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THE POSITION AND PARTICIPATION OF OLDER WOMEN IN POLITICAL AND PUBLIC LIFE IN SERBIA

Belgrade & Pančevo
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Authors of the Study

Nevena Petrušić, Nadežda Satarić, and Kosana Beker

INTRODUCTION

This study on the position of the older people and the participation of older women in public and political life in Serbia was created within the project "Increased Participation of Older Women in Public and Political Life", which we initiated with the idea to contribute to:

- Increasing the awareness of civil society organizations (CSOs) dealing with older people's issues, as well as the general public about the human rights of older women, to participate in public life and in places where decisions concerning them are made, through the promotion of international standards, and experiences and knowledge sharing.
- Improving mechanisms for the protection of human rights of older women to participate in political and public life, through advocacy and dialogue of CSOs with representatives of state institutions at national and local level, in order to revise existing legislation, in line with EU and UN standards (including the quota for older women within quotas for women's participation).
- Raising awareness and information level of older women about their rights under the CEDAW Convention and national anti-discrimination laws, as well as about the importance of their participation in public and political life.

This is significant because today in Serbia, among 6,926,705 inhabitants, there are 1,451,818 people of 65 and plus (20.96%), and among them, there are 828,944 older women (27.93 % of the total number of women), according to estimates Republic Statistical Office as at 31st December 2019.

According to the survey on the position of older women in Serbia, conducted in October 2017, 80.2% of older women believe that society does not take enough care of their position, with the biggest problem they are facing being the poor socio-economic situation. In addition, although there are established quotas for the participation of women in National Assembly and local assemblies, there is disproportionately small number of older women among women holding those positions or even non-existent. Older women are excluded from public life in their local communities as well. There are no older women who are the local community presidents in Serbia, out of a total of 7.1%, women holding the position in local communities. There are no older women in local community councils either, in which women otherwise participate with 10.7% at the level of all local community councils.

A small number of older women participate in organized activities in the community. No special measures are taken in local communities in order to create conditions for older women to participate in local community development plan drafting and implementation. No one encourages them to engage, nor invites them to get involved. Their exclusion in rural communities is especially evident.

Results of analysis of previous research and data on the position of older people in Serbia with special focus on the position of older women, results of quantitative and qualitative research on participation of older women in public and political life in six cities in Serbia, within this project implemented by Amity and FemPlatz, as well as an analysis of the legal framework, should enable drafting recommendations for decision-makers at the local and national levels, to improve mechanisms for the mandatory inclusion of older women in places where decisions affecting their lives, political programmes, and national and local policies on aging are being created.

The results will also be used to sensitize public authorities about the importance of greater involvement of older women, as well as to sensitize the general public about the importance of equal inclusion of older women in public and political life.

One of the objectives of this study is to improve knowledge of activists of pensioners' associations and other CSOs working with/for older women to actively monitor the human rights of older women, including the right to participate in public and political life and how to react to their violation, how to react to the phenomena of discrimination against older women and how to fight for gender equality.

Finally, the results of this study will serve as material to increase the level of awareness and information of older women about their rights under international documents (UN, Council of Europe, EU), national laws, as well as the importance of their participation in public and political life in places where decisions affecting them are being made. It will be a material for training older women to fight for their rights and express their needs and interests, in order to improve the level of respect for the human rights of older women and raise the general level of social cohesion in society.

The research included 675 women of 65 and plus, living in Belgrade, Novi Sad, Niš, Kragujevac, Bor, and Čačak. A representative survey included 601 respondents and 74 more were included via focus groups interviews and in-depth interviews.

THE POSITION AND PARTICIPATION OF OLDER WOMEN IN POLITICAL AND PUBLIC LIFE IN SERBIA



From training in Niš: "Human Rights, Anti-discrimination and Gender Equality – Older Women in Focus", November 2020. Photo by: Nebojša Stanković Espero

THE POSITION OF OLDER PERSONS IN SERBIA

1. THE POSITION OF OLDER PERSONS IN SERBIA

Perception about who the older people are differ in different societies and at different times. It is a social construct that affects society's understanding of who the older persons are, but it also affects the perception of one's own aging. In this way, the attitude of the society towards the older persons is being formed, and that significantly influences the determination of priorities in the distribution of social resources, that is, often not enough attention is being paid to older persons and their needs.¹

Aging statistics generally define older people as people over a certain age, so the United Nations had defined older people as over 60^2 , and the World Health Organization had set the limit at 65+ for the older persons in the more developed world economies³. The World Health Organization also uses an alternative definition of the older people, that is, it defines them as persons older than the average life expectancy at birth⁴.

Aging has been a very in-focus topic in the European Union (EU) for the last ten years, as the number of older people is increasing due to improved living conditions, reduced birth rates and increased life expectancy. At the beginning of 2018, 101.1 million people of 65+ lived in the EU-28, which is almost a fifth (19.7%) of the total population⁵. Projections show that in the next 30 years, the number of older people in the EU will be constantly increasing, and that by 2050 it will reach 28.5%⁶, and by 2060, 30% of the population will be over 65, while the number of people over 80 will be equal to the number of people under 15⁷.

¹ Marthe Fredvang and Simon Biggs, *The Rights of Older Persons - Protection and Gaps under Human Rights Law*, Social Policy Working Paper no. 16, The Centre for Public Policy, Melbourne, 2012, p. 6. For example, in many societies, services intended for older persons are underfunded and/or of low quality, and in some societies they do not exist at all.

² United Nations, World Population Aging 2013

³ Statistical books, Eurostat, Aging Europe, Looking at the lives, of older people in the EU 2019 edition, Publications Office of the European Union, p. 8

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ron Davies, *Older People in Europe: EU Policies and Programs: Briefing,* European Parliamentary Research Service, 6.5.2014, p. 2, available at: [7] Ron Davies, Older People in Europe: EU Policies and Programs: Briefing, European Parliamentary Research Service, 6.5.2014, p. 2, available at: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/bibliotheque/briefing/2014/140811/LDM_BRI(2014)140811_REV1_EN.pdf (accessed on 21.8.2020)

In addition, projections show that in the period up to 2070, the total EU population will increase from 511 million in 2016 to 520 million, while at the same time the working population will decrease significantly from 333 million in 2016 to 292 million in 2070.8 Due to pension system reforms, activity and employment rates will increase, especially for women and older workers, and the average age will increase from 41 (2016) to 45 (2070) for men and from 43 to 47 for women.9

Aforementioned demographic changes related to aging affect all the European Union States, and it is necessary to work on raising awareness and changing attitudes towards the older persons. Older people are often exposed to prejudice, stigmatization, and discrimination due to their age (ageism, from the English word age), 10 reflecting in different ways, but resulting in the perception of the older persons as inactive and unproductive members of society, that is, they are often seen as a society's "burden". 11

Demographic changes require changes in public policies, especially in relation to social and health care systems, pension systems, as well as adjusting the economy to a larger number of older people, including employment, adequate housing, personal development and lifelong learning, and customized services. ¹² In addition, due changes in intergenerational relations, better intergenerational solidarity should be enabled and intergenerational conflict should be reduced, especially given that the traditional image that generations have of each other, as well as of themselves, is less and less true. ¹³

All of the above applies to Serbia as well, the population is aging, the birth rate is very low, and there are other phenomena that contribute to this, such as depopulation, migration from villages to cities and to other countries, etc. In 2019, the estimated number of citizens in the Republic of Serbia was 6,945,235, of which 51.3% were women and 48.7% were men. The population growth rate is negative, at -5.4. In 2019, the share of people of 65+ was 20.7%, and of those under 15 was 14.3%. There are also some regional differences. For example, in the Zaječar area, the share of those 65+ (28.5%) is the largest and the share of the population younger than 15 (11.2%) is the lowest, while the share of those 65+ is the lowest in the Pčinj area (15.7%), and the largest share of people under the age of 15 is in the Raska (18%), Južna Bačka (15.5%) and Pčinj regions.

The 2018 Aging Report Economic and Budgetary Projections for the EU Member States (2016-2070), European Commission, Directorate-General for Economic and Financial Affairs, 2018, p. 3
 Ibid, p. 23

10 What is Ageism?, Age International, available at: https://www.ageinternational.org.uk/whatwe-do/Policy-where-we-stand-/ageism/ (accessed on: 8/21/2020).

