families of men. These answers may reflect the differences in the perceptions of men and women, rather than the actual differences between their respective families. In fact, it is possible that, in accordance with the traditional gender roles and patriarchal ideology, men have been socialised in a way to see their fathers as "more important" and "more powerful", even if in reality this was not necessarily the case. These differences are probably the result of interpretation and do not reflect the reality.

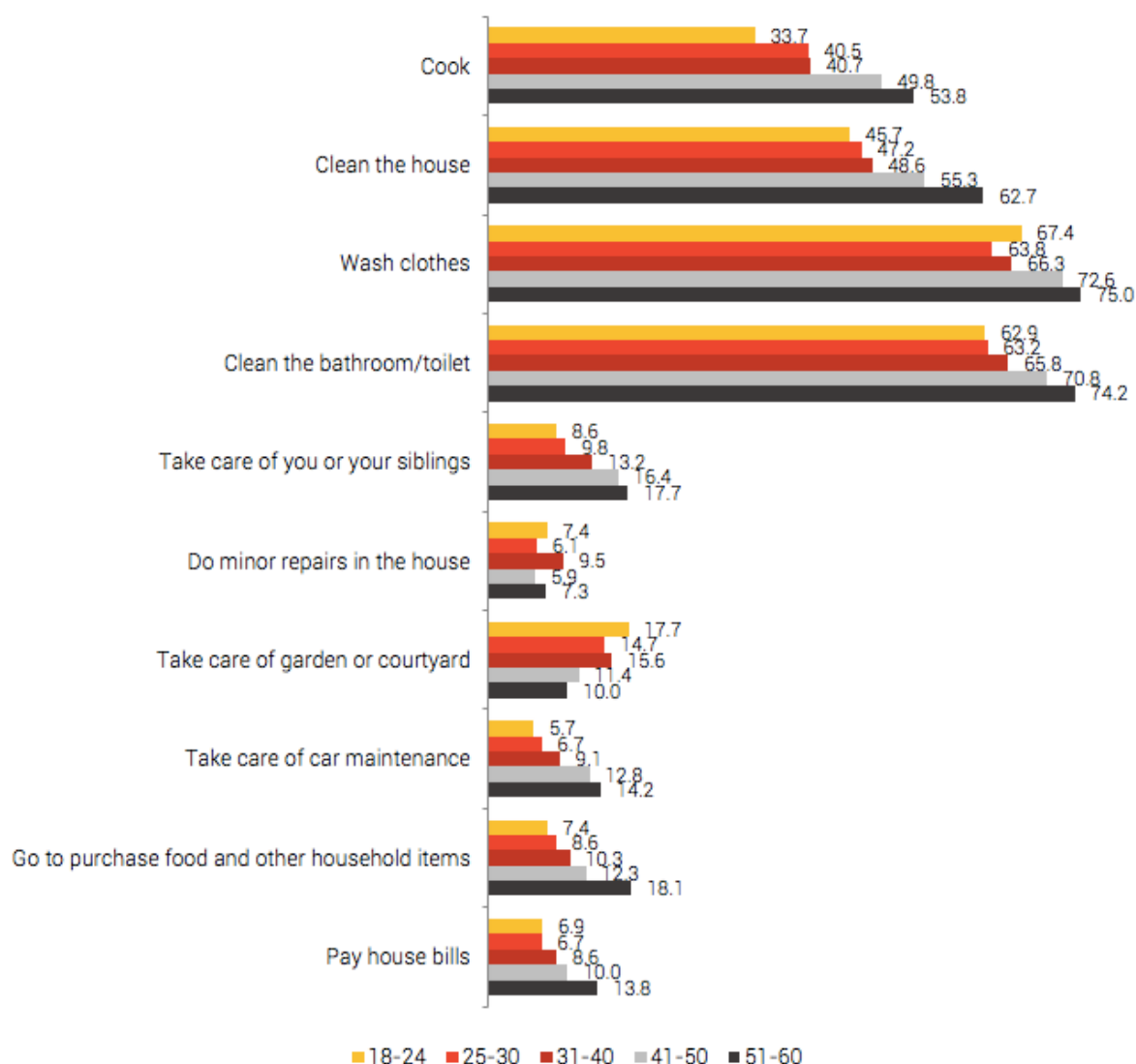
Interestingly, analysing the answers by age shows that in the older generations of men (41 and above), it was the father who decided most often, while in the younger generations, "the father and the mother equally" decided about the matters of children's education. The situation is similar in case of food and clothing costs. Therefore, a shift occurred in the generations born in the 1970s, which is precisely the period characterised by the dominance of two-parent working model.

When you were a child or adolescent, did you:		Often or always	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	Don't know/no answer
Cook	M	1.7	17.3	28.2	52.2	0.7
	F	8.9	42.4	28.7	20.0	0.0
Clean the house	M	2.5	21.0	33.9	41.8	0.8
	F	15.4	51.9	24.1	8.7	0.0
Wash clothes	M	1.8	11.9	18.6	66.4	1.3
	F	9.6	40.9	29.1	20.0	0.4
Clean the bathroom/toilet	M	1.5	11.9	20.3	64.8	1.5
	F	10.4	39.3	27.8	20.4	2.2
Take care of you or your siblings	M	6.5	33.1	25.4	30.8	4.2
	F	15.2	44.8	21.5	15.2	3.3
Do minor repairs in the house	M	4.1	24.5	28.0	42.5	0.9
	F	1.9	8.9	21.3	67.2	0.7
Take care of garden or courtyard	M	7.1	32.2	26.8	28.3	5.7
	F	6.9	30.2	22.2	33.7	7.0
Take care of car maintenance	M	5.2	20.5	18.8	46.4	9.2
	F	2.0	5.9	8.1	73.1	10.7
Go to purchase food and other household items	M	6.0	41.3	32.4	19.0	1.3
	F	8.3	49.6	26.7	13.9	1.5
Pay house bills	M	3.7	18.7	20.3	55.8	1.6
	F	4.8	19.8	18.1	55.2	2.0

Both men and women usually did not participate in family duties when they were adolescents. However, in cases where they did participate, the gender division of roles has spilled over from the parental families to younger generations. Thus, young men rarely or never performed "female jobs", and girls rarely performed "male jobs". And yet, girls sometimes cooked, cleaned, washed clothes and cleaned the bathroom, while young men sometimes took care of the yard, and both groups went to purchase food. However, as regards housework, young men very frequently answered "never", which indicates that female children were far more involved in the family tasks than male children. If we take into account that some of the specified tasks are performed on a daily basis, while others only exceptionally, it is clear that differences in the burden on female and male children begin already in the parental family in which the girls are accustomed to the "normality" of performing housework. On the other hand, young men were more engaged in the jobs related to the yard, car maintenance or minor repairs, that is, in accordance with the patriarchal division of labour.

However, if we look at the age of men who answered "never", we can see that those who do not participate in housework are less frequently younger men than older ones, with the exception of taking care of garden and yard, which is probably the result of changed circumstances (due to urbanisation and deagrarisation).

"NEVER" answers to question "When you were a child or adolescent, did your father or some other man in the house..."
MEN by age group



**EXPERIEN
VIOLENCE
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EXPERIENCE OF VIOLENCE IN CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH

The majority of both men and women answer that they have never experienced violence in their parental families. However, the frequency of the response "never" leaves enough room for the presence of domestic violence. In one-fourth of the families of both women and men, children witnessed physical violence against their mother by their father or mother's partner. Somewhat less than one-tenth of boys were exposed to unwanted touching of their genitals or buttocks, while the share of girls exposed to such situations is even bigger. About one-tenth of respondents were forced into sexual intercourse by threats.

Before turning 18 years of age:		Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	Don't know/no answer
I saw or heard my mother being beaten by her husband or partner	M	0.4	2.4	8.7	11.8	75.0	1.8
	Ž	0.6	3.5	8.3	11.9	74.3	1.5
Someone touched my buttocks or genitals or forced me to touch their genitals, when I did not want it	M	0.3	2.4	1.7	2.1	91.6	2.0
	Ž	0.9	1.5	4.1	5.6	86.9	1.1
I had sexual intercourse with someone because they threatened me or frightened me or forced me	M	0.7	0.9	1.3	2.1	92.8	2.2
	Ž	0.6	1.7	2.0	3.3	90.6	1.9
I was beaten or physically punished at school by a teacher	M	0.2	2.7	10.6	10.9	73.4	2.2
	Ž	0.2	2.0	3.7	8.9	83.5	1.7
At home, they threatened me with violence or physical punishment	M	0.8	3.4	16.4	19.1	58.1	2.3
	Ž	0.7	3.3	11.1	14.6	68.9	1.3
I was beaten at home with a belt or rod	M	0.7	3.5	13.7	20.5	60.3	1.4
	Ž	1.1	2.6	9.3	14.1	72.0	0.9
I lived in great poverty	M	2.0	5.9	11.5	16.5	61.9	2.2
	Ž	1.7	6.7	10.9	14.1	64.8	1.9

As many as one-fourth of boys were victims of corporal punishment in school. Corporal punishment was even more common at home. Interestingly, however, girls were corporally punished in school less frequently, and more frequently at home, while it was the other way round in case of boys. The data show that material deprivation was more spread than physical violence, with boys being the victims of corporal punishment in school in as many as one-fourth of cases. Corporal punishment was even more common at home. The data show that material deprivation was more often than physical violence, with only 61.9% of male and 64.8% female respondents stating that they have never lived in extreme poverty.

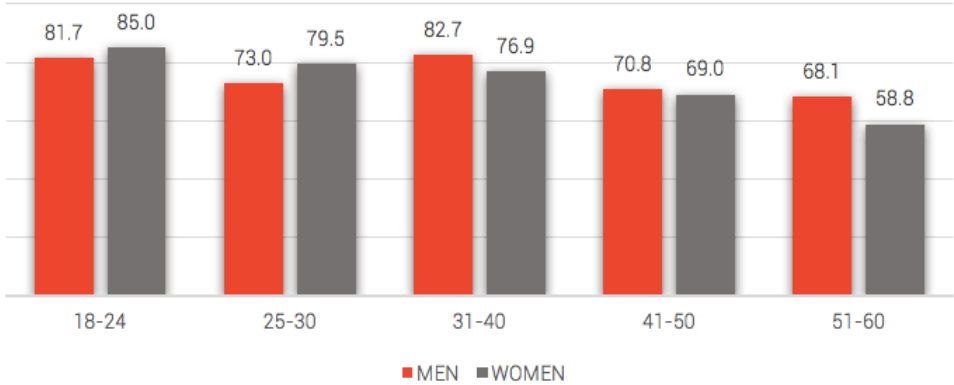
Corporal punishment in school decreases with the age of respondents. Thus, 84.6% of the youngest men surveyed have never been punished, unlike 63.1% of men in the oldest age group. A similar connection is also noticed in case of corporal punishment at home. 69.1% of the youngest respondents and only 49.6% of the oldest respondents have never been punished. 73.1% of the youngest men and 46.2% of the oldest men were not beaten with "a belt or rod" at home. The situation related to poverty is similar.

"NEVER" answers related to the statement "Before turning 18, I saw or heard my mother being beaten by her husband or partner" by education



Observed by age, the data show that young men were more rarely in the situation to witness physical violence against their mothers than the men of older generations. This pattern is even more pronounced in women. This can lead to the conclusion that domestic violence was more present in older generations than in younger ones, but that its visibility has increased today, due to which the overall picture can be misleading. Observed by education, the expected pattern is noticed again. More specifically, the more educated respondents less frequently witnessed violence against their mother.

“NEVER” answers related to the statement “Before turning 18, I saw or heard my mother being beaten by her husband or partner” by age



On the other hand, the school itself was a place that in many ways was less secure and safe than the family. Almost half of the boys in school participated in fights against rival groups, and only 81.4% of the boys never took drugs, which indirectly indicates that almost one-fifth took drugs at school. Only 37.5% of young men never touched girls without their consent or made any sexual comments to them, which means that the vast majority did, although only 5.0% did it often. However, such a high frequency of making comments to girls shows that the treatment of girls as sex objects is a normalised behaviour of the vast majority of young men, although these data do not reveal the cultural nuances and the actual weight of comments or "teasing".

I experienced some of the following things in school:	Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	Don't know/no answer
My peers and I would touch girls or make sexual comments to tease them	0.8	5.0	24.3	30.2	37.5	2.3
I and a group of my school friends would beat rival groups in school	0.2	5.3	16.1	24.3	51.3	2.7
I and my friends took drugs in school	0.2	1.5	4.6	8.5	81.4	3.8

I experienced some of the following things in school:	Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	Don't know/no answer
My school friends touched girls or made sexual comments to tease them	0.9	9.4	28.9	26.5	31.1	3.1
I and a group of my school friends would beat female rival groups in school	0.4	1.3	4.4	8.1	83.3	2.4
I and my friends took drugs in school	0.6	0.9	2.6	5.2	88.1	2.6

On the other hand, only 31.1% of women respond that they have never been exposed to unwanted touching and sexual comments in school, thus presenting the situation of sexual harassment in school to be worse than stated by men. In school, girls were much less prone to physical conflicts with their peers than boys. Also, they used drugs less often in school. These gender differences are expected, but we should not exclude the possibility of their rapid reduction under the influence of various negative trends, which certainly includes the general normalisation of violence, crime, pornography and drug taking.

**RELATION
IN THE PR
FAMILY**

07

SHIPS

PRESENT

RELATIONSHIPS IN THE PRESENT FAMILY

As in all other cases, the majority of male or female partners have secondary school education. Nearly every second man in the sample has a partner with secondary education, and the partner of every fourth man has junior college or university education. About two-thirds of female partners are employed, while about one-fifth of them are unemployed (and they are looking or not looking for a job). This means that a vast majority of women in intimate partnerships have their own income (including pensions, rentals, etc.) or contribute to the family budget (with monetary contribution, while non-monetary contribution provided through unpaid domestic work is not included here).

Who in your household has the final say in decisions related to:		Myself	My spouse	Both of us equally	Other (specify)	Don't know/no answer
Education and activities of your children	M	14.8	14.5	68.1	0.0	2.6
	F	17.4	9.0	73.1	0.0	0.6
About how your family spends money on food and clothes	M	10.0	27.1	61.6	0.2	1.1
	F	32.0	8.4	57.6	0.4	1.6
About how your family spends money on big investments such as buying a car, a house or household appliances	M	21.7	5.1	71.6	0.4	1.3
	F	8.4	17.6	72.0	0.4	1.6

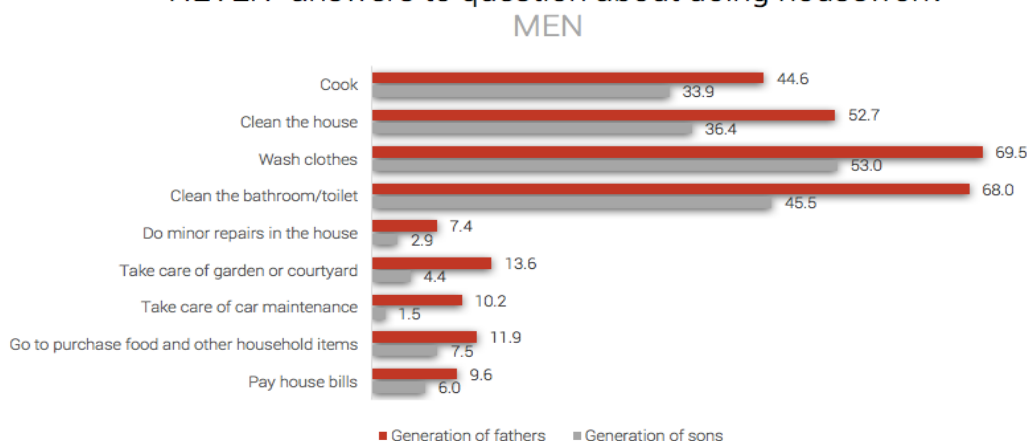
As regards decision making related to children, a large majority of respondents answered that they participated in decision making "equally" (68.1%), with the frequency of this response increasing in younger age groups. In the age group 25-30, as many as three-thirds of answers were "together". However, it is interesting that the answer "my wife" has a clear reverse connection with the respondents' education. Thus, while as many as 33.3% of those with the lowest education state that the decision is made by their wife, this answer is given by only 3.1% of the most educated ones. This data suggests the overcoming of the model of "self/sacrificing micro-matriarchy" (Blagojević, 1994; Hughson, 2015), whereby the concentration of women's power in the micro-sphere is also surpassed, and it is more evenly distributed with the equal sharing of responsibilities.

Men decide on their own twice more often about the matters concerning big investments than about daily consumption. Thus, in case of big investments, every fifth man decides on his own, unlike in case of minor expenses, where every tenth man decides independently. However, also in this case the most frequent answer is "together" (71.6%). There is also an interesting tendency of changing "micro-matriarchy", which is growing in the younger age groups of respondents. Thus, in one-fourth of the families of the youngest respondents, this decision is made by the female partner, unlike in one-twentieth of the families of the oldest respondents.

Both men and women assess similarly the role of their spouse/partner. In case of big investments, the answer "together" is most frequent, which shows that household-related strategic decisions are made jointly.

Unlike in the families of origin, in the families of procreation, that is - in the next generation, there is a shift towards a more egalitarian division of labour; the progress is rather significant and the sons are excluded from the division of labour to a much lesser extent.

"NEVER" answers to question about doing housework



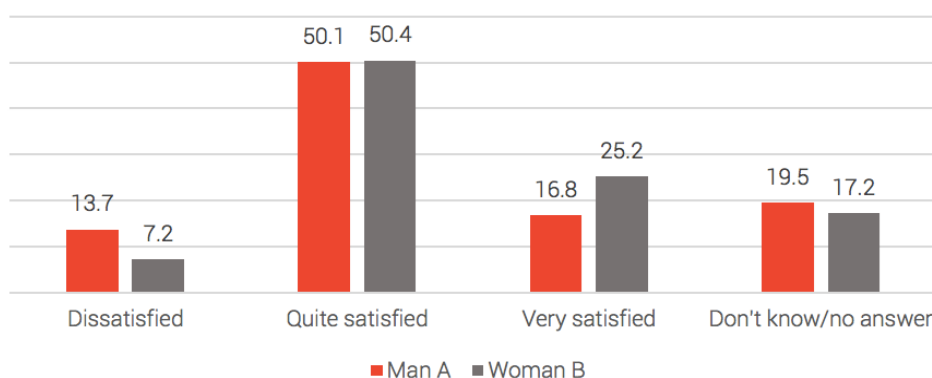
Note: The answer NEVER is given to the question "Has your father ever performed these tasks?", while the answer MY PARTNER ALWAYS DOES IT is given to the question "How do you and your partner share housework?".