11 Fredwang and Biggs, op.cit, 2012, p. 6

- 12 Nataša Todorović, Milutin Vračević, *Intergenerational Cooperation for Beginners*, Centre for Responsible Action, Belgrade, 2019, p. 9
- 13 Nataša Todorović, Milutin Vračević, Dejana Stanisavljević, Nataša Milić, *Intergenerational Solidarity between Family and State*, Red Cross of Serbia, Belgrade, 2019, p. 9
- 14 Republic Statistical Office, *Press release no. 172 of 7/1/2020 2019 Population Projections*, Belgrade, 2019, p. 1

15 Ibid.

During the period 2002 to 2019, the number of Serbian citizens has been reducing, especially in the regions of Southern and Eastern Serbia, while the Belgrade region recorded a population growth. During this period, the number of people under the age of 15 decreased from 16.1% to 14.3%, and the share of those of 65+ increased from 16.6% up to 20.7%. The share of the female fertile population (15–49) in the total population decreased by 2.4%, and the share of the working age population (15–64) decreased from 67.3% to 65%. The average population age increased from 40.2 to 43.3 years (41.7 for men and 44.5 for women), and life expectancy increased from 72.3 years in 2002 to 75.7 years in 2019. According to the population projections by type of settlement, Serbia is dominated by the urban population (61%), which is demographically younger, i.e. the average age of urban population is lower than the average age of the population in other settlements by 2.6 years, for many reasons, including the direction and scope of migration movements.

According to data from the *Third National Report on Social Inclusion and Poverty Reduction in the Republic of Serbia*, the status of older persons, especially those in rural areas, is not satisfactory. At the community level, there is no uniform and financially sustainable system of services and support services intended for older persons, and the older people in the rural areas are at risk of social isolation, have difficulties in accessing health and social services, as well as transport services. The participation of older persons in political and public life is not satisfying as well. About the position of older persons speaks the fact that they are below the average represented among the beneficiaries of financial social assistance (5.6% compared to 19.5%), which is a result of obstacles that reduce the availability of assistance to older persons (primarily the land maximum and insufficient information).²⁰ The Active Aging Index²¹ in the Republic of Serbia was estimated at 29,518 out of a possible 100 in 2014, which is a higher level only compared to four EU States (average value was 33.9 in 2014).²²

The status of older people can also be observed through the consideration and respect for the needs of the older persons in public policies of the certain country. In Serbia, the **National Aging Strategy 2006-2015** was adopted²³, but it expired in

22 Active Ageing Index 2014: Analytical Report, Geneva, UNECE, 2015

23 National Aging Strategy 2006-2015, "Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia", No. 55/2005 and 71/2005

¹⁶ Ibid, p. 2

¹⁷ Ibid, p. 3

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ The Third National Report on Social Inclusion and Poverty Reduction in the Republic of Serbia, Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2018, available at: http://socijalnoukljucivanje.gov.rs/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/Treci_nacionalni_izvestaj_o_socijalnom_ukljucivanju_i_smanjenju_siromastva_2014%E2%80%932017.pdf (accessed on: 9/25/2020).

²¹ The Active Aging Index is a tool for measuring the unused potential of older people for active and healthy aging at the national level. It examines the extent to which older people live independent lives, participate in paid employment and social activities, as well as their ability to actively age. The index is constructed of 22 individual indicators grouped into four domains.

2015. The evaluation of this strategy showed certain regional differences in terms of achieving the set objectives - in Belgrade, Central and Northern Serbia, the best results were recorded, while in the Southern and South-Eastern Serbia, the results were somewhat more modest.²⁴ It was assessed that all strategic objectives defined by the strategy are still relevant, as well as that the following priorities need to be established in the new strategic document: poverty reduction, respect for sustainability principle, adjustments of the pension and disability insurance systems, normative regulation of aging, connecting and developing long-term care services, strengthening the role of NGOs and private partners in the long-term care process, more accessible lifelong education for the older persons, as well as prevention and protection of the older persons from discrimination and violence.²⁵

However, although it is evident from demographic data that it is necessary to adopt a new strategic document on aging and improving the status of older people in Serbia, even after five years from the expiration of the previous strategic document, no new strategy has been adopted.²⁶ In 2019, the development of a new strategy was announced,²⁷ but by the end of August 2020, no data was available on whether the process of drafting a new strategy had begun.

The older persons were recognized as one of the groups at increased risk of discrimination in the **Anti-Discrimination Strategy for the period 2014 to 2018**, and the specific objectives related to the older persons were: poverty reduction and improvement of the material situation of the older people, prevention of domestic and/or other violence against the older people, health and social care, participation in social life and education, and the various measures for specific strategic objectives were planned, including initiating the drafting of a law on the older persons, improving the legislative framework to prevent poverty of the older people, improving service delivery, with special attention to multiple discriminated groups of the older people and adopting special measures to improve the situation of the older people.

Analysis of the implementation of the Anti-Discrimination Strategy²⁹ showed that

positive progress has been made in terms of improving policies and regulations, systemic prevention of discrimination and improving anti-discrimination practices, but it also showed that there are measures that have not been implemented or have been partially implemented in each of these domains.³⁰ The evaluation stated that it is most difficult to assess the achievement of systemic measures for prevention and protection against discrimination, bearing in mind that they need a longer period of time for their impact to be measured.³¹ In addition to general measures, which were aimed at all groups, specific strategic measures were planned for each of the groups at increased risk of discrimination. A total of eight special measures were planned for the older people. The largest number of implemented measures was realized in relation to refugees, internally displaced persons and migrants (80%) and children (60%), while the least implemented measures were related to the improvement of the position of the older persons - 12.5%.³² The evaluation concluded that older people continue to face discrimination in almost all areas, especially in the areas of work and employment, as well as health care. Older people in Serbia live in poverty, and are often exposed to neglect and violence. In addition, older women, as women in other social groups, are more exposed to discrimination and violence.³³

Older women, rural women and women with disabilities are recognized as particularly vulnerable groups in the National Strategy for Gender Equality for the period 2016 to 2020 with the Action Plan for the period 2016 to 2018,³⁴ to which public policies should be directed, in order to improve their general social position. However, the validity of this strategy expires in 2020, and it should be noted that the action plan for the implementation of the strategy for the period 2019-2020 has not been adopted, which has seriously impeded the implementation of the strategy. The strategic objectives are very broadly set: 1) changed gender patterns and improved culture of gender equality; 2) increased equality of women and men through the application of policies and measures of equal opportunities and 3) systematic introduction of a gender perspective in the adoption, implementation, and monitoring of public policies. All these strategic objectives should contribute to improving the position of all women, including older women.

Evaluation of the action plan (AP) for the period 2016-2018,³⁵ among other things, showed that the AP implementation was not achieved satisfactorily at the local level; AP has not been implemented uniformly, the most effective is in the area of systemic changes encouraged by the introduction of mechanisms for introducing a gender perspective in public policies, and less effective in the areas of changing the culture of gender equality and promoting equal opportunities, as well as that the impact is visible in most areas, apart form women's participation in the legislature, improved gender sensitivity of national statistics and improved protection of women from gender-based violence and domestic violence.

²⁴ Lidija Kozarčanin and Slavica Milojević, Evaluation of the Implementation of the National Aging Strategy of the Government of the Republic of Serbia 2005-2016 and Proposals for a New Strategic Framework, Ministry of Labour, Employment, Veterans, and Social Affairs and the United Nations Population Fund, Belgrade, 2016, p. 10-34

²⁵ Ibid, p. 35-36

²⁶ In 2014, the Commissioner for the Protection of Equality warned of the need to start drafting a new national aging strategy, because the current was about to expire in 2015. 2014 Regular Annual Report of the Commissioner for the Protection of Equality, Commissioner for the Protection of Equality, Belgrade, 2015. This warning has also been included in all subsequent annual reports.

²⁷ Dorđević: National Strategy on Aging, Kindergartens next to Gerontology Centres, RTS, TANJUG, 9th July 2019, available at: https://www.rts.rs/page/stories/sr/story/125/drustvo/3585826/national-strategy-on-aging-kindergarten-next-to-gerontological-centers.html

²⁸ Anti-Discrimination Strategy for the period from 2014 to 2018, "Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia", No. 60/2013

²⁹ Vladan Jovanović and Kosana Beker, *Analysis of the Implementation of the Anti-Discrimination Strategy for the period 2014 to 2018*, Belgrade, 2017

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ National Strategy for Gender Equality for the period 2016 to 2020 with the Action Plan for the period 2016 to 2018, "Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia", No. 4/2016

³⁵ Final Evaluation Report on the Action Plan for the Implementation of the National Strategy for Gender Equality, SeCons, Belgrade, 2019

1.1. Social status of the older persons in Serbia

In the world, as in Serbia, the social status of the older persons is worse compared to others and is characterized by discrimination, poverty, violence and abuse, as well as the lack of special measures and services for the older persons. According to the 2011 Census, among households whose holders are the older persons, almost two-thirds are households in which the older persons live alone or with a spouse, and older women are more likely to live in single households. Value 2019 survey shows that older people have a poorer self-assessment of their own quality of life, which is in line with earlier surveys from 2016 and 2018, whose results show that 34% of older people in the city estimate that they live well, and this percentage is twice as small among the older persons living in the rural and is up to 17%.

1.1.1. Discrimination against the older persons

The most common prejudice about the older persons is their usefulness in society, and the results of numerous studies show that about a third of respondents believe that the older persons are less capable than young people, and that certain prejudices are associated with the intellectual abilities of the older persons, especially in relation to learning and adoption of knowledge, that is, mastering new technologies.³⁹ A very frequent consequence of this type of social attitude towards the older persons is that many among the older people adapt to a negative attitude towards their generation, i.e. they internalize such an attitude and accept an inferior social status.⁴⁰

A survey in the UK showed that 37% of respondents of 65+ experienced some kind of age discrimination,⁴¹ while research conducted at the level of the European Union shows that 26% of people of 62+ frequently or occasionally experience some form of discrimination, of which age is the main cause of discrimination.⁴²

36 UN General Assembly, Follow-up to the Second World Assembly on Ageing – Report of the Secretary-General, A/66/173 of 22nd July 2011, available at: https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/SForum/SForum2014/A.66.173 en.pdf (accessed on 8/29/2020)

The situation is similar in Serbia. During 2019, age was the fourth ground of discrimination in complaints in terms of the frequency among the requests for protection against discrimination filed with the Commissioner for the Protection of Equality, represented by almost 10% of the total number of complaints filed.⁴³ It should be noted that the first three grounds are disability (16.2%), gender (13.2%) and health (11.8%), which are often listed along with the old age in all of the complaints stating multiple grounds of discrimination. Regarding the areas in which complaints are most often filed, in 2019, similarly to previous years, most complaints were in the field of labour and employment (32.2%) and in proceedings before public authorities (21.8%).⁴⁴

In Serbia, age discrimination is still present, and not only against people over 65. For example, the report of the Commissioner for the Protection of Equality points to the status of employees in the age category 50-65, who are often exposed to unjustifiably unequal treatment in the area of labour and employment.⁴⁵ Older people of 65+ face many barriers when exercising their rights, including a number of physical, social and economic barriers, widespread stereotypes and prejudices, and a lack of inclusive public policies involving participation of older people.⁴⁶

The results of the 2019 survey⁴⁷ on the perception of citizens towards discrimination, show that two thirds of respondents believe that discrimination exists in Serbia to a great extent, listing the Roma, women, LGBT people, people with disabilities, the poor and *older persons* as most discriminated groups in Serbia.

In a study on the situation of the older persons in rural, one-third of respondents (32%) agree with the statement that some people fail to realize their rights just because of age, but most of the older people in rural (56%) have not experienced discrimination.⁴⁸ On the other hand, about 27% of older people in rural areas experience discrimination, which is twice the percentage of citizens (13%) who feel that they have been discriminated against at some point in their lives.⁴⁹

Research shows that older people in Serbia face numerous challenges and barriers, but rarely turn to the authorities to protect their rights. Older people have relatively low trust in institutions (police, legal system, political system), low trust in other people, and their trust is lower compared to older people living in the EU.⁵⁰

³⁷ Marija Babović, Katarina Veličković, Stefan Stefanović, Nataša Todorović and Milutin Vračević, Social Inclusion of Older Person (65+) in Serbia, Red Cross of Serbia, Belgrade, 2018, p. 61

³⁸ Todorović and Vračević, op.cit, 2019, p. 50

³⁹ Erdman Palmore, *The Ageism Survey: First Findings,* The Gerontologist, The Gerontological Society of America Vol. 41, No. 5, 2001, p. 572–575

⁴⁰ Tina Adler, Ageism: Alive and kicking, APS Observer, 26(7), 2013

⁴¹ Isla Rippon, Dylan Kneale, Cesar de Oliveira, Panayotes Demakakos, Andrew Steptoe, *Perceived Age Discrimination in Older Adults, Age* and Ageing. Vol. 43, 2013, p. 379-386.

⁴² Wim J.A. van den Heuvel i Marc M. van Santvoort, *Experienced Discrimination amongst European Old Citizens*, Eur J Ageing, 8(4), 2011, p. 291-299

⁴³ Abbreviated 2019 Regular Annual Report of the Commissioner for the Protection of Equality, Commissioner for the Protection of Equality, Belgrade, 2020, p. 14-20

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 42-43

⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 14-20

⁴⁷ Public Opinion Survey Report: Citizens' Attitudes Toward Discrimination in Serbia, Commissioner for the Protection of Equality, Belgrade, 2019

⁴⁸ Brankica Janković, Gradimir Zajić, Milutin Vračević, Nataša Todorovic, *Status of Older Persons in Rural Areas*, the Red Cross of Serbia, December 2016, p. 106-107

⁴⁹ Ibid. p. 106-107

⁵⁰ Marija Babović et al., op.cit, 2018, p. 62

Negative stereotypes about aging are still present in Serbia, and the media often portray the older persons as sick, dependent and expensive for society, while on the other hand, there are also negative stereotypes about the young, who are frequently portrayed as inexperienced, lazy, unreliable and selfish.⁵¹ Under the influence of those stereotypes, the society does not promote enough images of intergenerational solidarity, which means that not enough attention is paid to connecting different age groups, which is a necessary precondition for creating a solidarity-based society in which each generation can contribute and develop and use its full potential.⁵²

For example, in the European Union, fiscal costs related to pensions, health care and long-term care are expected to increase in the coming decades, and public policies need to be adjusted to those changes, especially with regard to employment. The European Employment Strategy encourages flexibility, and it tries to respond to both the need for greater inclusion of young people in the labour market and the need for older workers to be included longer, because it is considered to be a key step to ensuring sustainable social welfare, while developing solidarity and social cohesion.⁵³

It should be noted that the older population in Serbia is much less satisfied with their overall life, i.e. their well-being compared to the EU population, and they are most dissatisfied with their financial situation, and most satisfied with personal relations and housing conditions.⁵⁴ Prolonged life expectancy and an increased share of older people in the total population should be accompanied by changes in understanding the aging process, respecting the needs and opportunities of older people and generally increasing social inclusion of older people in all aspects of social life.⁵⁵

In Serbia, it is necessary to establish programmes and policies that will be aimed at the older persons, that will support the quality of life of the older persons and contribute to social inclusion. In addition, it is necessary to work on eradicating discrimination based on age and creating a positive image in society of the older persons who contribute to society in various ways, while motivating the older persons to become more involved in social processes and to become more active members of society. All programs and policies aimed at older people should take into account the gender perspective, bearing in mind that older women are more numerous than older men and are at a disadvantage in most areas of life, especially in relation to their financial situation.

1.1.2. Older persons' poverty

Widespread discrimination against the older persons allows the society not to pay enough attention to the disadvantaged position of the older persons, their social problems, including poverty. Complete marginalization of older persons affected by poverty with a strong sense of loneliness and objective social isolation are among the biggest problems of old age in poverty in Serbia.⁵⁸

Although there is a difference in poverty level and duration in older population, it should be noted that in cases of long-term poverty involving generational exposure to basic living conditions, the older persons are mostly without regular income, regular nutrition, exposed to additional risks arising from serious health issues, and consequently increased difficulties when it comes to medical treatment and procurement of medicines, as well as from difficult housing conditions.⁵⁹ A survey of poor older people (who have no personal income or whose income is less than EUR80) showed a strong correlation between the poverty of the older persons and their educational status, with the sample consisting of older people without formal education or with completed primary education.⁶⁰ Older people living in poverty are mostly socially excluded, exposed to financial poverty, deprived of existential needs, are of poor health, lacking sufficient or adequate community support, lonely, and often feeling left to fend for themselves.⁶¹

A larger number of older persons living in rural thinks that they live poorly (25%), and every tenth older persons living in rural thinks that they live very poorly, while on the other hand, 17% of them think that they live well, and every hundredth older persons living in rural thinks that he/she lives very well.

Data from the Republic Statistical Office for 2018⁶³ show that the at-risk-of-poverty rate (these individuals are not necessarily poor, but only are at higher risk) was 24.3%, while the at-risk-of-poverty or social exclusion rate (these individuals are at risk of poverty or are extremely materially deprived, or live in households of a very low labour intensity) was 34.3%. The at-risk-of-poverty threshold was RSD 16,615, on average per month for a one-member household; for households with two adults and one child under 14 the at-risk-of-poverty threshold was RSD 29,907, while for a four-member household with two adults and two children under 14 this threshold was RSD 34,892.