Although women continue to have a high participation in performing tasks such as: cooking and preparing food, house cleaning, washing and maintaining clothes, the share of the answer "equally" is growing. Especially encouraging is a large share of the answers "together", referring to the performing of tasks such as: purchasing food and other household items, paying home bills, but also taking care of elderly parents and ill and dependent household members. Car maintenance and home repairs remain the domain of male activities, while garden and courtyard tasks are shared equally.

Excluding the assistance that you receive from others, how do you and your spouse or partner share the following housework:		I do it always	I do it usually	We share it equally or do it together	My partner usually does it	My partner always does it	Don't know/no answer
Cooking and preparing food	M	0.9	3.1	15.8	45.4	33.9	0.9
	F	38.8	34.4	17.6	5.2	2.8	1.2
House cleaning	M	0.4	3.5	20.2	37.7	36.4	1.8
	F	37.6	34.0	19.6	4.8	2.8	1.2
Washing and maintaining clothes	M	0.2	2.4	8.7	34.8	53.0	0.9
	F	49.2	30.4	10.8	5.2	2.8	1.6
Bathroom/toilet cleaning	M	0.4	3.8	15.3	33.9	45.5	1.1
	F	42.8	35.6	11.2	6.8	2.4	1.2
Minor repairs in the house	M	37.2	46.6	5.5	4.7	2.9	3.1
	F	4.8	5.2	9.6	45.2	31.2	4.0
Taking care of garden and courtyard	M	12.2	24.4	33.0	7.3	4.4	18.8
	F	7.2	8.8	37.6	15.2	12.4	18.8
Taking care of car maintenance	M	52.5	26.2	6.6	3.5	1.5	9.8
	F	2.4	2.0	7.2	26.4	46.0	16.0
Purchase food and other household items	M	4.6	16.0	50.6	19.3	7.5	2.0
	F	13.6	24.4	48.0	7.6	3.6	2.8
Paying house bills	M	13.1	28.6	37.2	12.9	6.0	2.2
	F	11.2	20.4	37.2	19.6	6.8	4.8
Taking care of elderly parents	M	2.6	8.6	44.3	11.7	3.8	29.1
	F	6.4	16.8	46.0	4.4	1.6	24.8
Taking care of ill and dependent household members	M	2.4	6.2	41.9	11.1	3.6	34.8
	F	6.0	17.6	35.2	4.8	0.8	35.6

Half of both men and women think that their partners are rather satisfied with this division of labour. However, the differences in assessment are evident when it comes to the high degrees of satisfaction and dissatisfaction. In fact, women more often feel that their partners are very satisfied than vice versa. This shows that although the situation is changing towards balancing the division of labour, it is not sufficient. Taking into account not only the type of work, but also its frequency during the week and month, as well as the amount of time spent, it is clear that cooking is not the same type of burden as occasional repairs.

Do you think that your partner is satisfied with this division?



When satisfaction with the division of housework is matched with age, it can be seen that the most satisfied are the youngest male and female respondents, that is, those who probably do not have children yet and who are also at the beginning of their marital/partner cycle. This is in line with the findings from other studies that show that the equality of spouses, or those living in cohabitation, can be significantly changed when a child is born. By the age of 40, the percentage of the answers "very satisfied" is decreasing in women, while it varies in men.

Satisfaction with the division of labour in the family and household varies in both women and men and in relation to education. Men with the lowest level of education are most dissatisfied with the division of labour, while women with the highest level of education are most satisfied. Some other research studies in Serbia have proven that education is an important determinant of a successful negotiating position of women, which allows the establishment of more egalitarian relationships and an increase in overall satisfaction and happiness (Blagojević, 1997).

How satisfied are you with your marriage/cohabitation?		Fully disagree	Mainly disagree	Neither agree no disagree	Mainly agree	Fully agree	Don't know/no answer
I am very satisfied with my marriage/cohabitation	M	1.3	3.5	7.7	42.3	42.3	3.1
	F	2.0	8.8	11.6	42.0	32.0	3.6
If I were to marry again, I'd choose the same partner	M	1.6	4.0	9.7	34.1	45.9	4.7
	F	4.4	7.2	13.2	30.4	38.4	6.4
Good moments prevail in my marriage	M	0.9	5.8	13.5	45.9	31.1	2.7
	F	2.0	8.0	15.6	37.6	31.6	5.2
Quarrels and conflicts are very common in my marriage	M	24.8	41.2	15.7	11.1	4.0	3.3
	F	25.6	36.4	17.6	10.0	6.4	4.0

Satisfaction with marriage and partners is generally high in both men and women. As many as about 85% of men and about 75% of women are very satisfied and satisfied with their marriage/cohabitation. Also, the vast majority would also choose again the same person (80% of men and about 70% of women). Good moments prevail in the marriages of both men and women, again more often in men than in women. In general, these answers show that women are more dissatisfied with their marriages than men, which may be associated with a lower level of satisfaction due to the division of housework, violence and other factors that have not been specifically examined here (for example, partners' earnings, alcoholism etc.).

I am very satisfied with my marriage/cohabitation		Fully disagree	Mainly disagree	Neither agree no disagree	Mainly agree	Fully agree	Don't know/no answer
18-24	M	0.0	25.0	0.0	50.0	25.0	0.0
	F	0.0	0.0	11.1	77.8	11.1	0.0
25-30	M	0.0	0.0	14.3	28.6	57.1	0.0
	F	0.0	4.5	9.1	40.9	45.5	0.0
31-40	M	2.2	2.2	5.1	36.8	50.0	3.7
	F	1.4	10.0	7.1	38.6	38.6	4.3
41-50	M	0.6	5.8	8.7	40.7	40.7	3.5
	F	1.3	8.0	16.0	37.3	32.0	5.3
51-60	M	1.4	2.4	7.7	48.8	36.8	2.9
	F	4.1	10.8	12.2	45.9	24.3	2.7

Observed by age, the most satisfied with marriage are women 25-30 years old, and the least satisfied are the ones 41-50 years of age. The oldest men are somewhat less satisfied with their marriage compared to other men from the sample.

I am very satisfied with my marriage/cohabitation		Fully disagree	Mainly disagree	Neither agree no disagree	Mainly agree	Fully agree	Don't know/no answer
Primary or lower education	M	0.0	6.7	6.7	40.0	33.3	13.3
	F	3.1	15.6	3.1	56.3	18.8	3.1
Secondary education	M	1.0	3.4	8.1	44.6	39.6	3.1
	F	2.8	9.8	11.9	42.0	28.0	5.6
Tertiary education	M	2.2	2.9	6.5	36.2	51.4	0.7
	F	0.0	4.0	14.7	36.0	45.3	0.0

In terms of education, the most dissatisfied with their marriage are the least educated women, who in almost one-fifth of cases do not agree with the positive statements about marriage. On the other hand, the most educated men and women are most satisfied with their marriage.

To which extent do you agree with the following statements on divorce:		Fully disagree	Mainly disagree	Neither agree no disagree	Mainly agree	Fully agree	Don't know/no answer
The rise in divorce rates leads to the collapse of our society	M	3.8	6.1	19.8	29.0	30.5	10.8
	F	6.9	7.8	16.5	28.3	29.3	11.3
Women and men should share equally all responsibilities regarding children after divorce	M	0.6	2.6	9.9	33.2	48.0	5.7
	F	0.9	2.4	6.5	30.2	54.8	5.2
Men who do not pay child support should be severely punished	M	0.9	3.4	10.5	31.5	48.2	5.5
	F	0.6	2.0	5.4	25.2	62.4	4.4
Women who do not allow fathers to see their children regularly should be punished	M	0.5	3.3	11.3	33.7	44.9	6.3
	F	1.3	5.0	10.6	32.2	45.9	5.0
Violent men should not be allowed to have custody of children after divorce	M	1.2	2.7	9.2	26.0	54.6	6.2
	F	0.6	2.8	5.0	17.2	68.5	5.9
Women and children should be better protected from violent men/fathers after divorce	M	0.5	2.0	7.6	29.9	53.7	6.3
	F	0.2	1.9	5.9	18.5	68.9	4.6
If I could afford it, I would divorce	M	33.5	9.2	9.7	6.6	4.8	36.2
	F	23.7	9.1	11.5	9.1	10.4	36.3

In line with the high level of satisfaction with marriage/cohabitation, a small number of these respondents would divorce if they could afford it. In fact, only one in ten men and one in five women from the sample mainly or fully agree with this view. Fewer men than women think that parents should assume equal responsibility for children after divorce, that men who do not pay child support should be punished and that violent men should not be allowed custody of children. It is obvious that men express solidarity with other men and that behind such responses there is a widespread belief that it is necessary to "defend men from too many women's rights". There are also differences in the men's and women's views of whether women and children should be protected from violent men after divorce, where more women are in favour of such protection. As many as four-fifths of men agree with the statement that after divorce both parents should assume equal responsibility in raising their children, and almost the same share of men believe that women who do not allow men to see their children after divorce should be punished.

PARENTIN

08

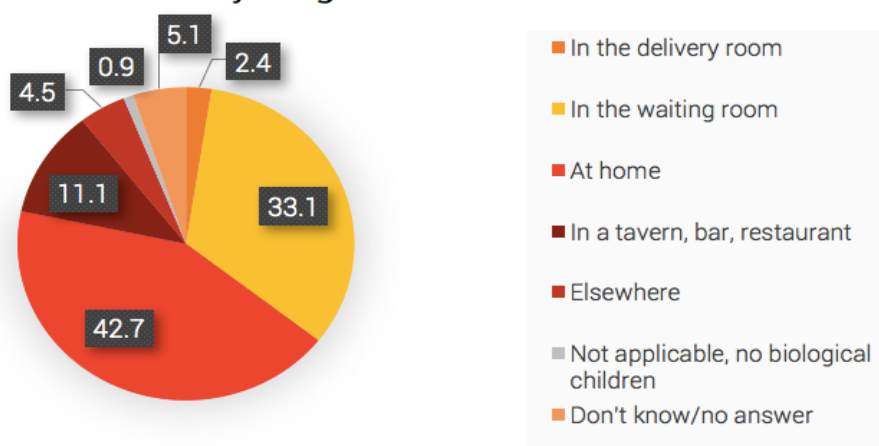
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PARENTING

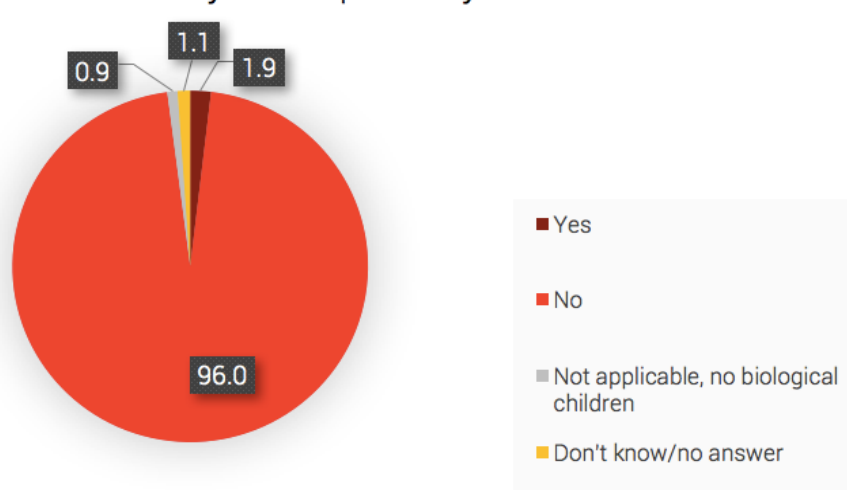
Only a very small percentage of men attend the birth of their child (2.4%). The largest number of future fathers wait for the result of pregnancy at home or in the waiting room of the maternity ward. It is fully consistent with the data showing the extent to which men take leave to raise a young child. Only one in 50 men takes parental leave for raising children. However, in the situation of really high unemployment of both women and men, these data should not be interpreted as the remains of the "patriarchal reflex", but primarily as a result of rational choice in an environment where the individual choice is increasingly less possible due to the actual narrowing of employees' rights and generally high unemployment rates.

Younger men were more often in the waiting rooms, while older men were more often at home. Also, four-fifths of men state that they accompanied their partners to medical controls during pregnancy (some or all). The age of respondents and their willingness to go to controls is inversely proportional. Thus, almost nine-tenths of 25-30-year-old men went to controls, while the share of the oldest men who went was about seven-tenths. The younger men often went to "all" controls, while the older ones went to "some controls".

Where were you at the time of birth of your youngest child?



Did you use paternity leave?



To which extent do you agree with the following statements:		Fully disagree	Disagree	Agree	Fully agree	Don't know/no answer
I'd like to be able to spend more time with my child/children or that I could have spent more time with them in the past (if they have grown up)	M	0.4	5.6	48.8	40.7	4.5
	F	1.5	8.1	35.8	47.2	7.4
My primary parental role is (was) to earn enough money for my children	M	2.8	11.9	42.6	38.4	4.3
	F	5.5	33.9	29.2	21.8	9.6
If my spouse (had) earned enough, I would be (have been) glad to stay at home and take care of children	M	22.6	29.2	22.2	12.2	13.7
	F	11.1	19.6	27.7	23.2	18.5

However, this relatively slow "involvement" into a paternal role does not mean that men do not have any interest or motivation to participate in parenting. On the contrary, data show that nearly nine-tenths of men agree with the statement that they want or wanted to spend more time with their children while they are/were young. Interestingly, this desire is even stronger than their agreement with the statement that their primary role is to earn enough money for their children. As many as one-third of men would leave their jobs to take care of children, if their wives earned enough money. Four-fifths of men agree with the statement that their primary role is to earn enough money for their children. However, about half of women think the same about themselves, which confirms the continuity of the prevalent pattern of women's employment and economic independence developed in the period of socialism. And yet, repatriarchalisation is also present, and women more often than men declare that they would stay at home and would not work if their husband earned enough.

I'd like to be able to spend more time with my child/children or that I could have spent more time with them in the past (if they have grown up)		Fully disagree	Disagree	Agree	Fully agree	Don't know/no answer
18-24	M	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0
	F	20.0	0.0	40.0	20.0	20.0
25-30	M	0.0	0.0	41.2	52.9	5.9
	F	0.0	11.1	50.0	27.8	11.1
31-40	M	0.9	7.3	37.3	50.0	4.5
	F	1.3	9.3	33.3	49.3	6.7
41-50	M	0.0	3.9	57.3	35.4	3.4
	F	1.2	8.3	35.7	47.6	7.1
51-60	M	0.4	6.7	48.4	39.1	5.3
	F	1.1	6.7	34.8	50.6	6.7

Although the tendency to spend time with children is very pronounced, it is even more pronounced in younger men and women. It is interesting that even more 25-30-year-old men than women agree with this statement, which confirms that gender identities are somehow evolving not only towards mutual approximation, but also towards some kind of complementarity, even reciprocity, which establishes different priorities for women and men.

I'd like to be able to spend more time with my child/children or that I could have spent more time with them in the past (if they have grown up)		Fully disagree	Disagree	Agree	Fully agree	Don't know/no answer
Primary or lower education	M	3.0	3.0	42.4	45.5	6.1
	F	3.1	15.6	37.5	34.4	9.4
Secondary education	M	0.0	5.6	50.9	38.4	5.1
	F	0.6	9.1	36.4	44.8	9.1
Tertiary education	M	0.8	6.5	43.9	46.3	2.4
	F	2.7	2.7	33.8	58.1	2.7

As far as education is concerned, women with the lowest level of education state that they would like to spend more time with their children more rarely than women with the highest level of education. These differences are the logical consequence of the different types of occupation that are related to education, and also of different motivations. The lower level of education is most often associated with the jobs performed exclusively because of economic necessity rather than the need for self-actualisation. In the case of men, these differences in education are not pronounced to that extent, precisely because the "primary role" of the so-called breadwinners is not questioned, primarily at the level of consciousness or attitudes.

Who in your family carries out the following activities related to children, or if your children have grown, who did it earlier?		I always do or did it	I usually do or did it	We do (did) it equally or together	Usually my spouse or partner	Always my spouse or partner	Don't know/no answer
Playing with children at home	M	1.3	6.4	57.4	24.3	8.3	2.3
	F	13.3	29.2	47.2	6.3	2.2	1.8
Cooking and preparing food for children	M	1.1	2.8	11.7	37.1	46.0	1.3
	F	42.4	33.9	15.1	4.1	2.2	2.2
Changing children's diapers or clothes	M	0.6	2.1	16.6	38.6	40.1	2.1
	F	42.8	35.4	12.9	4.4	2.2	2.2
Bathing children	M	1.3	3.0	28.6	28.4	36.7	1.9
	F	36.5	32.5	23.6	4.4	0.7	2.2
Talking with children about personal matters	M	1.5	4.5	55.9	20.5	13.0	4.5
	F	18.1	31.4	42.4	4.1	2.2	1.8
Physical exercises and playing outdoors	M	5.3	23.7	42.6	15.4	7.5	5.5
	F	15.5	21.0	39.9	16.6	3.3	3.7
Helping with homework	M	1.7	7.3	36.9	31.8	12.4	9.8
	F	22.1	28.4	27.7	11.1	2.6	8.1
Attending parent-teacher meetings	M	2.3	8.3	36.5	32.0	11.7	9.2
	F	24.4	29.2	30.6	7.4	1.5	7.0

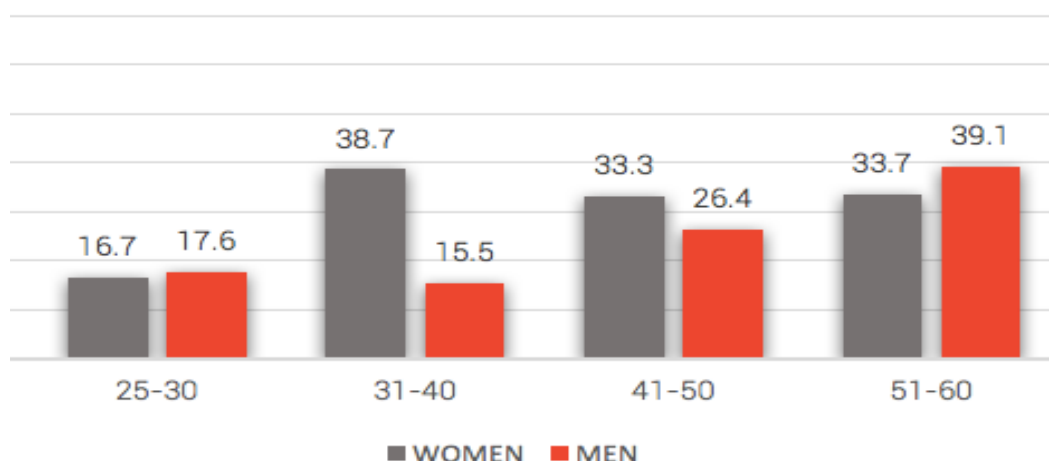
Most often, both parents are jointly engaged in various child-related activities, which is consistent with some previous studies (Gender Barometer, Blagojević Hjuson, 2013). However, there are also a lot of answers showing that women are the ones who perform a large part of activities alone or mainly. Women usually prepare meals for children, change diapers and give children a bath. The only activity that fathers perform or performed more than mothers was related to physical exercises and playing with children outdoors.