⁵¹ Todorović and Vračević, op.cit, 2019, p. 16

⁵² Ibid, p. 16

⁵³ Ibid, p. 12

⁵⁴ Marija Babović et al., op. cit, 2018, p. 63

⁵⁵ Commissioner for the Protection of Equality, op. cit, 2020, p. 14-20

⁵⁶ Marija Babović et al., op. cit, 2018, p. 63

⁵⁷ Commissioner for the Protection of Equality, op. cit, 2020, p. 14-20

⁵⁸ Nadežda Satarić and Lidija Kozarčanin, *Older People in Poverty - Case Study of Older Persons'*Poverty, Comparative Analysis and Proposed Measures for the Poverty Reduction Strategy, Amity,
Belgrade, 2003, p. 32-35

⁵⁹ Ibid

⁶⁰ Nadežda Satarić, Mirjana Rašević, and Sanja Miloradović, *They Cannot Wait: Study on Poor Older Persons in Serbia*, Amity, Belgrade, 2009, p. 5-8

⁶¹ Ibid

⁶² Brankica Jankovic et al., op. cit, 2016, p. 93

⁶³ Press release no. 281 dated 10/15/2019 - Poverty and Social Inequality in 2018, Republic Statistical Office, Belgrade, 2019

When it comes to age, persons of 18 to 24 were most at risk of poverty (29.1%), as well as the children under 18 (28.8%), while the lowest at-risk-of-poverty rate was for the persons of 65+(21.1%). Depending on the employment status, among those of 18+, the most exposed to the risk of poverty were the unemployed (49%), and the lowest at-risk-of-poverty rate was among the employees with the employer (6.8%), while for the pensioners this rate was 17.1%.

However,ifthedataareanalysedin relation to a gean dender, slightly different data are obtained. Women are generally at lower risk of poverty (24%) compared to men (24.6%), but there is a large difference in the 65+ age group, where the at-risk-of-poverty rate for women is 24.3%, while for the older men of same age this rate is 16.9%. In addition, when it comes to the at-risk-of-poverty rate of households without dependent children, this rate is 21.2% for general population, while in single-member households of persons of 65+, this rate is 32.6%.

The results of the 2018 survey⁶⁸ on the social inclusion of older persons show that the working activity of the older population is registered more frequently among men and less frequently among women, who perform agricultural activities within their family farms, while other categories of non-agricultural employments are not represented.⁶⁹ Furthermore, pension coverage is unsatisfactory, given that 8% of men and 17% of women in the 65+ age group do not receive any type of pension, and that there is a gap in pensions between women and men, i.e. women receive lower pensions, inter alia, due to differences in work experience. It should be noted that pensions have an important protective function against poverty, so older people are less at risk of financial poverty than the younger population, but there are differences in certain groups of older people, and older women are particularly at risk of financial poverty.⁷⁰

On the other hand, other forms of poverty, measured through deprivation of basic living needs, are more present among the population of 65+, i.e., the older persons in Serbia are significantly more materially deprived compared to the situation of the older persons in the European Union, and severe material deprivation particularly affects older women.⁷¹

The 2016 survey shows that most households (73%) in the rural have only one source of income, mostly pensions (70%). The average personal income of the older persons in the rural areas was RSD 16,290, two thirds of older persons have personal incomes that are below the average personal income of the older persons, and every tenth person (11%) has no personal income at all.⁷²

All the aforementioned data show that it is necessary to take special measures in Serbia that will be aimed at reducing the poverty of older persons, both to reduce financial poverty and to reduce other forms of poverty and deprivation in meeting basic living needs.

1.1.3. Violence and abuse of the older persons

In Serbia, there is not much data on violence and abuse to which the older persons are exposed. The Serbian Red Cross conducted two researches on this topic, one in 2012 and the other in 2015. The results of the 2012 survey show that 32% of older people have survived some form of violence, 73 while the 2015 survey shows that 19.8% of older people have experienced abuse and neglect, of which 11% in the year prior to the survey.⁷⁴ Some 5.5% of older people has experienced multiple forms of violence, and more older women were exposed to violence compared to older men - 20.4% of women were victims of some form of abuse (10.7% financial violence, 7.8% psychological violence, physical 4.2% and 4% neglect). 75 Violence against older persons is less reported, it has a gender dimension, the perpetrators are mostly men (usually sons and grandsons), violence in most cases takes place in the home of the perpetrator and the victim, and a pretext for prosecuting acts of violence against the older persons in the family context is usually physical violence, while psychological violence is rarely reported, which indicates that the threshold of tolerance to psychological violence is very high when it comes to the older persons. 76 Amity's 2017 survey on the status and needs of the elderly households in Novi Beograd shows that 11% of older people have experienced violence during the previous year, of which older women are more likely to report violence.⁷⁷

Not enough attention is still paid to violence and neglect of the older persons, and the reasons for that are numerous. Older people cannot or do not have support or do not want to report violence they suffer from their closest family members, while on the other hand, emotional, social and economic violence against the older persons is not sufficiently recognized by society in general and professionals.⁷⁸ The Ombudsman issued system recommendations to public authorities in 2018, after identifying a number of individual and system omissions in 30 cases of femicide,

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Marija Babović et al., op. cit, 2018

⁶⁹ Ibid, p. 61

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Brankica Janković et al., op. cit, 2018, p. 84

⁷³ Nevena Petrušić, Nataša Todorović, and Milutin Vračević, *Violence against Older Persons - Study on Domestic Violence*, Serbian Red Cross, Belgrade, 2012, p. 11

⁷⁴ Brankica Janković, Nataša Todorović, and Milutin Vračević, *Well-kept Family Secret - Abuse of the Older Persons*, Serbian Red Cross, Belgrade, 2015

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Petrušić, Todorović, and Vračević, op. cit, 2012, p. 75-77

⁷⁷ Nadežda Satarić and Natalija Perišić, *Dimmed City Lights - Study on the Status and Needs of the Elderly Households in Novi Beograd*, Amity, Belgrade, 2017, http://www.amity-yu.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/Dimmed-lights-city.pdf

⁷⁸ Ombudsman's Regular Annual Report for 2019, Ombudsman, Belgrade, 2020, p. 57

domestic violence and partner abuse, and child abuse and neglect, and among the cases examined there had been cases of violence and femicide against older women.⁷⁹

Data from the Centres for Social Welfare from 2016 show that violence against older persons was present in 13% of cases of domestic violence, and older women were more exposed to violence (65%).⁸⁰ The most frequently reported forms of violence against older persons are physical and psychological violence, but on the other hand, the least number of protection measures have been initiated to protect the older persons, and no measures have been imposed to protect victims of economic violence.⁸¹ This indicates that economic violence is not recognized enough, and when we talk about the older persons, it would be very significant to identify this type of violence, having in mind that the results of the research on financial abuse of older people show that about 40% of the older persons have current accounts available to a third party, even though about 8% of the older persons state that someone takes their money without their knowledge or approval.⁸² This is usually happens to older people living in a family household with their children, and money is usually taken by sons and daughters without prior approval.

1.1.4. Lack of special measures and services intended for the older persons

Older people in Serbia face many challenges. Some of these challenges and barriers are related to aging itself, and the system does not respond adequately to them. Special measures and services intended for the older persons, which respect their needs and possibilities, are very rare.

The contribution of older women and men to society and the family is not recognized or adequately valued, and is very significant, especially in terms of financial support to children and grandchildren, as well as in terms of other forms of support that the older persons provide to their families. For example, older women most of their free time during the day spend on the care of others. With aging, the risk of chronic diseases increases, and the health of the older persons often deteriorates, which can lead to both disability and functional dependence of older persons. These are situations in which younger family members provide support and assistance to the

 $79 \quad Available \ at: \ https://www.ombudsman.rs/index.php/2012-02-07-14-03-33/5985-u-vrd-ni-prpus-i-u-r-du-n-dl-znih-u-bl-s-i-z-sh-i-zr-v-u-sluc-vi-p-r-dicn-g-i-p-r-n-rs-g-n-silj$

older persons, most often as informal caretakers, and this is an area in which the role of intergenerational cooperation and solidarity is very important.⁸⁴ However, given the unfavourable migration trends, which imply that young people are leaving villages and that the working age population is leaving the country, the number of informal caretakers is expected to decrease, so it is necessary to plan and restructure the formal care system in order to ensure it would adequately respond to the needs of the older persons in a situation of reducing the number of informal caretakers.⁸⁵

A 2019 survey shows that a large number of Serbian citizens, from all generations, believe that older people can be useful to their children and grandchildren, as well as not be a burden on the economy, which is very positive because it shows that many citizens recognize the role of the older persons within the family and society. 86 In addition, intergenerational solidarity and responsibility for the family is very pronounced in Serbia, so a large percentage of citizens believe that parents have a duty to support their children as long as they live, and that children should take care of their parents when they grow old and are in need of support and care, which is seen as a family duty and obligation.87 The survey showed that 37.6% of older people in Serbia have difficulty performing daily household chores/activities independently, and that older people make up 15% of beneficiaries of institutional social protection services, non-institutional social protection services and cash benefits, which is lower than their share in general population.88 It is estimated that only 4.5% to 6.9% of the older persons are covered by some of these services, and that 90% of older persons in Serbia mostly rely on family support. On the other hand, the percentage of unmet care needs is higher in older women than in older men: 9.4% of women state that they need direct assistance (5.2% receive it). compared to 5.2% of surveyed men who need direct assistance (3% receive it).89 About a quarter of citizens believe that the state should provide financial support to the older persons, 13% believe that the state should provide help with household chores, while 14% believe that the state should provide personal assistance to the older persons in need.90

The largest percentage of people of 65+ receive assistance, i.e. support in daily activities from the family (41%), while only 6.5% of the older persons receive help from organized services. Informal support networks are much more prevalent in rural areas, with older people living in rural areas finding support among family members (53%), relatives (19%), neighbours (17%), and friends (7%).