What do you think about corporal punishment of children? I think it is unacceptable.		Fully disagree	Mainly disagree	Neither agree no disagree	Mainly agree	Fully agree	Don't know/no answer
18-24	M	5.1	6.9	13.7	29.1	37.1	8.0
	F	1.7	10.0	8.3	29.2	42.5	8.3
25-30	M	6.7	6.7	17.2	23.3	29.4	16.6
	F	3.4	9.1	17.0	29.5	30.7	10.2
31-40	M	7.0	14.8	13.2	31.3	28.8	4.9
	F	3.1	12.3	23.1	24.6	30.8	6.2
41-50	M	6.8	16.9	24.7	23.7	21.9	5.9
	F	4.0	16.0	19.0	20.0	34.0	7.0
51-60	M	5.4	15.4	28.1	24.2	23.5	3.5
	F	10.8	14.7	23.5	22.5	23.5	4.9

Corporal punishment of children is widely accepted in the population. Every fourth 51-60-year-old woman and every fifth man of that age disagree with the condemnation of corporal punishment of children. Two-thirds of the youngest men and over 70% of the youngest women mainly or fully agree that corporal punishment of children is unacceptable, but such a level of disapproval is generally lower in older generations. It is important to keep in mind that older generations have more concrete experience with children, including the punishing of children, than younger generations. Hence, their more positive attitude towards corporal punishment of children can also be a kind of rationalisation of their own previously applied "educational methods".

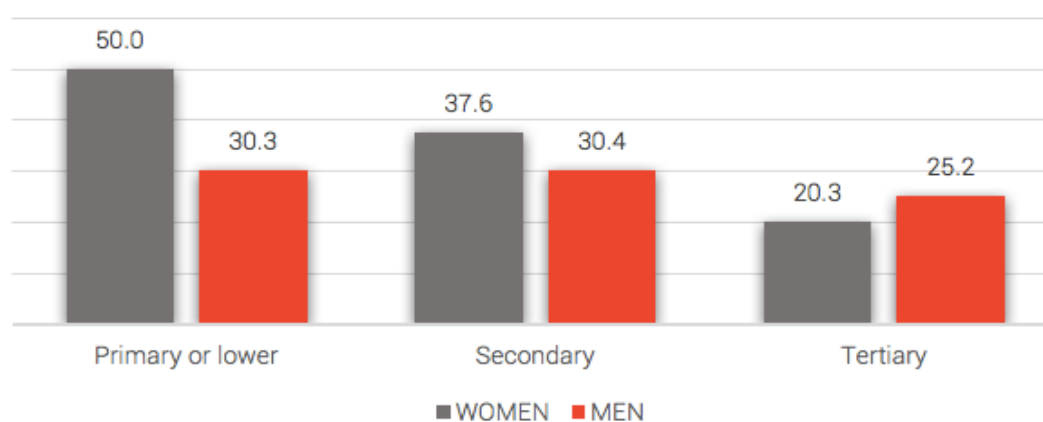
What do you think about corporal punishment of children? I think it is unacceptable.		Fully disagree	Mainly disagree	Neither agree no disagree	Mainly agree	Fully agree	Don't know/no answer
Primary or lower education	M	7.5	11.9	17.9	19.4	35.8	7.5
	F	1.8	10.9	27.3	21.8	32.7	5.5
Secondary education	M	6.1	13.3	20.6	27.0	25.5	7.6
	F	4.4	13.6	17.1	26.0	29.8	9.1
Tertiary education	M	6.2	11.6	18.2	26.7	32.0	5.3
	F	5.5	10.3	17.1	24.7	39.0	3.4

"YES" answers to question "Have you corporally punished your child/children?" by age



51-60-year-old men punished their children more often, including as many as two-fifths of 51-60-year-old ones. On the other hand, 31-40-year-old women corporally punished their children most often - nearly two-fifths of them.

"YES" answers to question "Have you corporally punished your child/children?" by education



Overall, the increase in education in both women and men has an impact on the reduction of corporal punishment of children. Education had more influence in women than in men.

SEXUALITY
SEX WORK
TRANSACTIONAL

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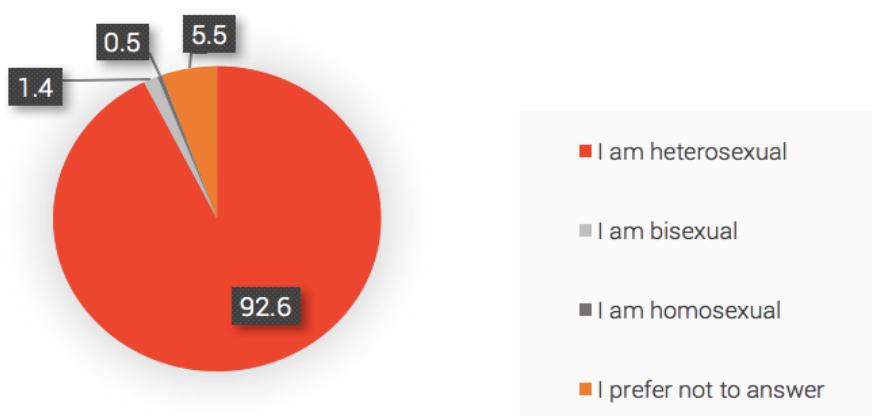
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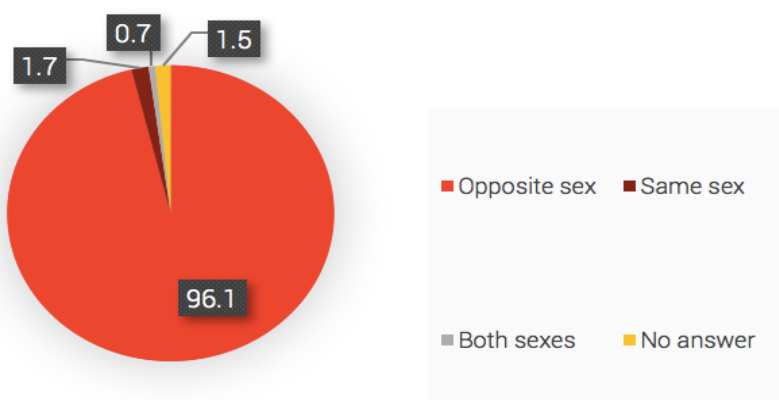
SEXUALITY, SEX WORK AND TRANSACTIONAL SEX

Over 90% of men and women identify themselves as heterosexual (92.6%). Men preferred not to answer more often than women, and more rarely declared themselves to be homosexual.

How would you define your sexual orientation?
MEN

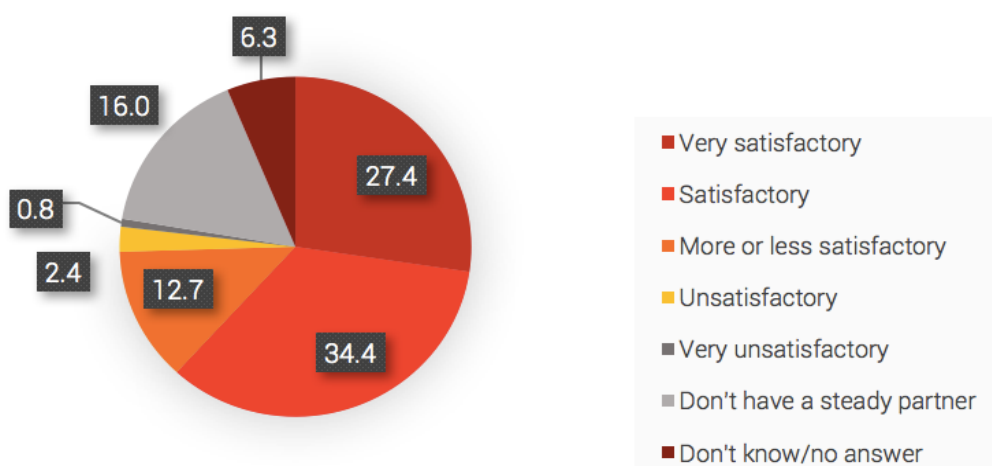


Which sex are you attracted to?
MEN



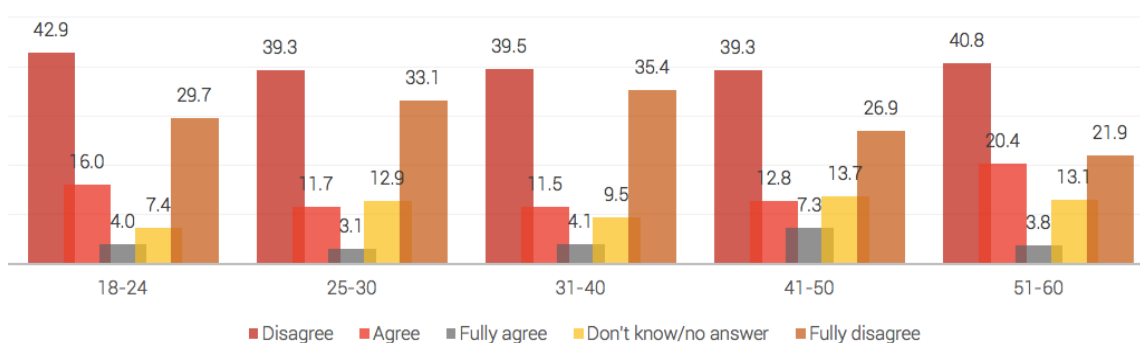
Similarly to the answers related to (actualised) sexuality, the answers related to sexual attraction show almost identical distribution, in case of both men and women. Women more often state that they are attracted to women than men state they are attracted to men, probably because male homosexuality is a bigger taboo than female homosexuality.

How would you describe sexual relationship with your current partner? MEN



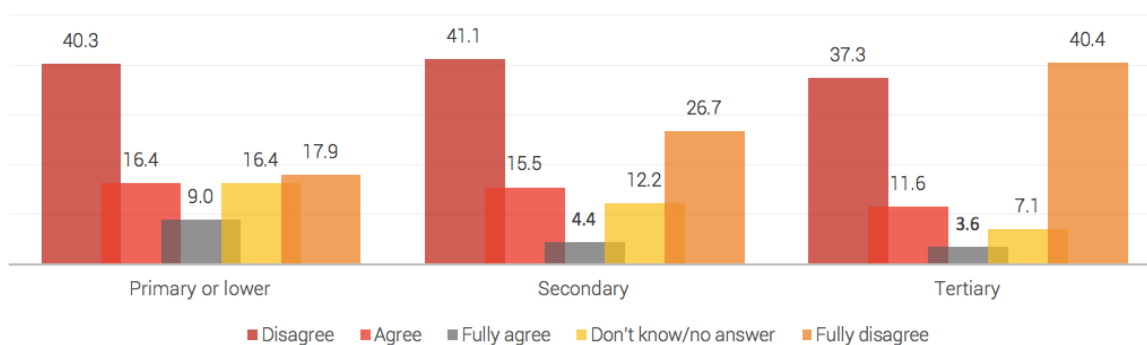
More than half of both men and women are satisfied or very satisfied with their sexual relations with their current partners. Women do not have a steady partner more often than men. Nearly one-fourth of 18-24-year-old men do not have a steady partner. Men with the highest level of education are most satisfied with their sexual relations.

I would be angry/offended if my wife or girlfriend asked me to use a condom/age groups



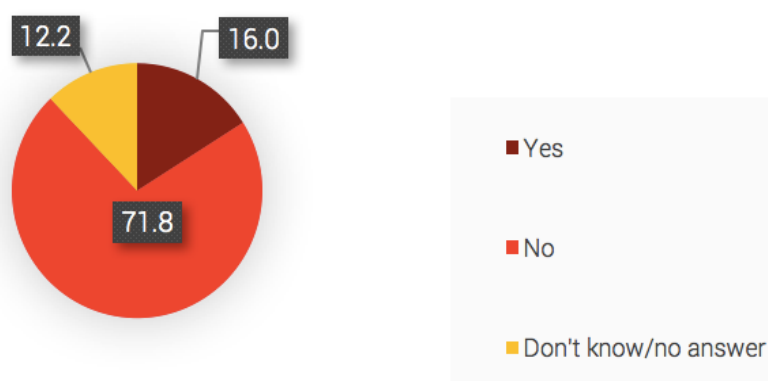
Surveying the attitude towards the use of condoms shows that there is still a relatively high resistance in men. In the youngest generation surveyed, every fifth man agrees with the statement that he would feel offended if his partner asked him to use a condom. Negative attitudes are expressed least frequently by 25-30-year-old men. However, on the other hand, over 70% of men in all age groups would neither feel offended nor angry if their partner asked them to use a condom.

I would be angry/offended if my wife or girlfriend asked me to use a condom/education



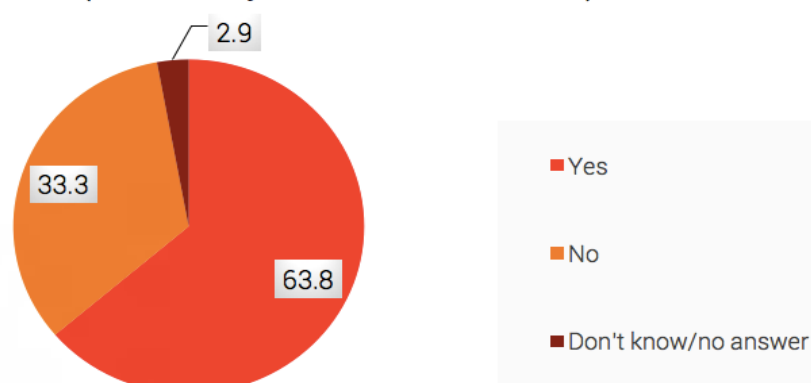
More educated men accept the use of condoms easier than less educated ones. Thus, four-fifths of men with the highest education would not feel offended if the partner asked them to use a condom, unlike three-fifths of men with the lowest education.

Did any of your partners have an abortion?



25.6% of women from the sample had an abortion. However, men report that their partners had an abortion in 16% of cases, which is less than reported by women. This is an indirect confirmation that not all men are informed about the conception of their partners. Particularly interesting is the fact that in the vast majority of cases male partners also participated in making a decision on undergoing an abortion, and in only one-third of cases woman made such a decision on their own. This information should be seen in the context of "witch hunting", which is often used to blame women for abortion, for which they cannot be held solely responsible, either with respect to conception or, as can be seen, with respect to the decision itself.

Did your male partner take part in your decision to undergo an abortion? (refers only to the last abortion)

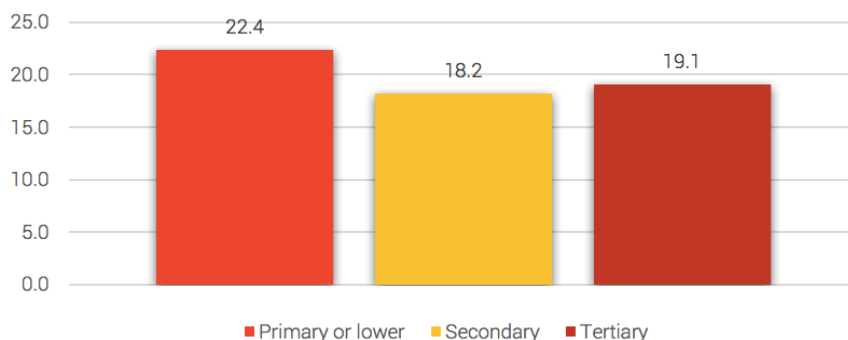


Homosexuality

		Fully disagree	Disagree	Agree	Fully agree	Don't know/no answer
I feel uncomfortable in the company of homosexual men	M	5.8	24.4	32.9	24.0	12.8
	F	17.0	37.0	21.0	11.4	13.6
Homosexuality is natural and normal	M	28.6	34.1	16.1	6.8	14.4
	F	16.4	33.0	24.6	10.2	15.8
Homosexual men should not be allowed to work with children	M	4.0	16.2	31.9	34.2	13.7
	F	8.2	21.8	29.4	21.4	19.2
Homosexual men should not be allowed to adopt children	M	2.2	8.8	34.7	42.8	11.5
	F	4.4	15.4	32.6	31.0	16.6
Homosexual couples should be allowed to marry just like heterosexual couples	M	26.2	24.6	19.6	12.8	16.8
	F	15.0	23.2	29.2	14.8	17.8
I would be ashamed to have a son who is homosexual	M	2.1	12.7	29.0	30.4	25.7
	F	5.4	18.6	27.6	17.8	30.6
If I had a transgender child, I would seek professional help	M	4.0	8.0	27.9	28.6	31.5
	F	2.0	8.6	35.4	27.6	26.4

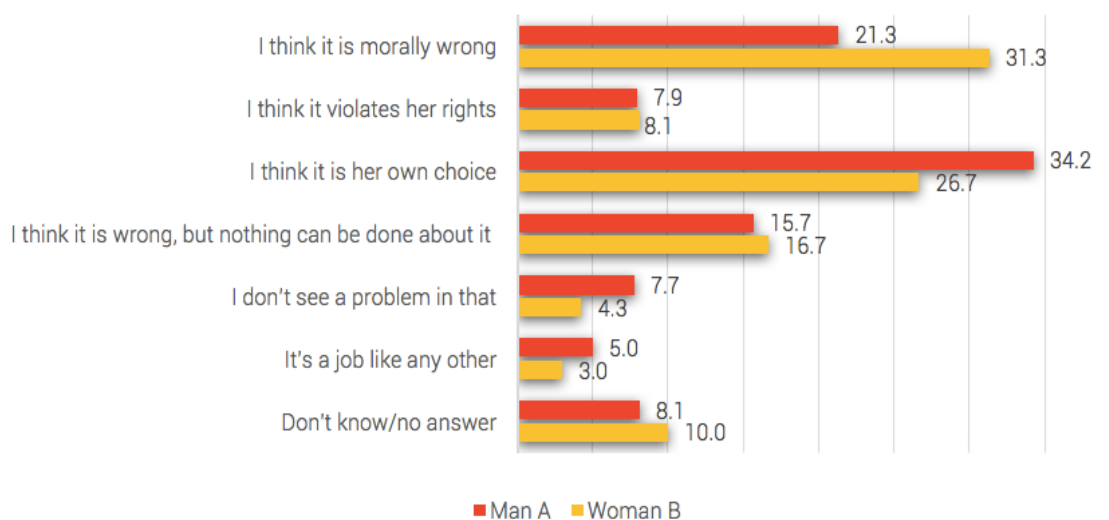
The surveyed attitudes towards homosexuality show some interesting differences between women and men. For example, men far more often than women say that they feel uncomfortable in the company of homosexual men. Women more often than men agree that "homosexuality is natural and normal". Men are also more often against the adoption of children by homosexuals, and against homosexual marriages. Women would more easily accept having a homosexual son than men. In the event that the child is transgender, 56.5% of men and 63.0% of women would seek professional help.