^{80 2016} Work Report of Centres for Social Welfare, Republic Institute for Social Protection, Belgrade, 2017

⁸¹ Ibid

⁸² Nevena Petrušić, Nataša Todorović, and Milutin Vračević, *Introduction to Aging and Human*Rights of the Older Persons. Pilot Study on Financial Abuse of Older Persons, Serbian Red Cross,
Belgrade, 2015, p. 85-86

⁸³ Marija Babović, et al., op. cit, 2018, p. 61

⁸⁴ Nataša Todorović, Milutin Vračević, *Intergenerational Cooperation for Beginners*, Center for Responsible Action, Belgrade, 2019, p. 11

Todorović, Vračević, Stanisavljević, and Milić, op. cit., 2019, p. 12

⁸⁶ Todorović and Vračević, op. cit, 2019, p. 39

⁸⁷ Todorović, Vračević, Stanisavljević, and Milić, op. cit., 2019, p. 14-15

⁸⁸ Ibid, p. 25-26

⁸⁹ Ibid

⁹⁰ Ibid, p. 44

⁹¹ Ibid, p. 72

⁹² Brankica Janković et al., op. cit., 2016, p.102

One of the reasons why older people need support is their health, which often worsens with aging. Older women and men in Serbia rate their health as worse compared to the older women and men in the European Union, older women rate their health worse than men, urban population rates their health better than older people living in rural areas, and women in rural areas rate their own health the worst. Due to the lack of financial resources and expensive procedures, a significant number of older persons people have not met their health needs, and this number is higher compared to the situation in the European Union. Page 1991

A 2018 survey found that 25% of seniors did not visit a doctor, even though it was necessary, and there was a high percentage of those who needed help and care but did not use it, as well as those who had been on the "waiting list" for a long time for the specialist's services or medical interventions. This shows that health care services are not available to the older persons when they need them, despite the existence of all conditions for achieving health care, bearing in mind that regular check-ups are important to reduce the likelihood of complications of the underlying disease, which might cause an increased risk of unfavourable health outcomes and disability.

Older people are beneficiaries of social protection services in a smaller percentage compared to their share in the total population, and there are more women among them. Social protection measures that are most often aimed at the older persons (guardianship, home assistance, and accommodation in nursing homes for adults and the older persons) are not adequate, i.e. other community-based support services have not been developed, except for sporadic pilot initiatives of civil society organizations.⁹⁷ The Annual Progress Reports for Serbia⁹⁸ emphasize the need to develop non-institutional forms of protection, integrated social services, public deinstitutionalisation policies and more diverse service providers, with the aim of improving the availability and quality of services.

It is necessary to create services that cover a wider range of needs of the older persons, such as combined health and social services, as well as the establishment of a consistent and effective system of long-term care. Long-term care services in Serbia are divided between the health care system, social protection, institutional services and community-based services, 99 so it is very difficult to coordinate fragmented and unharmonized services. Social-health services have not been developed or standards for the provision of these services have been adopted, and no significant progress has been made in Serbia in terms of palliative care, which

93 Marija Babović et al., op. cit., 2018, p. 61

is very important for the older persons and their families. 100 In addition, it should be noted that the pension system in Serbia, in the light of demographic changes, becomes unsustainable and efforts on the reform and transformation of this system are required. 101

1.2. The position of older women

The consequence of the demographic aging is the process of the so-called feminization of aging, which means an increase in number of women in the total older persons population. According to data for the period 2010-2015, women live on average 4.4 years longer than men. There are more older women in the European Union compared to older men in the 65+ age group, and there are twice as many women as men in the 85+ age group. Although this gap is narrowing, it should be noted that in 2018 the average was 1.32 women over the age of 65 in the EU for every man of the same age, and that the largest differences were recorded in the Baltic States. 104

Projections for the Republic of Serbia, as of 31st December 2019, as already mentioned above, show that the population of 6,926,705 out of which 51.28% are women. Among adult women, there are 828,944 women of 65+ (27.93%). In addition to the constant decrease in the number of inhabitants, there is an evident change in the population age-gender structure in Serbia. In 2002, the most represented population of both women and men was in the age group 45-49, while in 2019 the largest share of men is in the age group 40-44, and the largest share of women in the age group 65-69. 106

In the table below, population projections are presented by age group (65+) and their share in the total population disaggregated according to gender¹⁰⁷, from which it can be clearly seen how many women are in all of the observed age groups.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Brankica Janković, Nataša Todorović, Gradimir Zajić, and Milutin Vračević, *Aging in Cities - Challenges of Modern Society, Serbian* Red Cross, Belgrade, 2018, p. 153-154

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Marija Babović et al., op. cit., 2018, p. 61

⁹⁸ Annual Progress Reports of the European Commission for Serbia, available at: https://www.mei.gov.rs/srp/dokumenta/eu-dokumenta/godisnji-izvestaji-ek

⁹⁹ Brankica Janković et al., op. cit., 2018, p. 155-156

¹⁰⁰ Commissioner for the Protection of Equality, op.cit, 2020, p. 14-20

¹⁰¹ Pension and disability insurance in the Republic of Serbia is based on the principle of compulsory pension insurance. Such a system, known in the world as the "Pay as you go" system, is the one where financing is done from gross earnings. It is based on intergenerational solidarity and the system of covering pension expenditures with current income from pension and disability insurance contributions, according to which employees directly, with their contributions, finance pensioners and thus acquire the right to their own pension. Todorović and Vračević, op.cit, 2019, p. 13

¹⁰² Population Facts: Population aging and sustainable development, UNDESA (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs), New York, 2015

¹⁰³ Publications Office of the European Union, op.cit, 2019, p. 17

¹⁰⁴ For example, there were more than two women over the age of 65 for every man of the same age in Latvia. Publications Office of the European Union, op.cit, 2019, p. 17

¹⁰⁵ Republic Statistical Office, *Press release no. 172 of 1.7.2020 - Population Projections 2019*, Belgrade, 2019, p. 1

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, p. 3

¹⁰⁷ Population by age groups, absolute value and share in the total population in 2019, Republic Statistical Office, Belgrade, 2020, available at: https://data.stat.gov.rs/Home/Result/180107?languageCode=en-Latn&displayMode=table

Table 1: 65+ Population, projections by gender in the total population, 2019

Age group	In total %	Men %	Women%		
65+	20,7	18,21	23,06		
75+	8,23	6,7	9,69		
80+	4,63	3,64	5,58		
85+	1,91	1,45	2,35		

Experiences of aging differ between men and women, that is, older women are at a higher risk of discrimination, which is a consequence of gender discrimination to which they are exposed throughout their lives. Women have more limited access to education, including lifelong learning programmes, health and other services, have more limited access to goods, are more often unemployed, and are more likely to do low-paid jobs, which accumulated worsens their position in old age. Although there are not enough official and reliable data that are consistently disaggregated by gender and age, it can be concluded that older women are at higher risk of violence, neglect and abuse. Given that older women are less literate and less educated than older men, this significantly reduces their ability to adequately be informed, use services, and participate in social, economic, and political life.