"YES" answers to question "Have you ever had a sexual intercourse with a "prostitute"⁹ or a sexual service provider?" by education



Almost every fifth man had sex with a sex worker⁹ (18.7%). Less than 1% of men (0.8%) had sex with a man who provided sexual services. There is no connection between the use of sex workers' services and the education of men.

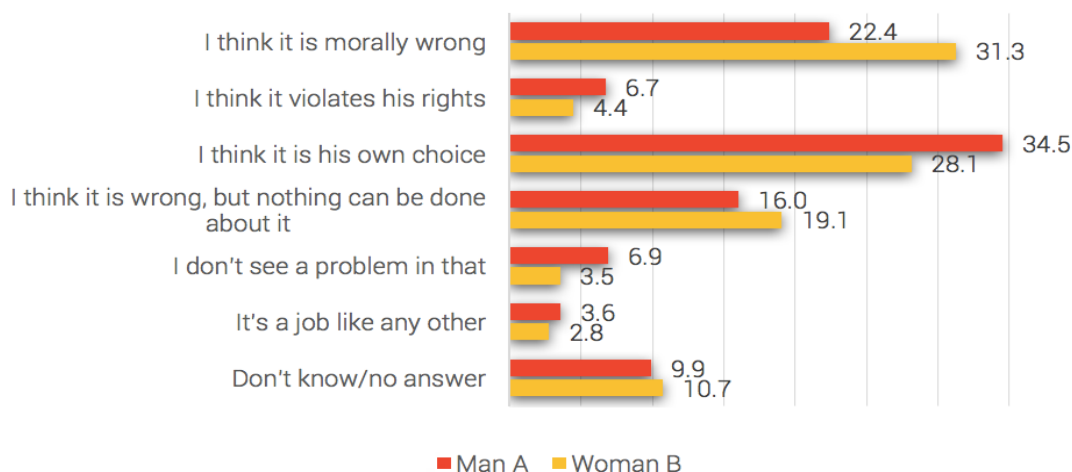
What do you think about an adult woman who works as a "prostitute" or provides sexual services?



Attitudes about sex work are very diverse. However, there are two dominant attitudes: "I think it's morally wrong" and "I think it's her own choice". These attitudes, being dominant, reflect well the hybrid nature of the value system in which the population of Serbia lives. However, it is especially interesting that more than one-third of men consider it to be "their own choice", which in fact legitimises the use of women and denies the deep patriarchal structure of power that forms the relations of buying and selling people and sex services.

⁹ The original question contained the term "prostitute", while the term "sex worker" was used in the interpretation. The question asked had to include a common term, that is, "prostitution", in order to avoid misunderstandings with respondents. The author argues that the "normalisation" of prostitution, as a specific social relation, by being referred to as "sex work" continues to be subject to serious feminist criticism. It is also important to understand that gender equality policies cannot be implemented simply by changing the term, but by removing the deep structural causes that "normalise" the sale of human body, including "sex work", that is, commercialisation and commodification of human body, while usually maintaining patriarchal hierarchies. In this text, the use of the term "prostitution" and "prostitute" is in no way intended to discriminate or negatively stereotype the women and men who sell their "services". The author's views do not coincide with the official UN position.

What do you think about an adult man who provides sexual services?



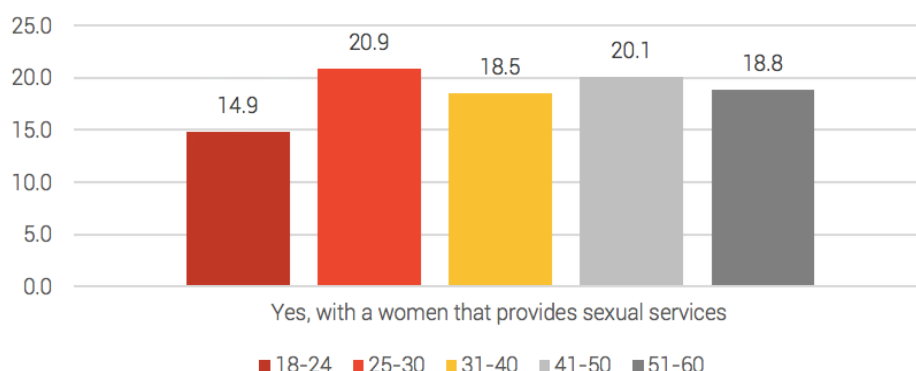
Interestingly, the attitudes about male sex workers are very similar to those about female sex workers. However, this does not mean that the attitude towards sex work is “gender neutral”, but that from the viewpoint of “ordinary people”, including potential users, there is no significant difference between men and women who offer sexual services. Anyhow, as regards both men and women involved in sex work, the “market” itself is deeply influenced by the patriarchal and neoliberal capitalist matrix of power, which implies the expansion of sexual exploitation, commodification of both women and men, and their sexuality, as a kind of legitimisation of such trends. Women are also in line with their gender role, but also with their position in the patriarchal society in which they compete for the resources possessed much more by men, and they are more prone to giving moralising answers.

What do you think about men who have sex with the “prostitutes” who are older than 18?



When it comes to the users of sexual services, most answers are a moral condemnation of such an act, but it is not the majority of all answers. A large number of both women and men answered “I don't know”. Also, the third most frequent answers are those normalising sex work, i.e. stating that it is normal at least once in a lifetime or if men are unmarried. There is no clear connection between the age and the use of sexual services.

"YES" answers to question "Have you ever had a sexual intercourse with a "prostitute" or a sexual service provider?" by age



A separate group of questions was asked to find out whether women provided sexual services to men in exchange for goods and services. Thus, 4.6% of women provided sexual services in exchange for means of subsistence, and 4.1% of them in exchange for a raise or employment. Although these percentages are not high, it can be assumed that this phenomenon has been increasing due to a whole range of contributive factors (poverty, liberalisation of prostitution, strengthening of pornography, media promotion of transactional sex), and therefore requires a more thorough research.

Have you ever had sex with a man for any of the reasons specified below:	Yes	No	Don't know/no answer
He provided you with the means of subsistence	4.6	94.4	0.9
He paid the costs of your education or housing	3.3	95.0	1.7
He provided you with a job or salary raise	4.1	94.3	1.7
He provided you with accommodation, apartment	3.7	95.2	1.1
He provided you with branded clothing, a mobile phone, transportation, cosmetic products or money for cosmetic products	5.7	93.0	1.3
He provided you with stuff for children and family	4.4	94.4	1.1
He provided you with money for paying your bills	5.4	92.6	2.0
He provided you with anything that you were not able to provide by yourself	5.9	92.4	1.7
He did minor house and car repairs	3.1	95.4	1.5

PERPETRATORS
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PERPETRATION OF VIOLENCE AND VIOLENT VICTIMISATION IN THE LIVES OF ADULT MEN

The answers to the questions about the prevalence of various forms of partner violence show that the most common form of violence¹⁰ are insults and humiliation, committed by nearly one-third of men against their partners. In one-fourth of cases, men deliberately intimidated their partners. Slapping and throwing objects at the partner happened in one-fifth of cases. A very widespread form of violence is economic violence, in the form of prohibition to work. The least prevalent form of violence is the one that is physically most dangerous, i.e. inflicting physical injuries and threatening with weapons (93.2% of respondents answered "never").

Comparing the answers of women and men reveals that women are more likely to report violence than men, which could be expected.

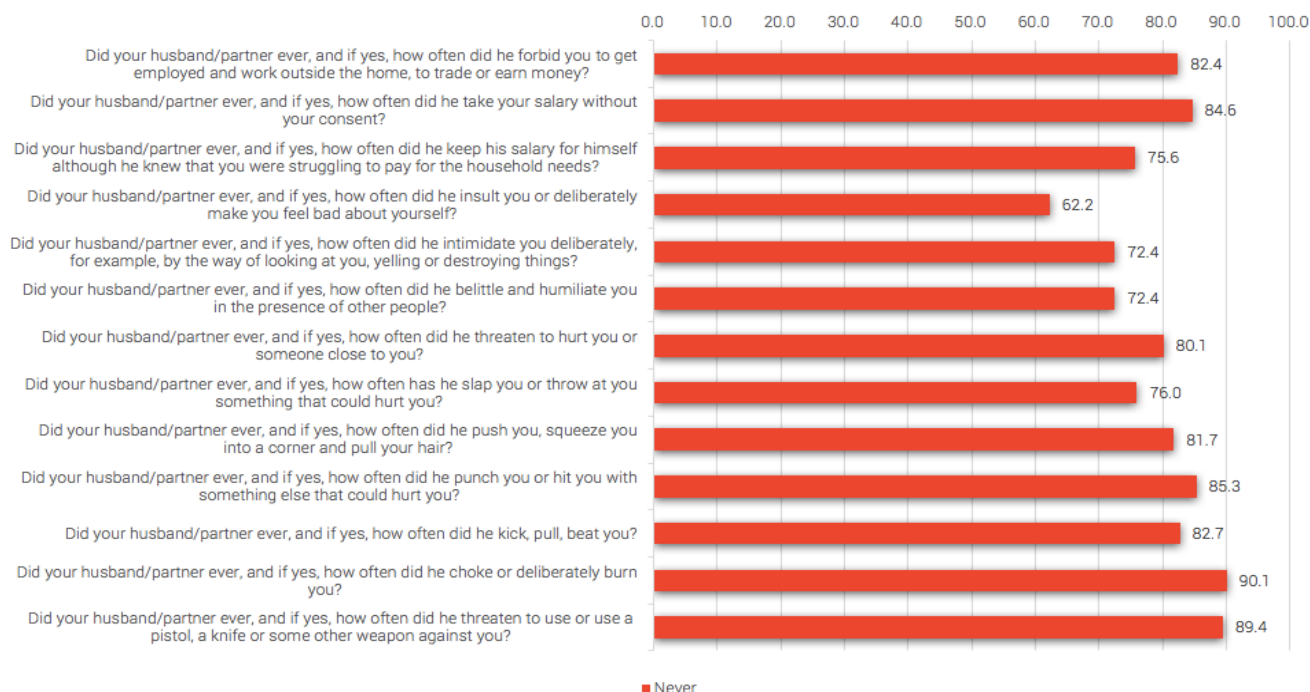
Did you...	Never	Once	Several times	Many times	Don't know/no answer
Did you, and if yes, how often did you forbid your wife/partner to get employed and work outside the home, to trade or earn money?	81.8	8.6	5.9	2.4	1.3
Did you, and if yes, how often did you take your wife's/partner's salary without her consent?	88.8	3.6	4.4	1.3	2.0
Did you, and if yes, how often did you keep your salary for yourself although you knew that your wife/partner was struggling to pay for the household needs?	79.3	4.6	8.8	4.1	3.3
Did you, and if yes, how often did you insult your wife/partner or deliberately make her feel bad about herself?	67.3	6.8	16.3	2.8	6.8
Did you, and if yes, how often did you intimidate your wife/partner deliberately, for example, by the way of looking at her, yelling or destroying things?	75.6	6.0	12.0	2.4	3.9
Did you, and if yes, how often did you belittle and humiliate your wife/partner in the presence of other people?	79.3	6.7	7.6	1.5	4.9
Did you, and if yes, how often did you threaten your wife/partner with hurting her or someone close to her?	83.6	6.5	5.0	0.8	4.1
Did you, and if yes, how often did you slap your partner or throw at her something that could hurt her?	80.2	8.0	5.7	2.1	4.1
Did you, and if yes, how often did you push your partner, squeeze her into a corner and pull her hair?	87.2	3.9	3.4	1.1	4.4
Did you, and if yes, how often did you punch your partner or hit her with something else that could hurt her?	89.4	3.9	2.6	1.1	2.9
Did you, and if yes, how often did you kick, pull, beat your partner?	88.3	3.4	3.4	1.1	3.7
Did you, and if yes, how often did you choke or deliberately burn your partner?	91.7	2.0	1.5	1.1	3.7
Did you, and if yes, how often did you threaten to use or use a pistol, a knife or some other weapon against your partner?	93.2	1.8	1.3	1.3	2.4

Did...	Never	Once	Several times	Many times	Don't know/no answer
Did your husband/partner ever, and if yes, how often did he forbid you to get employed and work outside the home, to trade or earn money?	82.4	6.4	6.7	2.6	1.9
Did your husband/partner ever, and if yes, how often did he take your salary without your consent?	84.6	4.5	7.1	1.9	1.9
Did your husband/partner ever, and if yes, how often did he keep his salary for himself although he knew that you were struggling to pay for the household needs?	75.6	4.8	9.3	7.7	2.6
Did your husband/partner ever, and if yes, how often did he insult you or deliberately make you feel bad about yourself?	62.2	8.0	17.9	7.7	4.2
Did your husband/partner ever, and if yes, how often did he intimidate you deliberately, for example, by the way of looking at you, yelling or destroying things?	72.4	5.4	11.2	8.7	2.2
Did your husband/partner ever, and if yes, how often did he belittle and humiliate you in the presence of other people?	72.4	5.8	13.1	5.4	3.2
Did your husband/partner ever, and if yes, how often did he threaten to hurt you or someone close to you?	80.1	4.5	7.7	4.2	3.5
Did your husband/partner ever, and if yes, how often has he slap you or throw at you something that could hurt you?	76.0	6.7	11.9	2.9	2.6
Did your husband/partner ever, and if yes, how often did he push you, squeeze you into a corner and pull your hair?	81.7	5.1	8.0	3.2	1.9
Did your husband/partner ever, and if yes, how often did he punch you or hit you with something else that could hurt you?	85.3	3.2	5.1	2.6	3.8
Did your husband/partner ever, and if yes, how often did he kick, pull, beat you?	82.7	6.4	5.1	2.9	2.9
Did your husband/partner ever, and if yes, how often did he choke or deliberately burn you?	90.1	3.5	2.2	1.0	3.2
Did your husband/partner ever, and if yes, how often did he threaten to use or use a pistol, a knife or some other weapon against you?	89.4	2.6	4.2	0.0	3.8

10 Only the men who stated that they were in an intimate partnership or marriage were asked this question (a total of 615 out of 1,060).

If we exclude the answers "never", it becomes clear to what extent there is no clear connection between the severity and the prevalence of a particular type of violence. In fact, one would expect that the mildest forms of violence are most prevalent, while the most serious forms are least prevalent. However, the most prevalent form of violence reported by women is insulting and humiliation (the husband has made her feel bad). This fact can be associated with a high level of misogyny that has been a constituent part of the local patriarchy over a long period of time (Blagojević, 1994), which is further enhanced by the "crisis of masculinity" (Hughson, 2017).

"NEVER" answers to "Did..." questions



If the prevalence of violence is calculated (by summing up all the answers related to any incidence of violence), which is the reverse side of "never", we get a clearer picture of the prevalence of violence and the relevant differences between women and men. However, we cannot conclude whether these are the same or different men on the basis of these data, which means that we can get a picture of the prevalence of violence, but not the share of abusers in the surveyed context with respect to severe forms of violence. In fact, it can be assumed that the perpetrators of more severe forms of violence committed also some milder forms of violence, but, as shown in the case of insulting, this connection is not so simple and clear. The respondents with higher levels of education answered "never" for all forms of violence more often than the less educated ones, but this connection was not statistically significant.

Those who answered that they committed some form of violence were asked whether they had committed some form of violence over the past 12 months¹¹. Over the past 12 months, every fifth man who has committed violence in the intimate partner relationship threatened his partner with a weapon, while one in four of these men insulted his partner.

11 At first glance, it is not logical that the incidence of violence over the past 12 months is higher than prevalence. However, only those who had confirmed to have committed the specified form of violence, at least once, were asked the question about the "past 12 months".

VIOLENCE men /prevalence/	YES %	YES % Over the past 12 months
1. Did you, and if yes, how often did you forbid your wife/partner to get employed and work outside the home, to trade or earn money?	16.9	25
2. Did you, and if yes, how often did you take your wife's/partner's salary without her consent?	9.3	22.8
3. Did you, and if yes, how often did you keep your salary for yourself although you knew that your wife/partner was struggling to pay for the household needs?	17.4	30.8
4. Did you, and if yes, how often did you insult your wife/partner or deliberately make her feel bad about herself?	25.9	28.9
5. Did you, and if yes, how often did you intimidate your wife/partner deliberately, for example, by the way of looking at her, yelling or destroying things?	20.5	27
6. Did you, and if yes, how often did you belittle and humiliate your wife/partner in the presence of other people?	15.8	26.8
7. Did you, and if yes, how often did you threaten your wife/partner with hurting her or someone close to her?	12.4	13.2
8. Did you, and if yes, how often did you slap your partner or throw at her something that could hurt her?	15.8	20.6
9. Did you, and if yes, how often did you push your partner, squeeze her into a corner and pull her hair?	8.5	17.3
10. Did you, and if yes, how often did you punch your partner or hit her with something else that could hurt her?	7.6	21.3
11. Did you, and if yes, how often did you kick, pull, beat your partner?:	8	32.7
12. Did you, and if yes, how often did you choke or deliberately burn your partner?	4.6	21.4
13. Did you, and if yes, how often did you threaten to use or use a pistol, a knife or some other weapon against your partner?	4.4	25.9

VIOLENCE women /prevalence/	YES %	YES % Over the past 12 months
Did your husband/partner ever, and if yes, how often did he forbid you to get employed and work outside the home, to trade or earn money?	15.7	18.4
Did your husband/partner ever, and if yes, how often did he take your salary without your consent?	13.5	23.8
Did your husband/partner ever, and if yes, how often did he keep his salary for himself although he knew that you were struggling to pay for the household needs?	21.8	23.5
Did your husband/partner ever, and if yes, how often did he insult you or deliberately make you feel bad about yourself?	33.7	33.3
Did your husband/partner ever, and if yes, how often did he intimidate you deliberately, for example, by the way of looking at you, yelling or destroying things?	25.3	34.2
Did your husband/partner ever, and if yes, how often did he belittle and humiliate you in the presence of other people?	24.4	28.9
Did your husband/partner ever, and if yes, how often did he threaten to hurt you or someone close to you?	16.3	17.6
Did your husband/partner ever, and if yes, how often has he slap you or throw at you something that could hurt you?	21.5	25.4
Did your husband/partner ever, and if yes, how often did he push you, squeeze you into a corner and pull your hair?	16.3	29.4
Did your husband/partner ever, and if yes, how often did he punch you or hit you with something else that could hurt you?	10.9	20.6
Did your husband/partner ever, and if yes, how often did he kick, pull, beat you?	14.4	24.4
Did your husband/partner ever, and if yes, how often did he choke or deliberately burn you?	6.7	19
Did your husband/partner ever, and if yes, how often did he threaten to use or use a pistol, a knife or	6.7	9.5

Partner violence over the past 12 months	MEN	%	WOMEN	%
Did you, over the past 12 months, forbid your wife/partner to get employed and work outside the home, to trade or earn money?	104	16.91	49	15.7
Did you, over the past 12 months, take your wife's/partner's salary without her consent?	57	9.27	42	13.5
Did you, over the past 12 months, keep your salary for yourself although you knew that your wife/partner was struggling to pay for the household needs?	107	17.40	68	21.8
Did you, over the past 12 months, insult your wife/partner or deliberately make her feel bad about herself?	159	25.85	105	33.7
Did you, over the past 12 months, intimidate your wife/partner deliberately, for example, by the way of looking at her, yelling or destroying things?	126	20.49	79	25.3
Did you, over the past 12 months, belittle and humiliate your wife/partner in the presence of other people?	97	15.77	76	24.4
Did you, over the past 12 months, threaten your wife/partner with hurting her or someone close to her?	76	12.36	51	16.3
Did you, over the past 12 months, slap your partner or throw at her something that could hurt her?	97	15.77	67	21.5
Did you, over the past 12 months, push your partner, squeeze her into a corner and pull her hair?	52	8.46	51	16.3
Did you, over the past 12 months, punch your partner or hit her with something else that could hurt her?	47	7.64	34	10.9
Did you, over the past 12 months, kick, pull, beat your partner?	49	7.97	45	14.4
Did you, over the past 12 months, choke or deliberately burn your partner?	28	4.55	21	6.7
Did you, over the past 12 months, threaten to use or use a pistol, a knife or some other weapon against your partner?	27	4.39	21	6.7

A special group of questions addressed the sexual intercourse that was not based on voluntary consent. About nine-tenths of men stated that they had not forced to sex any girl/woman (90.5%), while one in twenty men did it once (5.4%). The most common form of violence is related to the situation in which men have a sexual relationship with a woman or girl who is under the influence of alcohol and cannot clearly express her will. Every fiftieth man has participated in a group rape over the past 12 months. In general, about one-tenth of men in the sample have experience of forcing into sexual intercourse, under different circumstances and of different persons. There is no link between age and education on the one hand and forcing to sexual intercourse on the other hand.