In Serbia, the collection of data disaggregated by gender has improved, but there are still challenges regarding the availability of data disaggregated by gender and other personal characteristics, including age, disability, etc. The lack of data makes it difficult, and often completely impossible, to create public policies that will be adequate for all women, that is, that will respond to the diverse needs of women from different groups. Therefore, the CEDAW Committee recommended to Serbia to conduct a comprehensive analysis and assessment of the position and needs of multiply marginalized groups of women, such as Roma women, older women, poor women and other groups of women, in order to collect data to improve the legislative framework and policy development.¹¹⁰

1.2.1. Discrimination against older women

Discrimination against older women, although present in all modern societies, is not an in-focus topic. At the international level, this topic is also neglected, so discrimination against older women is mentioned in General Recommendation no. 27 of the CEDAW Committee on Older Women and their human rights, ¹¹¹ which pointed to deeply rooted cultural and social norms that put women at higher risk of age discrimination, as well as in the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, which highlighted the need to combat stereotypes and prejudices, inter alia, based on gender and age. ¹¹²

Older women in Serbia are at a disadvantage compared to older men, as well as compared to women and men from other age groups. They face many problems: their socio - economic situation is poor, they are more exposed to poverty, they often do not have enough income for bare necessities, they have increased medical treatment costs, health care services are not available enough, a small number of older women uses social protection services, they rarely participate in cultural and other activities in the community and are not active in political and public life, and they are very often exposed to violence. 113 It should be noted that certain groups of older women are at even greater risk of discrimination, such as older women with disabilities, older Roma women, older women living in rural areas, and others. The European Commission also pointed out the constant and continuous exposure to multiple discrimination of certain groups of women, including older women. 114 Multiple / intersectional discrimination against certain groups of older women is very complex because it often includes, in addition to sex, gender and age, disability-based discrimination, poverty, religious or ethnical origin-based one, and the like. 115 However, for all these synergistic factors to be visible, detailed records and statistics are required, and older women are usually excluded, i.e., when there is a gender component in public policies, the focus is mainly on women in reproductive period. 116

¹⁰⁸ Kosana Beker, Multiple Discrimination against Women in Serbia and in Selected European Union Countries: A Comparative Analysis, Doctoral Dissertation, University of Novi Sad, ACIMSI, Centre for Gender Studies, Novi Sad, 2019, p. 127-130, available at: http://www.zenskestudije.org.rs/pdf/doktorske/Kosana Beker disertacija.pdf

¹⁰⁹ Aging in the Twenty-First Century: A Celebration and A Challenge, the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), New York and HelpAge International, London, 2012, p. 28, https://www.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/Ageing%20report.pdf

¹¹⁰ CEDAW/C/SRB/CO/4, 2019, para. 44.

¹¹¹ General Recommendation No. 27 on Older Women and Protection of their Human Rights, UN CEDAW Committee, CEDAW/C/GC/27E/1996/22, 16.12.2010, para. 9, 11-13 and 29.

¹¹² Art. 8 and 13 of the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities

¹¹³ Kosana Beker, Biljana Janjić and Valentina Lepojević, *Report on Women's Rights and Gender Equality in Serbia for 2019,* FemPlatz, Pancevo, 2020, p. 32

²⁰¹⁹ Serbia Progress Report, European Commission, Brussels, 29 May 2019, p. 27, available at: https://ec.europa.eu/neighborhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/20190529-serbia-report.pdf

Discrimination in old age: multiple, cumulative and on the increase, HelpAge International, 2011, p. 2, https://social.un.org/ageing-working-group/documents/HelpAge%20briefing%20 discrimination%20in%20old%20age%20Aug%2011.pdf

Older women: excluded from the rights agenda, Age International, https://www.ageinternational.org.uk/policy-and-research/gender-inequality/Older-women-and-their-rights-/

As mentioned, age is a very common basis for discrimination against the older persons, and older women are at increased risk of discrimination when it comes to employment, labour market, wages, access to financial services, development services, property ownership, access to services. ¹¹⁷ Older women often do not recognize the discrimination to which they are exposed. In a 2017 survey, 11% of older respondents stated that they had been discriminated against in the previous year, and most of them were older women with the lowest level of income, who experienced discrimination in health care institutions and the state administration. ¹¹⁸ Discriminatory attitudes are particularly pronounced towards widows, older women living alone, older women with disabilities, older women living in rural areas, etc., and in addition, they are exposed to violence, abuse and neglect, both in their homes and in public institutions and public transport. ¹¹⁹

In Serbia, older Roma women and older women living in rural areas, among others, are exposed to multiple discrimination. According to the results of the 2011 Census, the share of the Roma population was 2.1%, 120 but it has been estimated that this number is much higher. 121 There are fewer women (49%) in the Roma population compared to men, the Roma population is extremely young (average age is 27.8 years), with a very small number of people of 60+. 122 Roma women in Serbia are discriminated against and live in great poverty. Their educational status is very poor, they are exposed to child marriages and early births, they live in poor conditions, they are exposed to violence, unemployed rate is high, and they face many obstacles in exercising their basic rights. 123 In addition, the health situation of Roma women is significantly worse compared to the general population, among other things, due to discrimination to which they are often exposed, as well as due

117 Shadow Report to the CEDAW Committee on Discrimination against Older Women in the Republic of Serbia, Amity, Belgrade 2018, p. 1-2, available at: http://www.amity-yu.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/Amity-Alternativni-Izvestaj-o-diskriminaciji-starijih-zena-u-Srbiji.pdf

to lack of documents and/or health care insurance.¹²⁴ Older Roma women, who are very few due to their shorter life expectancy, face all of these problems and challenges to an even greater extent.

Older women in the countryside share the fate of women and men living in rural areas in Serbia, but their position is more difficult compared to younger women and men of all ages living in the rural areas. Rural infrastructure is in a very poor condition, rural services are being shut down, health stations are being closed, there is no regular transport, etc., so there are obvious obstacles in exercising basic rights, because exercising a significant number of rights and services requires going to the city, which may represent a major obstacle for older women. The position of older women in relation to health and social care is particularly difficult.

1.2.2. Social exclusion of older women

Older women are neglected in society, public policies do not respond to their needs, over 80% of older women believe that society does not pay enough attention to their position, and mention poor socio - economic status as their biggest problem. 127

The contribution of older women and their role in households is not sufficiently visible, although they continue to make a significant contribution to the households in which they live, most often through housework and care for family members. Unpaid work of older women is important for the whole household, but it is most often neglected. Due to longer life expectancy, older women are more likely to become widows and are less likely to remarry compared to widowers. This leads to an increased risk of poverty and social exclusion, because in many societies the status of a woman depends on her marital status, i.e. the status of the spouse / partner. Due to longer life expectancy.

Older women more often than men face difficulties in meeting basic living needs, and the high material deprivation rate in 2018 in the European Union was 3.6%

¹¹⁸ Nadežda Satarić and Natalija Perišić, Dimmed Lights of the City - Study on the Position and Needs of Older Persons' Households in Novi Beograd, Belgrade, 2017, p. 64-65, http://www.amity-yu.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/Prigusena-svetla-grada.pdf

They Have The Same Rights - What Older Women Have to Say About Their Rights Not to Be Discriminated Against, to Be Equal and Free From Violence, Abuse and Neglect, HelpAge International and the Serbian Red Cross, 2017, available at: https://www.redcross.org.rs/media/2467/imaju-ista-prava-pdf.pdf

¹²⁰ Population by ethnicity, age and sex, Republic Statistical Office, https://data.stat.gov.rs/Home/Res ult/3102010403?languageCode=sr-Cyrl

¹²¹ Beker, Janjić, and Lepojevicć, op.cit, 2020, p. 30

¹²² Roma in Serbia, Republic Statistical Office, Belgrade, 2014, p. 62 and 65

¹²³ National Report on the Implementation of the UN CEDAW and the Istanbul Convention in the Republic of Serbia - Discrimination and Violence against Roma Women, Roma Women's Centre Bibija, Belgrade, 2019, p. 52

¹²⁴ Kosana Beker (ed), Regional Report on the Implementation of the CEDAW and the Council of Europe Convention on the Prevention of Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (Istanbul Convention) in Connection to Discrimination against Roma Women in Health Care, Child Marriages and Providing Support and Protection to Roma Women in a Situation of Domestic Violence, Roma Women's Centre Bibija, Belgrade, 2019, p. 52

¹²⁵ Amity, op.cit, 2018, p. 16

¹²⁶ Ibid, p. 17-19

¹²⁷ Report on the Position of Older Women in Serbia, Commissioner for the Protection of Equality, Belgrade. 2017.

¹²⁸ Older women are the invisible linchpins of the household economy, Age International, 15th August 2016, https://blog.ageinternational.org.uk/older-women-household-economy/

Aging in the Twenty-First Century: A Celebration and A Challenge, the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), New York and HelpAge International, London, 2012, p. 28

for men over 75, while for women it was almost twice as high (6.1%). ¹³⁰ In Serbia, the situation is very similar, but the older persons are more materially deprived compared to the situation of the older persons in the European Union. Namely, deprivation in meeting basic living needs in Serbia is more present among the population of 65+, and severe material deprivation especially affects older women. ¹³¹

The social exclusion of older women in Serbia is influenced by many factors, and one of them is education. In Serbia, there are 2.68% of citizens without school and 11% with incomplete primary school, and in both groups there are more women 81% without school and 64.4% with incomplete primary school. In the group of functionally illiterate, 70.5% are those of 65+, of which 91% are women. Among the rural population, the level of education is lower compared to the population living in urban areas, and older women who are uneducated mostly live in rural areas, without pensions or other stable incomes.