Non-consensual sexual intercourse	Never	Once over the past 12 months	More than once over the past 12 months	Once, a year ago	More than once, more than a year ago	Don't know/no answer
Have you ever had sex with a woman or a girl without her consent or forcing her?	88.2	1.4	1.4	2.9	2.9	3.1
Have you ever had sex with a woman or a girl when she was too drunk to say if she wanted it or not?	83.5	5.2	1.4	3.3	4.1	2.5
Have you ever forced your present girlfriend or wife to have sex with you?	87.6	2.4	1.2	1.6	3.0	4.2
Have you ever forced your former girlfriend or former wife to have sex with you?	88.1	1.8	1.4	2.6	2.6	3.4
Have you ever forced a woman who was NOT your wife or girlfriend to have sex with you?	89.5	2.0	0.9	2.5	2.2	2.9
How many times have you and other men had a sexual intercourse at the same time with a woman or a girl who did not consent or was forced by you?	91.7	2.0	1.3	1.0	0.8	3.1
How many times have you and other men had a sexual intercourse at the same time with a woman who was too drunk to stop you?	90.8	2.1	1.1	1.5	1.0	3.4
Have you ever done something sexual with a young man or a man who did not consent to sex or was forced by you?	93.1	1.4	0.8	1.5	0.6	2.6

Have you personally experienced any of the following forms of violence outside of your home over the past three months?		Yes	No	Don't know/no answer
You were intentionally knocked or hit	M	12.7	86.6	0.7
	F	8.7	89.1	2.2
You were threatened with a knife or other cold weapon	M	4.3	93.5	2.2
	F	1.9	95.9	2.2
You were threatened with a gun	M	2.0	96.5	1.5
	F	1.1	96.5	2.4
Other:	M	4.4	92.8	2.7
	F	4.3	92.2	3.5

If violence is viewed as a whole, i.e. as violence to which both men and women have been exposed over the past 3 months, it is evident that men are more often victims or attacked, primarily because of violence in the public sphere. Thus, every eighth man was hit over the past 3 months; every twenty-fifth man was threatened with a cold weapon, while every fiftieth man was threatened with a pistol. As many as 22.3% of the youngest men (18-24 years old) were hit over the past three months, as well as 26.9% of man with the lowest level of education.

Regarding the law regulating violence against women, men mainly believe that this "law makes it too easy for a woman to accuse a man of violence" (39.5%). In 30.8% of cases men disagree with the statement that the law is too severe, as opposed to 50.0% of women. 43.2% of men, and as many as 59.4% of women, consider that the law does not sufficiently protect victims of violence. Overall, there are differences between women and men based on gender solidarity.

What do you think about the law that regulates violence against women?		Disagree	Neither agree no disagree	Agree	Don't know/no answer
It makes it too easy for a woman to accuse a man of violence	M	18.2	24.6	39.5	17.6
	F	34.8	26.9	23.9	14.4
The law is too strict	M	30.8	29.3	19.7	20.1
	F	50.0	21.9	12.0	16.1
It does not protect enough the victims of violence	M	11.5	25.8	43.2	19.4
	F	7.0	19.6	59.4	13.9

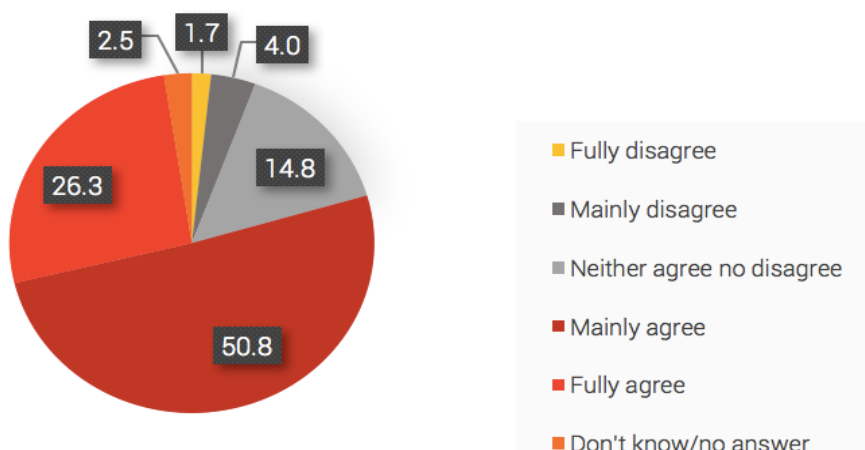
HEALTH

11

HEALTH

Over three-fourths of men, as well as women, are satisfied with their physical and mental health. There are minimum differences regarding the engagement in physical activities that help maintain good health (slightly more men than women are engaged in such activities). In men, as expected, satisfaction decreases with age and is less in lower educated men than in higher educated ones.

I am satisfied with my physical and mental health



Attitudes towards the body		Fully disagree	Mainly disagree	Neither agree no disagree	Mainly agree	Fully agree	Don't know/no answer
I am satisfied with my physical and mental health	M	1.7	4.0	14.8	50.8	26.3	2.5
	F	0.9	8.3	12.6	48.0	27.4	2.8
I'm engaged in regular physical activity (exercise) to keep myself fit and healthy	M	7.4	19.1	20.4	34.6	15.8	2.8
	F	10.4	21.3	20.7	34.4	11.5	1.7
I take care to eat healthy	M	5.6	21.3	30.8	28.3	11.0	3.0
	F	4.8	15.6	26.5	38.9	12.8	1.5
I have a good sex life	M	4.1	8.8	17.5	41.4	20.8	7.5
	F	7.8	9.3	17.2	34.4	18.3	13.0
Sometimes I feel depressed and lost	M	19.7	28.7	25.1	17.5	3.4	5.7
	F	13.0	25.4	22.6	30.4	4.1	4.6
I am often stressed, anxious and nervous	M	18.8	26.5	28.9	16.9	4.0	5.0
	F	14.4	23.5	24.8	28.1	4.8	4.3

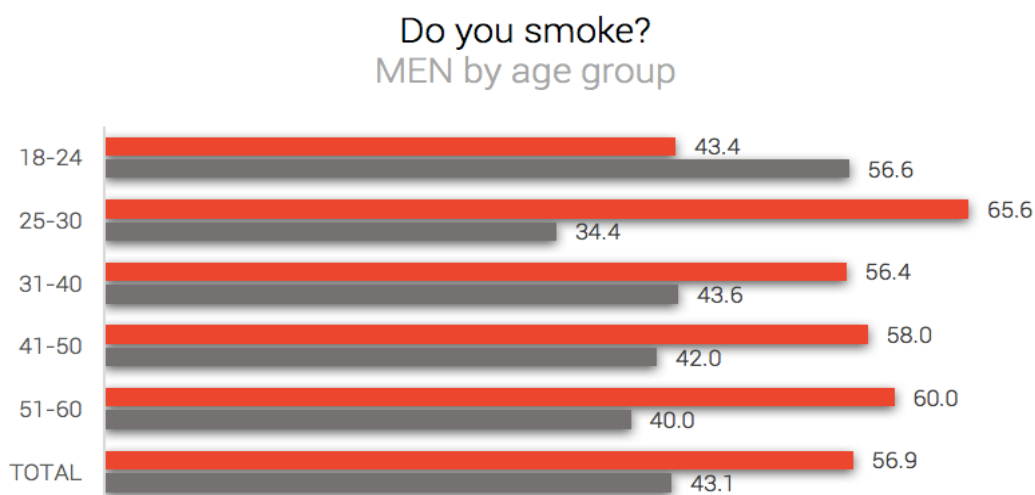
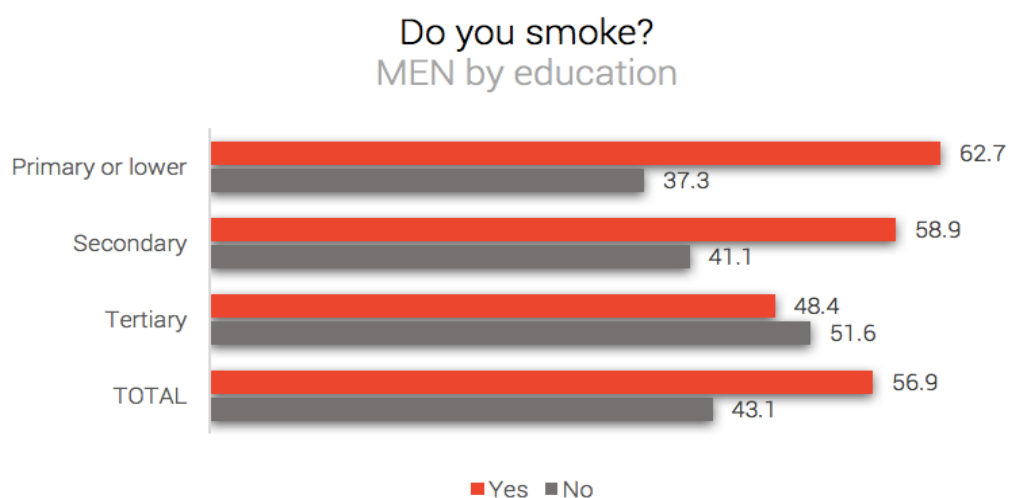
Younger men engage in much more physical activity than men over 40 years of age. While four-fifths of the youngest men engage in regular physical activity (79.4 agree or fully agree), only 29.3% of 51-60-year-old men have regular physical activity. Since a relatively small number of answers included healthy diet, it is evident that there is a plenty of room for improvements in this domain in terms of prevention. Approximately one-fifth of men sometimes feel depressed and lost, and this issue could be worked on in the future. Also, one-fifth of respondents are under stress or feel nervous and anxious. About one-fourth of men would like to lose weight and nearly half of them would like to have a muscular body, which is particularly pronounced in young men.

Men sustained injuries in 8.9% of cases, including as a result of violence - 1.8%, traffic or some other accident - 3.6% and disease - 3.5%. As many as 3.4% of the youngest men (18-24 years old) sustained injuries due to violence as opposed to 0.8% of the oldest men. As regards stress, anxiety and nervousness, women more often present them as a problem (about one-third of women fully or mainly agree) than men (one-fifth).

Asked about the last time they sought help in a health care institution, 16.3% of men answered that they had sought help in the past three months, 32.2% in the last year and 22.9% in the last two years. 27.1% of men over 40 and 37.3% of men over 51 years of age went to prostate examination. The incidence of visiting a doctor for this purpose grows with the level of education. 12.3% of men from the sample got tested for HIV, mainly those 25-40 years of age. Every fifth man with the highest level of education was tested for HIV. Every fourth man uses traditional and alternative medicine to improve his health. As many as 40.4% of men over the age of 51 use such methods. The more educated are somewhat more inclined to use these methods than the less educated, but the differences are minimal.

When men have a problem, they seek help less often than women. As many as 31.6% of men do not seek help from anyone, while the percentage of women with that answer is 20.6%. However, when they do seek help, they usually address their spouse/ female or male partner. Women, however, seek help more often and turn to friends, parents, and siblings more often. In other words, women have a more developed support network than men, which probably contributes to the fact that they seek help more often. Men have a lower level of "emotional literacy" in the patriarchal culture, and also of self-understanding, which makes it less likely for them not only to recognise the existence of a problem in front of others, but also to turn to others for help. Moreover, these data show that men are more dependent on good relationships with their partner, precisely because their support network is actually less developed.

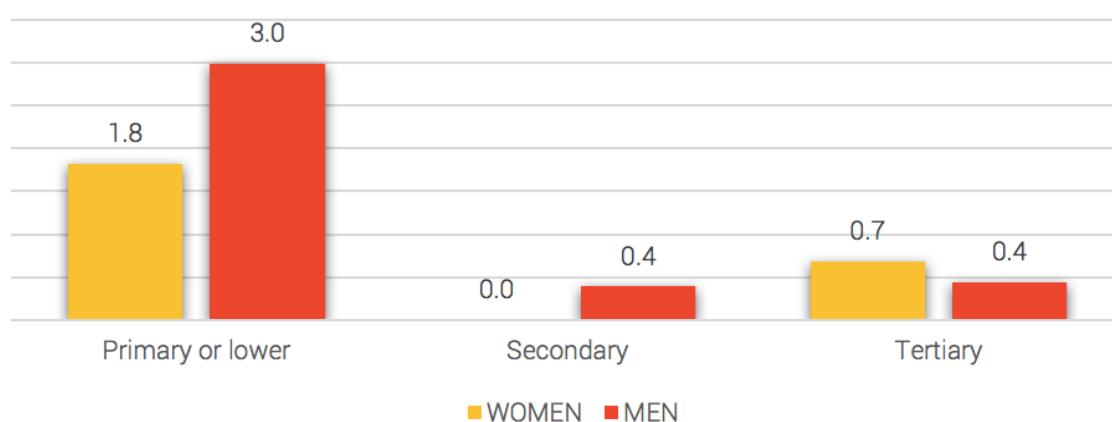
A total of 43.1% of men do not smoke, while 13.2% of them (compared to 38.1% of women) "never" drink alcohol. It is especially encouraging that the youngest men (18-24) smoke less than older ones, and that more of them "never" consume alcohol. When it comes to getting drunk (5 or more alcoholic beverages on one occasion), 31.2% of men "never" do that, while 40.5% of them do it "less than once a month". 1.5% of men (and 0.4% of women) do it "every day or almost every day".

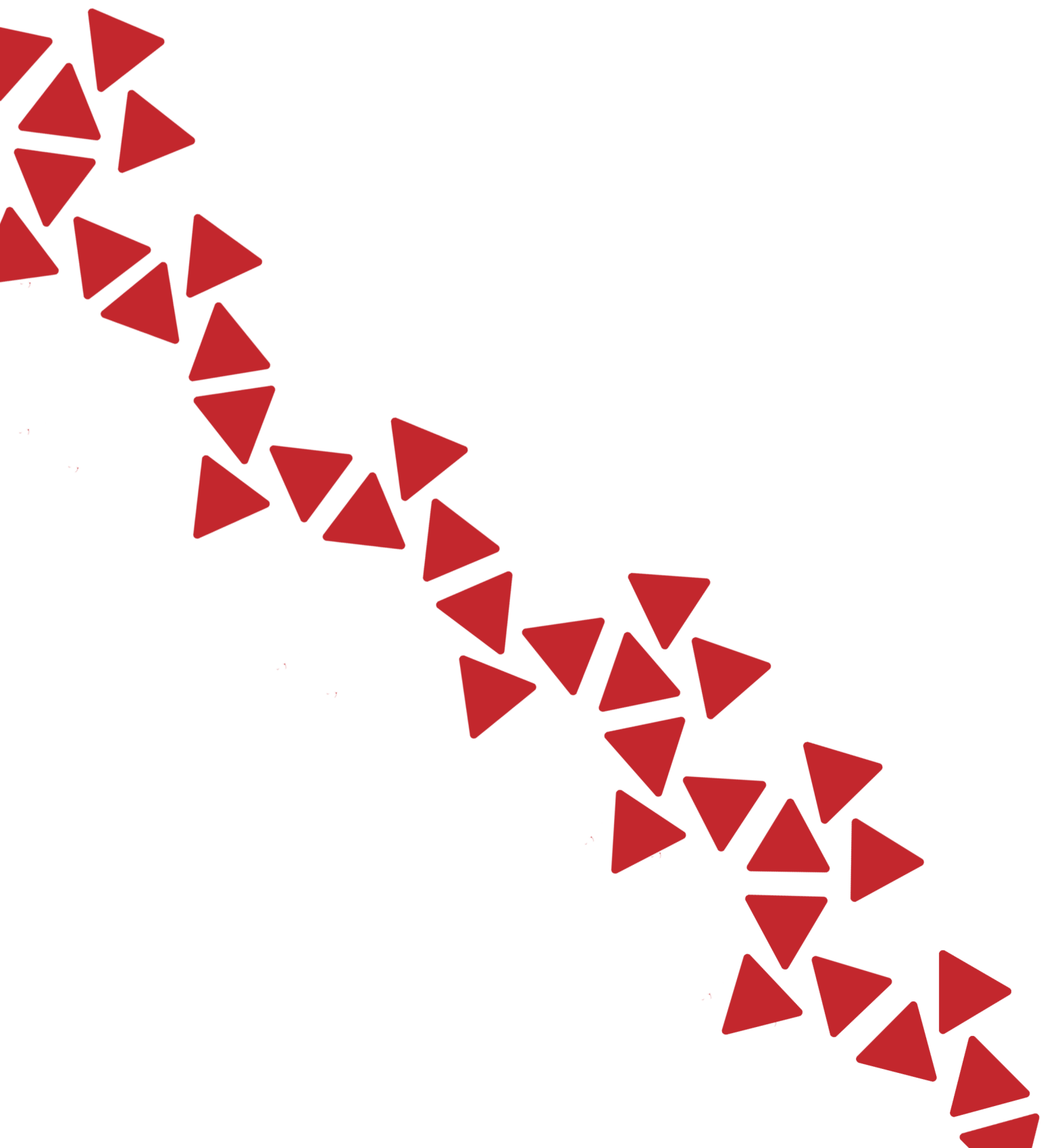


Drugs were used most often by 25-30-year-old men, out of whom only 64.6% have “never” used any drugs. The youngest men (18-24 years old) used cannabis (18.9%) and ecstasy (5.1%). Cannabis is used more by the most educated men, while ecstasy, cocaine, heroin, amphetamine are used more by the least educated ones. Among those who used drugs, 65.2% did not use any drug over the past 12 months, while 19.7% used cannabis. Among the least educated men, only 45.5% of those who had used drugs did not use anything over the past 12 months, which means every second man. They used cannabis in 27.3% of cases. Particularly worrying is the fact that they used new psychoactive substances in 18.2% of cases.