Employment is also one of the important factors influencing the social exclusion of older women. In that sense, lower level of education and unemployment, that is, significantly lower employment, aggravates the situation in old age and leads to older women being in a worse position in society. Statistics show that activity and inactivity rates in the labour market are higher in men than in women, especially in the 50-64 age group. The inactivity of older women is also affected by the fact that they are more likely to be excluded from the labour market, i.e. many are inactive due to downsizing, and women over the age of 50 find it much harder to get a job again. Austerity measures introduced in 2015 in the public sector have caused younger women employed in the public sector to become unemployed, while most older women have become inactive.

130 Publications Office of the European Union, op.cit, 2019, p. 40

In addition, the 2014 pension system reform gradually began to equalize retirement conditions for women and men, which did not lead to a reduction in the inactivity rate of women, and this reform did not take into account the different experiences and contributions of women, including their participation in unpaid housework. Equalization of the retirement age should be accompanied by special measures to enable equal opportunities in the labour market, 139 including in terms of earnings and promotions, as well as the distribution of unpaid household work, otherwise the consequences are most felt by older women.

The situation is even worse for older women from rural areas. They participate in unpaid work in the status of an assisting member of an agricultural farm, but are not registered, which deprives them of many rights (health insurance, pension). Older women living in rural often take care of their grandchildren, take care of sick family members, do many household chores, but this work is not valued, although research shows that they spend 8 hours a day in formal and informal work, which is equivalent to full-time work. As mentioned above, every tenth older persons person in the rural (11%) has no personal income, and there are more women (13%) than men (9%), which also indicates that women are at greater risk of poverty. It is unpaid to the participate of the participate in the participate in the status of the participate in the participat

1.2.3. Health care and social protection

Research shows that different personal characteristics of individuals, such as socio - economic status, ethnicity, age, gender, disability, affect a person's level of health and access to health care, so certain groups are at increased risk of multiple discrimination in health care. Although women live longer than men on average, they are more likely to become ill, which is influenced by many factors, such as multiple pregnancies, limited access to health care services, and poverty. For example, in the European Union, women at age 65 can expect to live a healthy life (without major health problems) for 47.7% of their remaining life expectancy, while men can expect to live a healthy life of 54.1% remaining lifespan.

¹³¹ Marija Babović et al., op.cit, 2018, p. 60

^{132 2011} Census in the Republic of Serbia, *Education, Literacy and Computer Literacy*, Republic Statistical Office, Belgrade, p. 34 and 104.

¹³³ It should be noted that for women born between 1932 and 1937, only basic literacy was provided after World War II, but this was not the case with those born before 1932. Amity, op. cit, 2018, p. 7-8

¹³⁴ Brankica Janković et al., op.cit, 2016

¹³⁵ Amity, op.cit, 2 018, p. 8-10

Women and men in the labour market, Foundation of the Centre for Democracy, Belgrade, 2017, 9 p.

¹³⁷ Jelena Žarković Rakić, Marko Vladisavljević, Ivana Prokić, and Ivana Poljak, Policy brief, Foundation for the Development of Economic Science (FREN), p. 2, available at: https://fren.org.rs/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/Policy-Brief.pdf; https://fren.org.rs/vesti/rodna-nejednakost-natrzistu-rada/

¹³⁸ Amity, op.cit, 2018, p. 8-10

¹³⁹ For example, a quarter of employed highly educated women of 45+ in Serbia work in jobs below their qualifications. *Labour Market in Serbia-Position of Women 45+ - Denial of the Right to* Decent Work, Women at a Crossroads and SeConS, Belgrade, 2017, available at: http://www.secons.net/files/publications/78-publication.pdf

¹⁴⁰ Amity, op.cit, 2 018, p. 8-10

¹⁴¹ Brankica Janković et al., op.cit, 2016, p. 70-71

¹⁴² Inequalities and Multiple Discrimination in Health Care, FRA - European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, Vienna, p. 2, available at: https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra-factsheet_inequalititesmultdiscrimination_en.pdf

¹⁴³ United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), New York and HelpAge International, op.cit, 2012, p. 28

¹⁴⁴ Publications Office of the European Union, op.cit, 2019, p. 50

It should be noted that not all older women have the same opportunities and equal access to health care facilities, and the most common reasons are distance from health centres, poverty, inadequate access to public transport, inaccessibility of transport, health care facilities and services. ¹⁴⁵ In addition, many older women find it very difficult to schedule specialist medical examinations, especially if they live rural areas. The vast majority of older women (86%) state that due to their age, health care workers treat them with less respect, and that there is a practice of referring them to private health clinics for specialist examinations with long waiting lists, which practically deprives them of specialist health care services due to lack of financial resources. ¹⁴⁶ The situation is similar in the European Union, with data from 2017 showing that the cost of medical services and long waiting lists posed two major healthcare challenges, especially for women in the 75+ age group. ¹⁴⁷

Older citizens in Serbia are of significantly poorer health status compared to general population, and older women are of poorer health than older men. Older women, more often than older men, have problems with vision and movement, and depression is twice as common in older women. 148 Over 60% of older women are limited in their daily activities due to their health condition, a large number have not visited a doctor (16.5%) or a dentist (72.4%) in the previous year, while there are older women who have never been at the doctor's (1.6%) or at the dentist's (3.5%). 149

In the European Union, it is common for the older persons to be provided with home assistance and care services. About 17.4% of people of 75+ have been using this service, and the share of older women (20%) is higher compared to older men (13.5%). However, in Serbia, 4.5% of older women use social protection services, 5.5% in the cities and 2.2% in rural areas, in mainly those women whose abilities to perform daily activities are significantly limited. This means that older women living in rural areas do not receive social care services to the extent and in the way they need them. Among other things, the reason is that these services are more accessible in urban and suburban areas, and rarely in rural areas. In general, there is a big difference between the need for support and the support provided. For example, only 1.1% of older women used financial assistance, compared to 44.5% of them who said they needed help. In addition, community-based long-term care services are not sufficient to cover even 1% of the older persons. The lack of support services for the older persons significantly affects their ability to exercise their rights.

1.2.4. Violence against older women

Numerous researches in the world and in our country have shown that domestic violence is very widespread in all regions of the world, and the victims are most often women, children, the older persons and persons with disabilities.¹⁵⁴ Violence against older women is widespread in Serbia, but not sufficiently reported. Many older women suffer violence from their spouses, partners, or other family members for years, but consider it an acceptable pattern of behaviour, that is, they do not report violence for many reasons, including fear, shame, ignorance, and the like.¹⁵⁵

Rare studies on violence against the older persons show that the older persons are exposed to various forms and manifestations of violence, as well as that the older women are at a higher risk of violence.

Serbian Red Cross' 2012 study found that 32% of older people survived some form of violence, and a 2015 survey shows that about 20% of older people have experienced violence, and that women are more exposed to violence. 157

Data from the social welfare centres from 2018 show a constant increase in reports of domestic violence (161% more than in 2014). However, the number of reports of violence against the older persons is not increasing, i.e., 13% of reports refer to violence against the older persons, with 64% of victims being older women. Dordination and cooperation groups at the local level have adopted a total of 11,889 individual protection and support plans for the victims of violence, out of which 67% relate to older beneficiaries. In Vojvodina, in 2018, the share of reports on violence against older persons was 15%, out of which the largest number of reports were on physical (275 reports) and psychological (241) violence, followed by sexual (30) and economic violence (14).

In addition, a large number of older women victims of femicide should be pointed out. The research which included all final court verdicts for various murders of women in Serbia for the period from 1.1.2015. to 31.12.2017. (a total of 65 verdicts), showed that women of 65+ were significantly represented (23.5%),

¹⁴⁵ Amity, op.cit, 2018, p. 12-13

¹⁴⁶ Commissioner for the Protection of Equality, op.cit, 2017

¹⁴⁷ Publications Office of the European Union, op.cit, 2019, p. 70

¹⁴⁸ Amity, op.cit, 2018, p. 12-13

¹⁴⁹ Commissioner for the Protection of Equality, op.cit, 2017, p. 14

¹⁵⁰ Publications Office of the European Union, op.cit, 2019, p. 62

Home assistance, cash allowance for care and assistance, residential care services in a social welfare institutions, personal assistance for adult women with disabilities, clubs' services. Commissioner for the Protection of Equality, op.cit, 2017, p. 27

¹⁵² Ibid. p. 27-29

¹⁵³ Regular annual report of the Ombudsman for 2017, Ombudsman, Belgrade, 2018, p. 45

¹⁵⁴ Slobodanka Konstantinović Vilić, Nevena Petrušić, and Kosana Beker, *Social and Institutional Response to Femicide in Serbia I,* FemPlatz, Pančevo, 2019, p. 38

¹⁵⁵ Amity, op.cit, 20 18, p. 21-23

¹⁵⁶ Petrušić, Todorović, and Vračević, op.cit, 2012

¹⁵⁷ Janković, Todorović, and Vračević, op.cit, 2015

²⁰¹⁸ Social Welfare Centres' Work Report for, Republic Institute for Social Protection, Belgrade, 2019, p. 19, available at: http://www.zavodsz.gov.rs/sr/biblioteka/izve%C5%A1taji-iz-sistema/izve%C5%A1taji-iz-sistema-2018/

¹⁵⁹ Ibid. p. 20

¹⁶⁰ Ibid, p. 22

^{161 2017} Unified Report on the Work of Social Welfare Centres in AP Vojvodina, Provincial Institute for Social Protection, Novi Sad, 2018, p. 40

which indicates the fact that the perpetrators often used the helplessness and incapacity of the victim.¹⁶²

Although older women are at higher risk of violence, protection from violence is not adapted to them, i.e. the specifics of violence against older women in the family are not recognized, and research on violence shows that these specifics exist in terms of types of violence, perpetrators and reduced opportunities for older women to contact support.¹⁶³

It is necessary to work on raising the awareness of all state bodies involved in the system of prevention and protection against discrimination, so they could respond more adequately to cases of violence against the older persons. On the other hand, information on violence and abuse of the older persons needs to be present in public, which will influence the attitudes of the general public, as well as raise awareness among the older persons themselves that they should not suffer from violence, but that it is necessary to seek support and protection.