90.6% of men and 85.0% of women have never considered suicide. Among those who did consider suicide, 10.8% of men and 12.7% of women thought about it in the past month. The men with a lower level of education more often consider suicide, while it is the other way round in case of women. Observed by age, 31-40-year-old women and 51-60-year-old men consider suicide more often.

“OFTEN” answers to question “Have you ever considered suicide?” by education





**WAR
EXPERIEN**

12

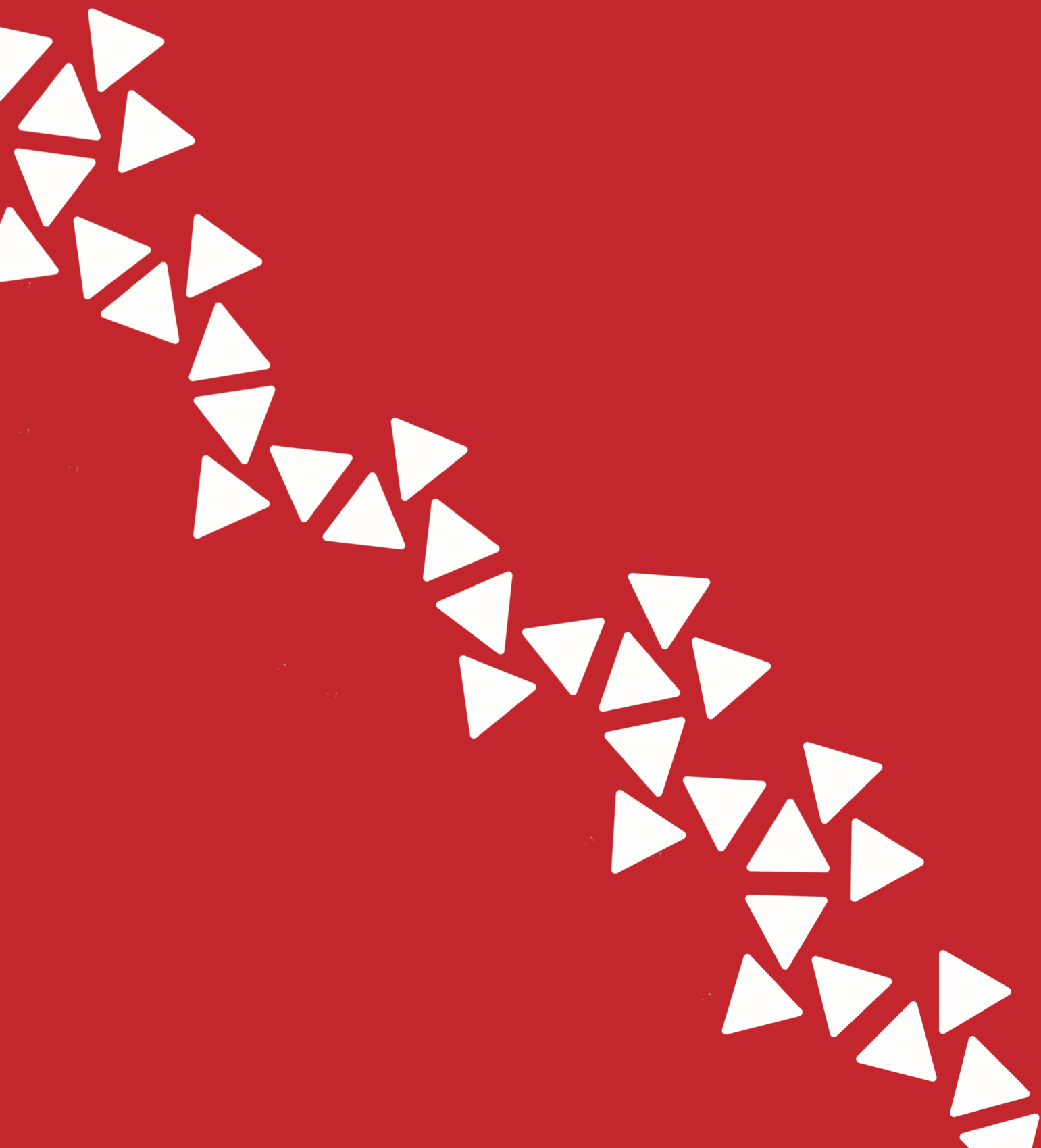
ICES

WAR EXPERIENCES

Asked whether they participated in the wars in the former Yugoslavia, 15.9% of men from the sample answered affirmatively. However, if we disregard those under 40, who make up over half of the entire sample, it means that nearly one-third of men over 40 participated in the war.

With the exception of NATO air strikes experienced by the vast majority of all respondents, other negative consequences of wars and warfare suffered by men range from 1.1% (serious wounding) to 6.4% (death of a family member as a consequence of the war). However, if we look at the consequences from the aspect of gender roles, then it is clear that men were more often exposed to the negative consequences of warfare. Four times more men than women witnessed torture and beating up; four times more men were tortured and beaten up; and five times more men were seriously wounded in the war.

		Yes	No	Don't know/no answer
Were you or your family robbed or did you lose property and ownership due to the war conflict?	M	5.5	93.7	0.8
	F	5.9	92.6	1.5
Did you witness the torture and beating of people during the war conflict?	M	6.1	90.6	3.3
	F	1.5	94.4	4.1
Did you suffer any torture or beating during the war conflict?	M	1.6	95.6	2.8
	F	0.4	96.1	3.5
Was any member of your family killed or did any member of your family die due to the war conflict?	M	6.4	92.5	1.0
	F	7.4	91.5	1.1
Was any member of your family missing or abducted due to the war or during the war?	M	4.0	95.4	0.7
	F	6.5	92.2	1.3
Were you seriously wounded in the war?	M	1.1	96.6	2.3
	F	0.2	96.9	3.0
Did you experience air strikes?	M	84.1	14.1	1.9
	F	81.3	15.9	2.8



IDENTITY

13

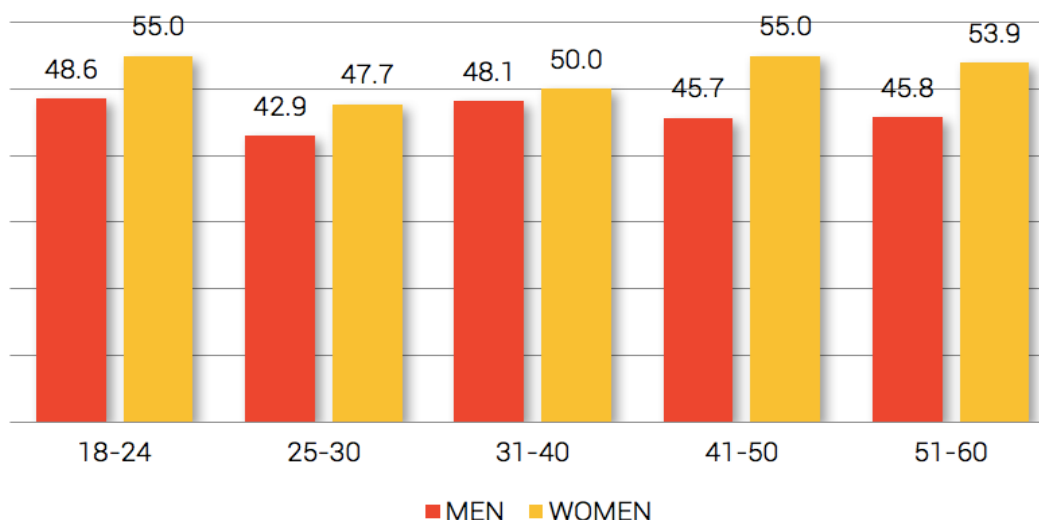
IDENTITY

Gender identity is one of identities, and it is related to other identities, most often to the national/ethnic one. Men express a higher level of agreement than women with the statement that their ethnicity is important to them. They are also more often ready to claim that their nation is "better than other nations", and much more often "would be willing to go to war if they had to defend their nation." On the other hand, they more often think that "all human beings are the same regardless of which nation they belong to", which means that warfare does not exclude the acceptance of others. Women, however, have a much more pacifist attitude and refuse to participate in the war, but it cannot be seen from the question whether they would show willingness to defend their pacifism or simply to avoid warfare. In any case, the identity of men is more strongly related to ethnicity than the identity of women. It is certainly contributed to by socialisation, which brings "masculinity" in relation to "Serbdom" and "war spirit".

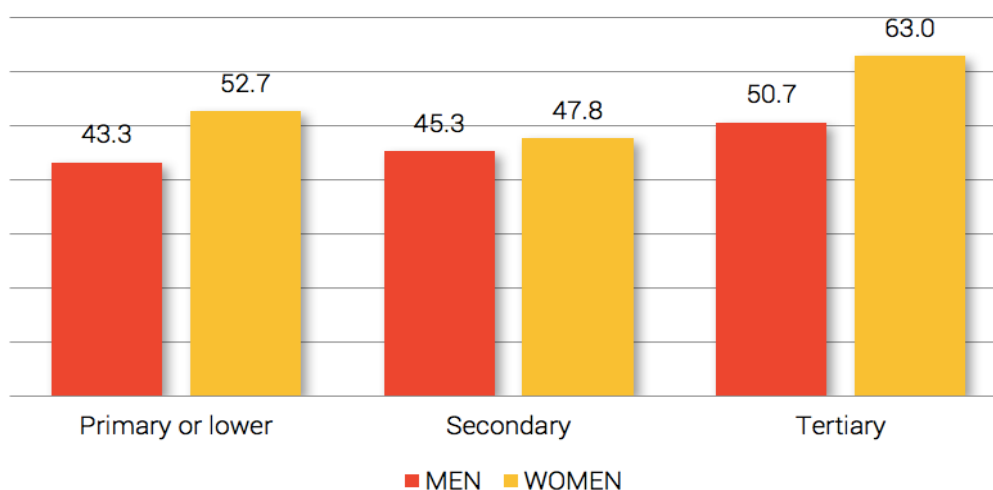
Please indicate to which extent you agree with the following statements:		Fully disagree	Mainly disagree	Partly agree	Mainly agree	Fully agree	Don't know/no answer
My ethnicity is very important to me	M	5.7	8.2	19.7	34.9	26.2	5.3
	F	7.4	9.4	23.7	33.7	18.1	7.6
My nation is better than other nations	M	11.4	19.4	23.4	24.8	11.4	9.5
	F	15.9	21.5	24.1	18.5	7.4	12.6
If I had to defend my nation, I would gladly go to war	M	11.3	11.2	22.1	23.9	18.2	13.3
	F	25.9	15.7	16.3	10.2	8.1	23.7
All human beings are the same, regardless of which nation they belong to	M	3.4	13.4	28.7	26.9	19.4	8.2
	F	1.9	10.0	27.6	28.0	24.4	8.1
I think that I belong to this nation by a mere coincidence	M	5.9	13.0	29.3	24.2	15.0	12.5
	F	2.8	9.6	29.6	26.7	17.4	13.9
I would never participate in war	M	14.4	23.4	18.9	13.6	11.5	18.2
	F	4.6	9.8	17.8	19.6	23.7	24.4

However, openness to others, regardless of their particular ethnicity, is more pronounced in women than in men. The analysis of the responses related to agreeing with the statement "all human beings are the same, regardless of which nation they belong to" (group of answers "mainly" and "fully") reveals that mostly 25-30-year-old men are closed to others; this is the age group that grew up during the wars and could not avoid the exposure to war propaganda. However, the differences between the men of different generations are generally small. The situation is similar in case of women, with the difference that women from all generations agree more with such statements.

Agreement with statement "All human beings are the same, regardless of which nation they belong to" by age

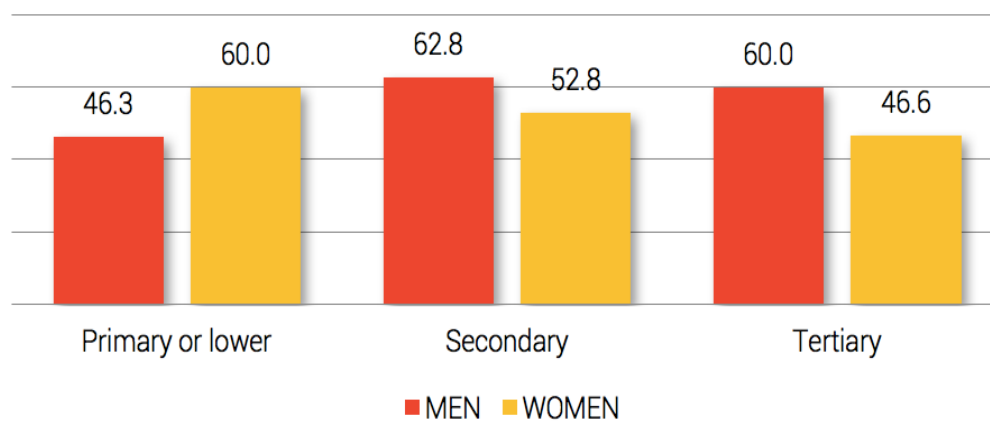


Agreement with statement "All human beings are the same, regardless of which nation they belong to" by education



Education of both men and women has an impact on the agreement with this statement, as expected, with an additionally emphasised gender identity role. Thus, as many as 63% of women with junior college and university education agree with this statement, compared to 43.3% of men with the lowest level of education. The importance of one's ethnicity is most pronounced in men with secondary education, while in case of women, it drops with the level of education.

Agreement with statement "My ethnicity is very important to me" by education



**GEM SCALE
AND ATTITUDE
TOWARDS
EQUALITY**

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GEM SCALE AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS GENDER EQUALITY

The examination of attitudes by using the GEM scale shows that women have less conservative attitudes towards gender equality than men. However, both men and women have the most conservative attitudes about the man needing to be strong and (stable) support. This can be interpreted as a need to rely on the traditional male role in terms of the need for support in the extremely insecure social environment. Retraditionalisation can be understood also as "withdrawal" into privacy, as a sort of survival strategy, which then implies certain nostalgia for "male support", with the most frequent blaming of "women's emancipation" for the problems in relations between genders.

Attitudes about relations between men and women. Please mark the degree of agreement with the following statements.			M	F
1	More rights for women means fewer rights for men		1.93	2.18
2	The most important role of a woman is to take care of her home and cook for her family		1.63	1.88
3	Men need sex more than women do		1.62	1.82
4	There are situations in which a woman deserves to be beaten		2.14	2.54
5	Diaper changing, bathing and feeding of children are mother's duties		1.48	1.77
6	A woman should be the one who takes cares not to get pregnant		1.96	2.11
7	A man should have the final say in decisions at home		1.67	2.14
8	A woman should tolerate violence to keep her family together		2.38	2.60
9	A man and a woman should decide together about which type of contraception they will use		1.89	2.00
10	I would never have a homosexual/lesbian friend		1.60	1.96
11	If I knew a transgender person, I would support her or him to come out and undergo the sex reassignment process		1.37	1.66
12	Being a man means that you have to be tough		1.05	1.25
			1.73	1.99

GEM scale is calculated using the formula: Agree (refusal of gender equality) X 1 + Disagree X 2 + Strongly disagree (full acceptance of gender equality) X 3 / Number of respondents who gave these answers to the question. For statements 9 and 11, the GEM scale is reverse scored.

MEN	AGE GROUP	GEM scale
Attitudes about relations between men and women	18-24	1.76
	25-30	1.84
	31-40	1.81
	41-50	1.68
	51-60	1.59

MEN	LEVEL OF EDUCATION	GEM scale
Attitudes about relations between men and women	Primary or lower	1.57
	Secondary	1.70
	Tertiary	1.88

Observed by education, the less educated men have lower values on the scale, i.e. they show a higher degree of conservatism, unlike the more educated ones. However, when it comes to age, the youngest men are not also the most progressive ones, but are more conservative than the preceding generation (25-30), which is also the most egalitarian age group.

Some interesting findings from this measurement of attitudes show the following: about 70% of men disagree with the statement that "more rights for women means fewer rights for men"; 46.5% of men disagree with the statement that "the equality of women and men has been reached in our society"; 53.1% of men disagree with the statement that the most important role of a woman is to "take care of her home and cook for her family"; nearly half of men disagree with the statement that men need sex more than women do; 18.8% of them agree with the statement that "there are situations in which a woman deserves to be beaten"; about two-thirds of men disagree with the statement that "a woman should be the one who takes care not to get pregnant". 11.9% of respondents agree that a woman "should tolerate violence to keep her family together", while 68.5% of respondents agree that a man and a woman should decide together about contraception.

	Attitudes about relations between men and women MEN	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know/no answer	GEM scale
1	More rights for women means fewer rights for men	4.2	17.9	49.0	19.6	9.2	1.93
2	The most important role of a woman is to take care of her home and cook for her family	7.1	33.0	40.3	12.8	6.8	1.63
3	Men need sex more than women do	8.4	27.6	35.5	12.5	15.9	1.62
4	There are situations in which a woman deserves to be beaten	2.0	16.8	36.2	33.4	11.6	2.14
5	Diaper changing, bathing and feeding of children are mother's duties	9.9	39.2	34.2	10.5	6.2	1.48
6	A woman should be the one who takes care not to get pregnant	3.0	19.4	45.3	21.9	10.4	1.96
7	A man should have the final say in decisions at home	7.0	27.1	46.3	11.1	8.5	1.67
8	A woman should tolerate violence to keep her family together	1.7	9.2	34.6	47.6	6.8	2.38
9	A man and a woman should decide together about which type of contraception they will use	17.5	51.0	13.0	7.1	11.4	1.89
10	I would never have a homosexual/lesbian friend	12.1	24.9	32.1	15.6	15.4	1.60
11	If I knew a transgender person, I would support her or him to come out and undergo the sex reassignment process	7.5	29.1	22.2	16.2	25.0	1.37
12	Being a man means that you have to be tough	20.8	48.7	17.4	4.2	9.0	1.05

NEW GEN
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RESULTS
QUALITAT
RESEARCH

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NEW GENDER PATTERNS?

RESULTS OF QUALITATIVE RESEARCH



Why would a man be a different person than a woman? They can be persons with the same duties and obligations. What limits them is biology, and that's it. But we are the same in social life. I think that the basic thing that determined me in that period was my perception of a person as a person, not as a man or a woman. Perhaps I was raised up that way. I do not divide people into men and women.

(An activist)

Well, Dad allowed us to express our interests; he works in a company that deals with transformers and when I was a little child, he used to bring gears so that I can see how they turn. Dad didn't limit us at all by saying that the profession for women is, for example, economy or something like that. Whatever we asked for - to study English, physics, mathematics, we would get books... If we had been interested in arts, he would have sent us to art classes. He let us decide about our interests at an early age; we were also allowed to choose sports. It was really up to us and we were never told "you're a girl and you should do this". Absolutely not, we had absolute freedom, in that respect, to follow our own interests. My sister is a physicist and when she was in the sixth grade she said: "This will be my occupation" and Dad fully supported it; he never tried to direct her further. I have chosen my own path...

(A female student of mechanical engineering)

I would like to work with children. It somehow makes me happy, fulfilled. Because I know how I was treated when I was a child. There were some minor quarrels sometimes, but as a child I felt accepted. I felt good. I'd like it to be a kindergarten, or primary school, younger children. I've been thinking about looking for a job in kindergartens when I graduate, and I if don't find any, I could do some babysitting until I find that job.... I'm motivated, as I told you, to work with young children, pre-school age, first, second grade, because when I work with them, they have such a smile and then I go home happy. I am glad that I've made a child happy. It's the same thing here. When parents bring their child to you in kindergarten, the child should not be crying at the time of leaving. On the contrary, the child should be happy and say "Mum, I want to play with my friends again - I want to go back there." And in order to make it happen, to have such a cycle, I honestly believe that an educator should be the one who will love that job.

(A male student of the Teacher Education Faculty)



We will present here only some of the main findings of the qualitative analysis. The goal of this analysis was not only to dig into the deeper layers of the individual understanding of the gender identity of men, but above all to try to understand the social conditionality of the formation of gender, generational and professional identities and their interrelatedness as well as the determination of the potential for a social change towards greater egalitarianism, but also for breaking from the conservative social constructs of gender. However, the qualitative analysis has shown that the "islands" of transformation are not only very narrow, but that the level of understanding and self-reflection of young men about their own gender identity is dramatically low. Both gender and other identities (national, generational, religious) are most often perceived instrumentally, as something that is given, determined and therefore something that should be used in a pre-determined, but also in a pragmatic way. In the absence of self-reflection, the general formulas, taken from the misogynous and retraditionalised public discourse, are used. Thus, what remains on the surface is an unusual hybrid of attitudes showing that the inevitability of a shift towards gender equality is accepted, but that, on the other hand, a sort of special concession is sought for the loss of "patriarchal dividend".

This is particularly reflected in the sphere of parenting, which a large number of respondents do not approach from the standpoint of establishing equal relationships and improving relationships with their partners, but from the standpoint of extending their influence on the child and receiving psychological rewards that paternity brings. Basically, there is a tendency of separating marriage from parenting or partnership from paternity, whereby partners/mothers of children are instrumentalized or their role is minimised and ignored. Paternity is a "ticket" for changing male gender identities, but there is a very large difference between the context and the (historical) time in which this ticket is used. In fact, in the context of highly tense relations between men and women in Serbia, which among other things results in a high degree of violence against women as well as a high pressure to give birth (under any conditions!), the promotion of paternity does not necessarily lead to better partnership and family relations, but there is a risk of being the compensation for the disadvantaged position of men in the public sphere, and leading to the instrumentalization of women and children.

What manifests as retraditionalisation or as a trend that intensifies the idea of a "man as a breadwinner" is deeply connected with resistance to the "emancipation" of women and "feminism", and even to women themselves. In an atmosphere where a high degree of exclusion and negative attitudes towards Others and Otherness have been fostered for decades, the "vulnerability of men" becomes a normalised discourse, which is present even when it is not explicitly stated. Individual stories and statements are placed in metanarratives and resound with "commonplaces" precisely because of the lack of self-reflexivity and critical thinking about the world in which an individual lives. Strong antifeminism, which reflects negative stereotypes and hatred for "feminists", is present in all the surveyed categories, except in the category of "activists". However, even they often have a pragmatic view of advocacy for gender equality, because it is related to their profession, although they accept gender equality as value in their private life. In fact, the "search" for "activists" who are heterosexual but advocate for gender equality, or who may be "feminists", has shown that they are almost impossible to find. This leads us to the question: Are there any men in Serbia who advocate for women's rights and who may declare themselves as "feminists" without being directly professionally involved in the "equality project" or belonging to sexual minorities? Or, in other words, if there were no professional or some other "rewards" compensating for the loss of "patriarchal privileges", would there be any "male feminists" or those who advocate for gender equality out of principle and without any reward?

On the other hand, there is a high degree of acceptance of homosexuality, and this matter is generally unproblematic for different groups that were covered by the qualitative research. However, the degree of acceptance varies, and homosexuality may be only "tolerated" or accepted at a deeper level as genuine integration.

The qualitative analysis has also revealed that antifeminism is present even among the young and successful women who are being educated for "atypical" but highly sought-after professions (mechanical engineering, IT). This paradox that the women who, by all parameters, have reaped the benefits from emancipatory and gender equality policies, developed over a long historical period, do not see any connection between themselves and the efforts of their predecessors who fought for such outcomes, is only a logical consequence of the lack of knowledge about women's movements and women's struggle for exercising their rights, in particular the lack of relevant content in the regular educational process, and a result of a very negative campaign against feminism by right-wing ideologists. And while they accept their "equality" as "normal", they are far more prone to self-reflection than men of their generation because they are aware of the differences in comparison with other women. They themselves, by their own difference in terms of entering into "typical male" professions already change the context in which they are, but most often cannot avoid "paying the price" through sexual blackmailing (by professors) or underestimation by their male peers. However, since they are focused on individual success and recognition and are not inclined to activism, the scope of change they bring with their own professional and lifestyle choices remains very limited.

The qualitative analysis has shown that violence in the lives of men plays a very important role, because it is the backbone for the formation of both their individual and gender identity. While growing up, the respondents necessarily had to determine their attitude towards violence and decide on whether they would accept and/or perpetrate violence themselves. Violence is a constituent part of male identity in Serbia and it is especially pronounced in younger generations. Since there are numerous factors conducive to the spread of violence and very few that lead to its suppression, the logical outcome is the "normalisation" of violence, and hence the violent identities of men.

The focus groups findings are particularly important from the aspect of possible impact through gender policies. Two focus groups that included men who opted for "atypical", that is, caring professions have shown that the vast majority of men, with the exception of a few of them, did not choose these professions because of their "caring" dimension and did not want to stay in the areas (particular occupations) in which this dimension would be represented. On the contrary, these were random or only possible choices, and not conscious and deliberate choices to depart from the "normal". While in the case of women practising "atypical" professions has been an increasingly important mechanism for changing professions and gender relations in the private sphere in the long run, this is not applicable to men.

Even in the case of students of the Faculty of Theology, the choice of faculty was often related to the possibility of getting a job, and not only or primarily to their own religious education or spiritual development. However, the focus group with these students has revealed that gender equality as an idea is normalised at the level of everyday practices, and that they accept it as the principle of organisation of their families and households. This and some other progressive attitudes indicate that there is a space for dialogue that can be used in the future to reduce unnecessary radicalisation and confrontation. It is interesting that, unlike some other respondents, the students of the Faculty of Theology had the need and wish to present themselves as "modern" and "progressive" young men because they were also exposed to prejudices.

Overall, the focus groups and interviews have confirmed the fact already established by some other similar, mainly sociological, research studies: there is no simple unilinear shift towards increasing gender equality. This is due to two things: 1. Already a high level of equality achieved in some areas of social life (e.g. higher education of women in younger generations, or some visible women in the positions of power, such as the Prime Minister who openly shows her sexual orientation) 2. A high level of resistance to further change, which reflects the fear, discomfort and frustration of men, best described by the term the "crisis of masculinity". The high levels of resistance expressed in the interviews and especially in the focus groups reflect the long-term isolation and closure of Serbian society and its resistance to "modernisation" and "Europeanisation".

CONCLUS
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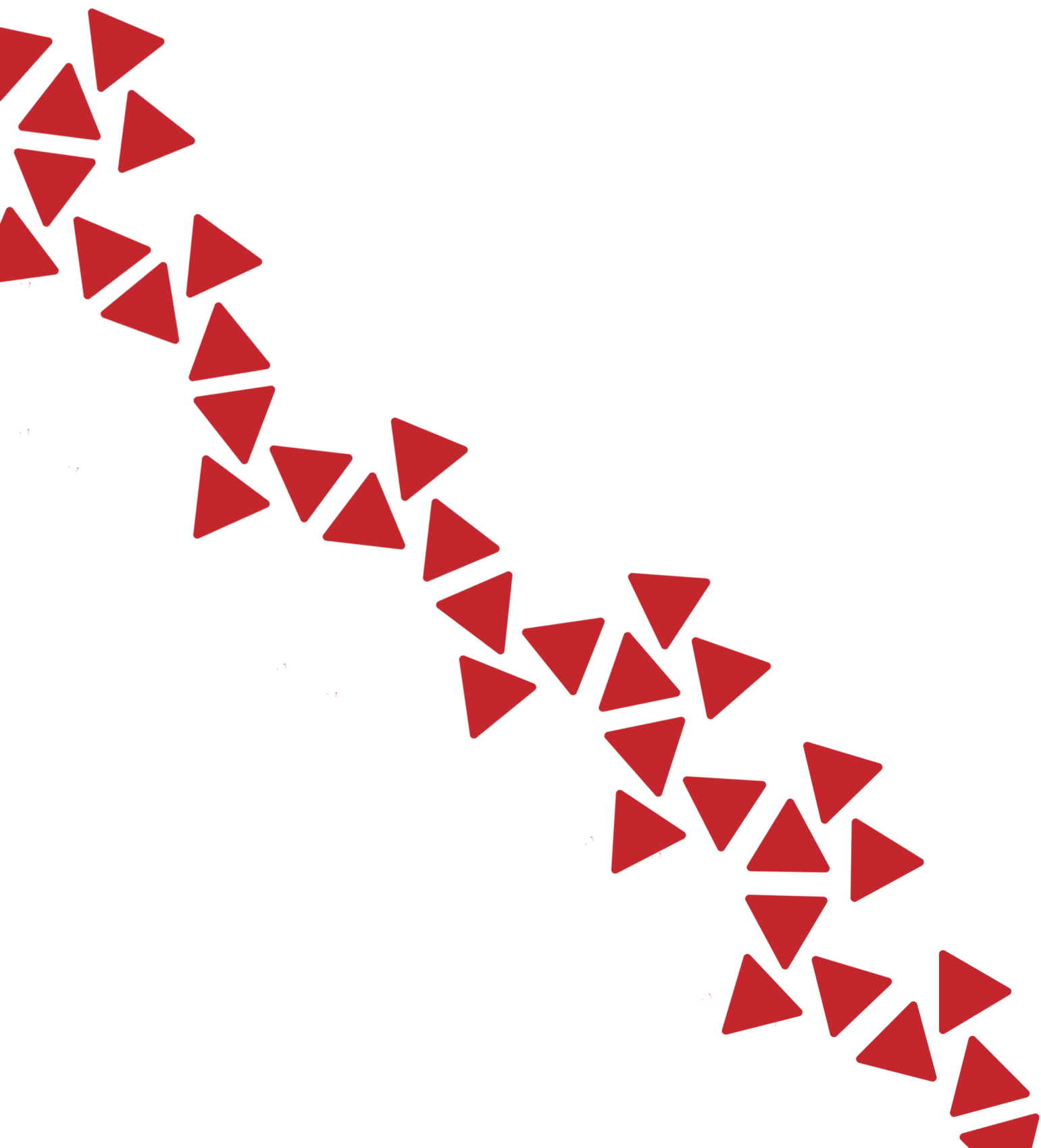
CONCLUSION: CHANGES, RESISTANCES AND CHALLENGES

Men in Serbia, as shown by this research, undergo changes, express resistances to these changes and face new challenges. Changes towards the establishment of gender equality are profound and inevitable. They take place both in the private and public sphere, in different areas and at different speeds. But they do not happen stepwise, gradually and unilinearly. The most educated men accept them first and participate in them most, while the least educated men resist most. As regards age/different generations, the change is not always one-way, that is, the youngest are not always the most emancipated, the most conscious, the least violent or the most open to positive influences. Violence is very present in the lives of young men and in the true sense of the word it is constitutive in the formation of their gender identity.

Many of the challenges are simply contextual, linked to the low development of Serbia, poverty, the negative consequences of wars, as well as the intensive aging of the population and the high rate of emigration of the most educated young people. The long-term, multi-decade influence of negative factors has led to repatriarchalisation and retraditionalisation, which not only have very negative effects on women, but expose also men, especially younger generations, to an extremely high risk of harmful lifestyles pursued to confirm the imaginary ideal of a "real man", including the acceptance of dangerous extreme ideologies. Therefore, it is necessary to focus strongly on gender equality education, which would include contemporary knowledge in the field of critical studies of men and masculinity. But such educational content should be based on research and the knowledge that already exists and that should be further developed to fit the contextual needs of Serbian society.

The greatest challenges are to maintain or strengthen the flow of positive social change despite many social pressures that support retraditionalisation, radicalisation, extremism, crime and violence. Gender is always determined by a particular social context, and therefore the hegemonic masculinity in Serbia is determined by the context of Serbian society. Nevertheless, even within this context there are significant variations both in relation to the family environment and in relation to individual characteristics. As shown by data, education is the most important factor in the formation of attitudes and practices that support both non-violence and gender equality. It is necessary to ensure proper gender mainstreaming of educational institutions and contents at all levels but also to encourage non-formal education for different groups and categories of men. In addition, educational contents should be contextualised and adjusted to the specific life circumstances and needs of men, especially the young ones.

Plenty of work remains to be done in this field since that there are still numerous possibilities that can be used in Serbia for the promotion of modern, progressive and humanistic values, including gender equality, through the educational system. It's good news!



**RECOMMENDED
KNOWLEDGE
RESEARCH**

17

FOUNDATIONS:

GE AND

RECOMMENDATIONS: KNOWLEDGE AND RESEARCH

The area of critical studies of men and masculinities is underdeveloped in Serbia, while the field of research on men and their "representation" as well as public discourse on gender equality are increasingly overtaken by right-wing researchers and theoreticians with clear antifeminist positions, misogynous views and negative attitude towards the gender equality agenda. Therefore, it is necessary to conduct a whole series of additional research studies to shed a better light on the problems and challenges faced by men in Serbia, precisely from the perspective of men themselves. The experience in the implementation of gender policies has shown that the invisibility of men and "taking them for granted" do not contribute at all to the promotion and implementation of gender equality policies. Besides, the experience has shown that binary divisions to "pro-women" and "pro-men" discourses in the public space only deepen the gap in understanding the problems related to gender, genderness, gender mainstreaming and gender identity. In order to constructively approach the gender mainstreaming of all state policies and strategies, which is an inevitable project in the future, it is necessary to rely on facts and understand the perspective of both women and men. But at the same time, we should never lose sight of the dominant patriarchal matrix of power and the "patriarchal dividend", which are enjoyed differently by different men, but also by some women who are within the system of rewards and power produced by patriarchy.

In order for the knowledge about men from the perspective of critical studies of masculinities relying on feminist theory to take root in Serbia, it must be contextualised, that is, based on research and objective findings that have scientific authority. Only then will it be possible to apply gender mainstreaming in a way that will support gender inclusion and non-discrimination, rather than domination and exclusion. It is necessary to establish new matrices and values of both practices and power.

This research and other findings have facilitated the mapping of various possible thematic fields that are important for forming knowledge about men in Serbia. Such projects could be based on different methodologies and the goal setting would, of course, depend on them. It is important to note that, in principle, there is also a great need for qualitative research that would better map the cultural and social context, as well as dominant discourses. These are possible projects:

- Experience of violence in men's lives and violence suffered by men from other men throughout their lives (which is also gender-based violence)
- Men's participation in decisions about birth and abortion
- The New Gender Barometer (which would allow the monitoring of trends compared to the previous ones)
- Experiences of men in single-parent families
- Experiences of men related to illness and aging; physical dependence and caring (about themselves and others)
- Men as victims of ageism, with special focus on the use of new technology
- New forms of addiction among men
- Male support networks
- Men and war trauma, consequences and overcoming
- Upbringing of boys
- Boys and young men in the school system (with special focus on drop-outs)
- Discursive constructions of masculinity in different social groups
- Men and work (employment, unemployment, shadow economy, seasonal work, new forms of work...)
- Men and radical ideologies
- Men refugees
- Men and sex industry (men as users and providers of sexual services, sex trafficking and transactional sex)
- Multiple marginalised men
- Men - promoters of new gender identities
- Conflict of roles in men (family and profession)
- Masculinities of men in the positions of power

The implementation of a larger number of these projects from the perspective of critical studies of men and masculinities would facilitate not only an increase of knowledge in this field, but would also provide the possibility of designing better educational contents as well as better founded and more effective gender policies.



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https://www.paragraf.rs/propisi/zakon_o_sprecavanju_nasilja_u_porodici.html

Appendix I - Description of the sample through phases

Detailed description of the sample through phases:

Phase 1 = Population of Serbia (excluding Kosovo, UNSCR 1244), stratified into 4 administrative regions - Belgrade, Vojvodina, Western Serbia and Eastern Serbia - proportionally to their share in the population.

Phase 2 = The population is further stratified into sampling units in each region.

Phase 3 = Distribution of sampling units (15 respondents per sampling unit).

Phase 4 = Sampling units are selected from the list of municipalities based on the size and number of polling stations.

Phase 5 = Uniform distribution of sampling units based on voter lists with polling station addresses. Each sampling unit is marked as a starting point with the given addresses and additional directions, such as rising and falling house numbers in the street.

Phase 6 = Random selection of households, starting with the given sampling unit and selecting every second or third household (depending on the type of settlement). The selected home address is on the left side of the interviewer's route. In residential buildings with up to four floors, the interviewer chooses every fifth apartment. In residential buildings with five or more floors, the interviewer chooses every tenth apartment.

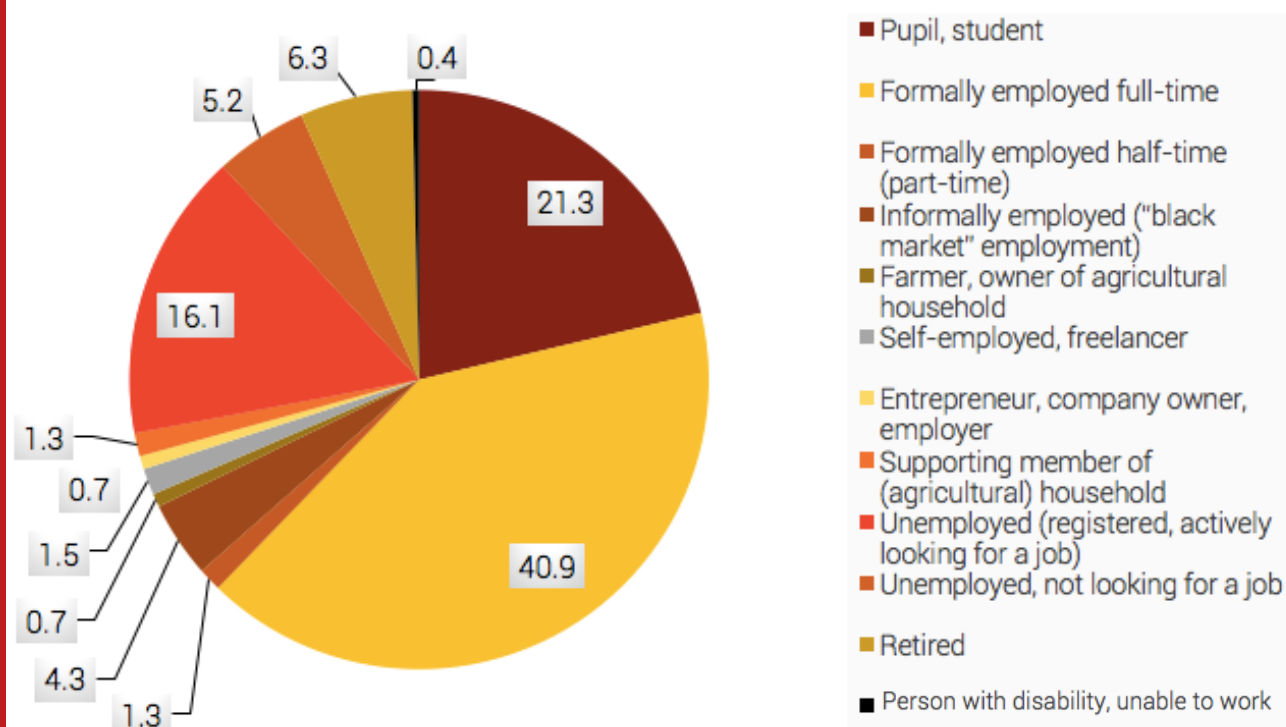
Phase 7 = Selection of respondents by applying the next-birthday method.

Phase 8 = Replacement of respondents in case of rejection after three attempts (first visit and two calls).

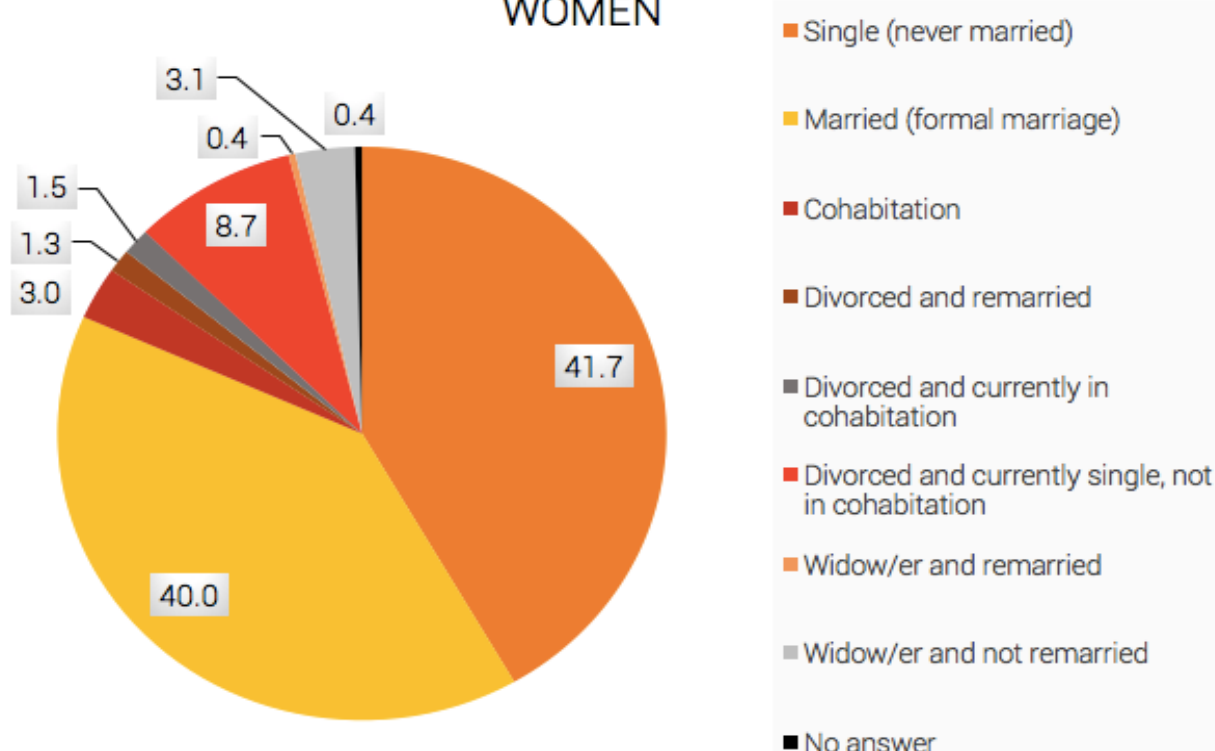
The sample was created based on the nationally representative statistics by region and type of settlement.

Appendix II - Charts and graphs related to women

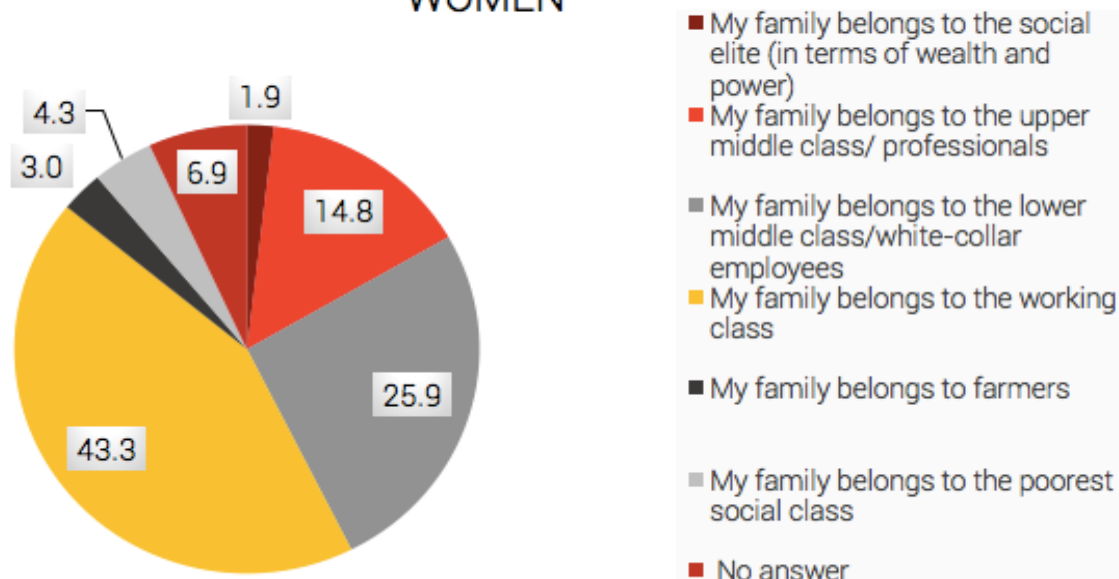
What is your current primary employment status
(occupying most of your time)?
WOMEN



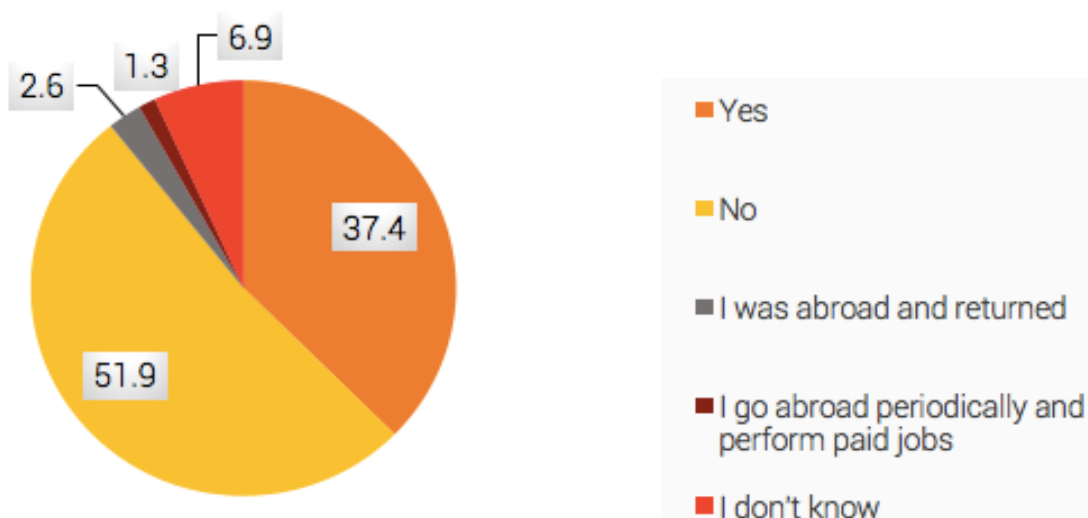
What is your marital status?
WOMEN



What do you think is the social status of your household/family? WOMEN



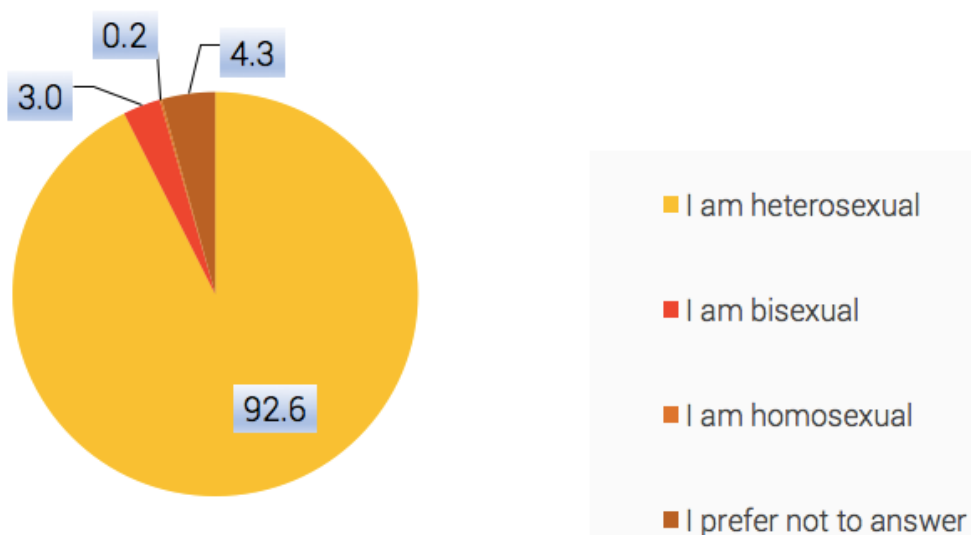
Would you emigrate from Serbia? WOMEN



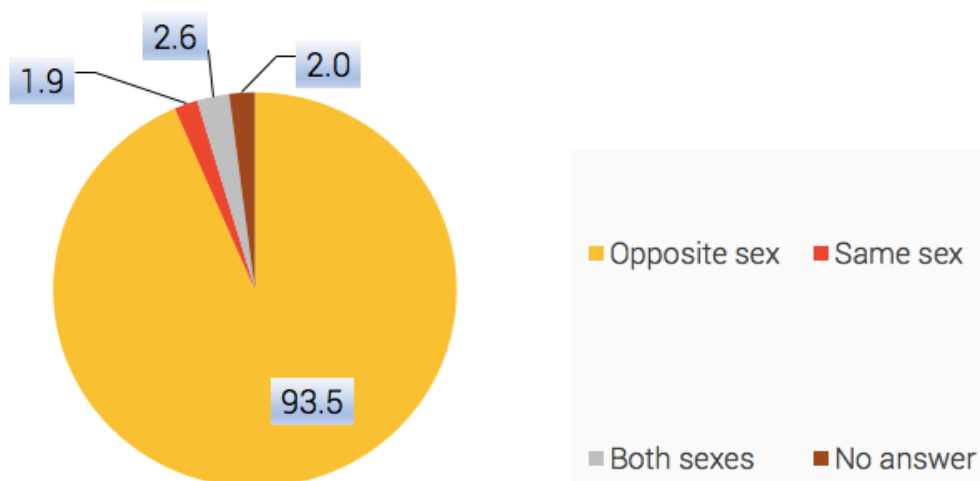
Do you think that your partner is satisfied with this division?		Dissatisfied	Quite satisfied	Very satisfied	Don't know/no answer
18-24	M	25.0	25.0	50.0	0.0
	F	0.0	22.2	44.4	33.3
25-30	M	7.1	50.0	28.6	14.3
	F	4.5	50.0	31.8	13.6
31-40	M	12.5	49.3	19.9	18.4
	F	5.7	54.3	22.9	17.1
41-50	M	11.6	48.3	18.0	22.1
	F	5.3	52.0	28.0	14.7
51-60	M	16.7	52.6	11.5	19.1
	F	12.2	48.6	20.3	18.9

Do you think that your partner is satisfied with this division?		Dissatisfied	Quite satisfied	Very satisfied	Don't know/no answer
Primary or lower education	M	16.7	50.0	13.3	20.0
	F	6.3	40.6	31.3	21.9
Secondary education	M	14.2	52.0	17.1	16.8
	F	9.1	50.3	23.8	16.8
Tertiary education	M	11.6	44.9	16.7	26.8
	F	4.0	54.7	25.3	16.0

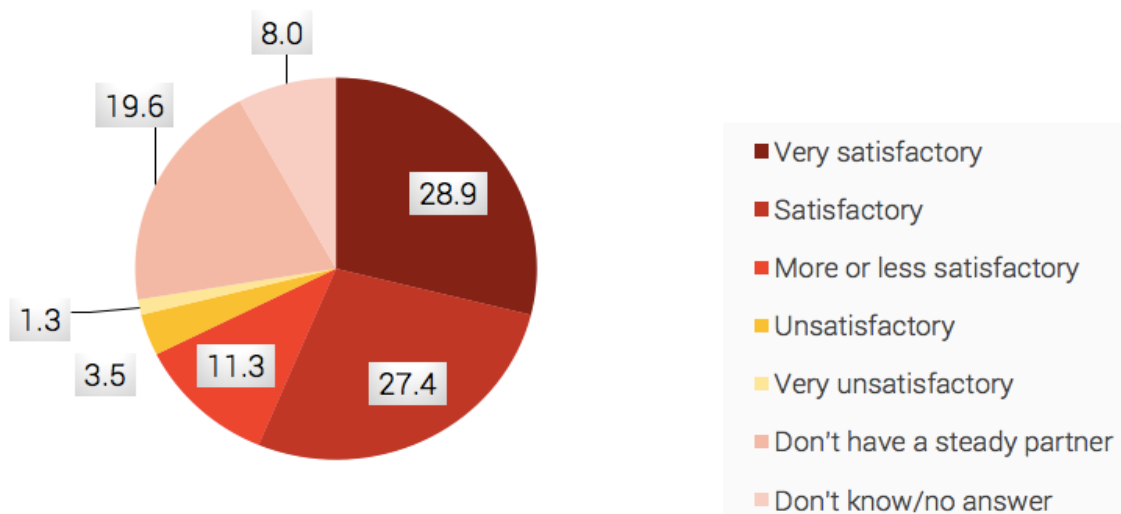
How would you define your sexual orientation? WOMEN



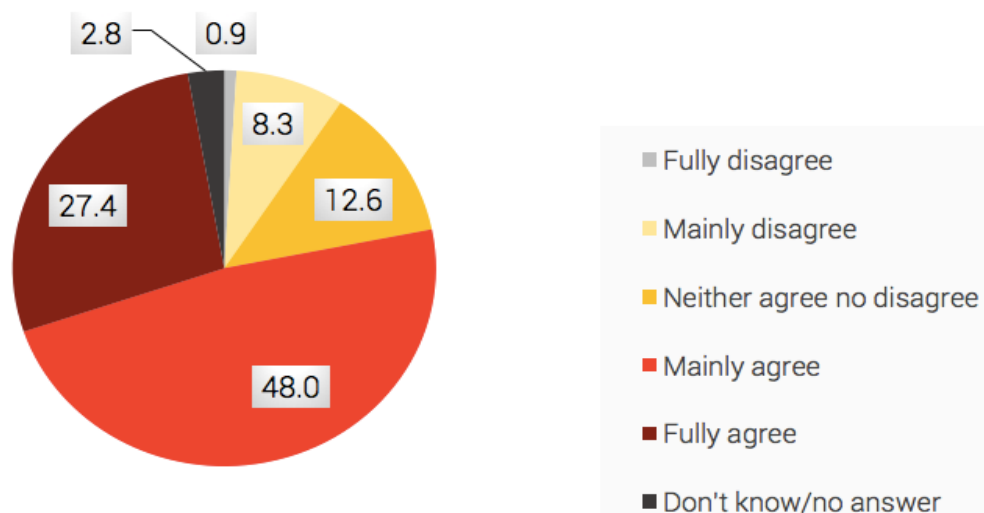
Which sex are you attracted to? WOMEN



How would you describe sexual relationship with your current partner? WOMEN



I am satisfied with my physical and mental health



Attitudes about relations between men and women WOMEN	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know/no answer	GEM scale
More rights for women means fewer rights for men	3.1	11.5	44.3	34.3	6.9	2.18
The most important role of a woman is to take care of her home and cook for her family	5.6	21.7	45.7	21.1	5.9	1.88
Men need sex more than women do	6.9	20.7	38.5	18.9	15.0	1.82
There are situations in which a woman deserves to be beaten	1.5	6.3	25.7	59.4	7.0	2.54
Diaper changing, bathing and feeding of children are mother's duties	5.4	29.3	42.2	18.1	5.0	1.77
A woman should be the one who takes care not to get pregnant	2.2	17.2	42.2	31.5	6.9	2.11
A man should have the final say in decisions at home	2.0	10.4	54.4	27.6	5.6	2.14
A woman should tolerate violence to keep her family together	1.1	5.4	24.3	64.1	5.2	2.60
A man and a woman should decide together about which type of contraception they will use	22.8	48.7	12.8	5.0	10.7	2.00
I would never have a homosexual/lesbian friend	6.5	13.3	40.2	23.1	16.9	1.96
If I knew a transgender person, I would support her or him to come out and undergo the sex reassignment process	11.5	38.0	18.0	9.8	22.8	1.66
Being a man means that you have to be tough	15.6	42.2	26.1	5.7	10.4	1.25

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