1.3. Participation of women in public and political life

Thanks to the constant changes in the electoral legislation in Serbia in the last two decades, i.e., the introduction of the quota for the underrepresented sex, which amounts to 40% from 2020, the number of women in the National Assembly and local assemblies has been increased. It should be noted that the number of women has increased due to special measures, which is evident if we consider their underrepresentation in other areas of political and public life in which there is no quota or any other special measure.¹⁶⁴

In its concluding observations from 2019, the CEDAW Committee praised Serbia for its progress in women's participation in political life, but also expressed concern about the under-representation of women in local governments, diplomatic service, armed forces and decision-making positions in all sectors, as well as the fact that women from vulnerable social groups are not represented in public and political life. 165

Women are underrepresented in the executive government, as well as in local self-government units (mayors - 14.4%, local community presidents - less than 5%, by the 2020 elections), and the representation of women is declining with the higher level of the decision-making position. However, despite the increased

162 Konstantinović Vilić, Petrušić, and Beker, op.cit, 2019, p. 108 and 159

163 Marija Babović et al., op. cit., 2018, p. 60-61

participation of women in political life, the representation of women 65+ has not increased, 167 in contrast to older men who are present in both political and public life in Serbia. Older women are excluded from public life even in their local communities. Until the 2020 elections, no local community president in Serbia was an older woman, out of a total of 7.1% of women acting as the local community presidents, and there were none in local community councils, in which women's participation was 10.7%. 168

Older women do not participate in the development of economic and cultural policy in their communities, except from during the elections. Older women living in rural areas are almost never asked about the priorities and common interests of the population, such as infrastructure works, construction of facilities, etc., that is, they are not involved in the planning and decision-making processes on issues that concern them. Older women participate to a very small extent in organized activities in the community. According to the results of the 2017 survey, 4.1% of older women participated in organized activities aimed at acquiring new knowledge in the past six months, and 14.5% of women were interested, while cultural events in the last six months involved 16.8% of older women, 21% of those living in the city and 6.7% of those living in the countryside.

In local communities, no special measures are taken to create conditions for greater inclusion of older women, to encourage their social engagement and the like, and the exclusion of older women is especially evident in rural areas,¹⁷¹ in which no special measures are taken, too.

1.3.1. Participation of older women in assemblies in Serbia

The participation of the older persons in assemblies is not an in-focus topic in the world, nor in Serbia. The Council of Europe has published many data on the electoral systems of 47 member states, including data on electoral laws, elections, turnout, women's participation in parliaments, and the participation of young people (under 30) in parliaments, but there is no data on the participation of older people, nor older women.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁴ Kosana Beker, Biljana Janjić, and Valentina Lepojević, *Report on Women's Rights and Gender Equality in Serbia for 2019,* FemPlatz, Pancevo, 2020, p. 33

¹⁶⁵ CEDAW/C/SRB/CO/4, 2019, para. 27, 28

¹⁶⁶ Special Report of the Ombudsman on the Representation of Women in Decision-Making Positions and the Position and Activities of Local Mechanisms for Gender Equality in Local Self-Government Units in the Republic of Serbia, Ombudsman, Belgrade, 2018

¹⁶⁷ Amity, op.cit, 2018, p. 5-6

¹⁶⁸ Regular 2017 Annual Report of the Commissioner for the Protection of Equality, Commissioner for the Protection of Equality, Belgrade, 2018, p. 39

¹⁶⁹ Equality Commissioner, op.cit, 2017, p. 27

¹⁷⁰ Ibid, p. 31

¹⁷¹ Ibid, p. 31-32

¹⁷² Council of Europe, *ElecData*, *Compendium of Electoral Data*, available at:

https://www.coe.int/en/web/electoral-assistance/elecdata?fbclid=IwAR3jEZBkexNCLbmxxxrr_IMx0QJE0HKpYRX-crXW4d2nEhqQfxScPMA3Ij0

The table below presents the participation of women and men in the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia, the Assembly of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and the local assemblies of Belgrade, Novi Sad, Kragujevac, Niš, Čačak, and Bor, given that those were the cities in focus of this research. The table shows data for the period 2016-2020 and for 2020, given that in 2016 and 2020, parliamentary, provincial and most of local elections were held. It should be noted that the local elections in Belgrade and Bor were held in 2018, so that data for the current assembly were presented for these two cities. ¹⁷³ In 2016, a quota for women in the assemblies was a 30% and in 2020 it was increased to 40%.

Table 2: Participation of women and men, as well as women and men 65+ in the last two convocations

		2016 - 2020 Assembly				2020						
Assembly	In total	Women	% women	Total 65+	Women 65+	% women	In total	Women	% women	Total 65+	Women 65+	% women 65+
National Assembly	250	86	34%	37	10	4%	250	97	39%	22	3	1,2%
APV ¹⁷⁴	120	42	35%	6	1	0,83%	120	46	43%	5	0	0%
Belgrade ¹⁷⁵	110	47	45%	8	4	3,63%	110	51	46%	10	4	3,63%
Novi Sad	78	29	37%	1	0	0%	78	32	41%	2	0	0%
Kragujevac	87	30	34%	11	4	4,59%	87	39	45%	7	2	2,29%
Niš	61	21	34%	6	0	0%	61	22	36%	6	1	1,63%
Čačak	75	25	33%	15	4	5,33%	75	27	36%	6	2	2,66%
Bor ¹⁷⁶	35	9	26%	1	0	0%	35	12	34%	2	0	0%

These data clearly show that the assemblies after the 2016 election, respected quotas for participation of women in the assemblies, except from Bor, where it was 26%, while for the 2020 elections, in the analysed sample, quotas were not met in Niš and Čačak, considering that Bor did not have elections now. As you can see in the table above, older women were poorly represented in the assemblies at all levels during the period from 2016 to 2020, and not present at all in two of the cities (Novi Sad and Bor). As for the 2020 elections, there is even smaller share of older women among the elected representatives in relation to the 2016 elections, and there are still no older women in assemblies of APV, Novi Sad, and Bor.

THE POSITION AND PARTICIPATION OF OLDER WOMEN IN POLITICAL AND PUBLIC LIFE IN SERBIA



Photo: Position and participation of older women in political and public life Training session in Bor: "Human Rights, Antidiscrimination and Gender Equality", November 2020

Photo by: Silvana Marković

RESEARCH ON THE PARTICIPATION OF OLDER WOMEN IN POLITICAL AND PUBLIC LIFE

¹⁷³ Data were collected through requests for access to information of public importance in the period August-October 2020

¹⁷⁴ Autonomna pokrajina Vojvodina

¹⁷⁵ Saziv od 2014. do 2018. i od 2018. godine do danas.

¹⁷⁶ Saziv od 2014. do 2018. i od 2018. godine do danas.

2. RESEARCH ON THE PARTICIPATION OF OLDER WOMEN IN POLITICAL AND PUBLIC LIFE

2.1. Subject, objective, and description of the research

The subject of the research is the participation of older women in political and public life in Serbia. The main objective of the research is to investigate and critically examine the theoretical, normative and practical aspects of older women's participation in political and public life in Serbia, which includes analysis of older women's involvement in local community's activities and life, as well as challenges and obstacles to their greater involvement. In addition, the research includes an analysis of older women's aspirations to participate in political life, barriers, and challenges, as well as ways to engage more. In addition, the objective of the research is to contribute to strengthening the role of civil society and state bodies in the protection of human rights and to promote the importance of participation of older women in public and political life in Serbia.

In the period from May to August 2020, a quantitative and qualitative research was conducted on a sample of 675 women of 65+ from the territory of six cities in Serbia. Quantitative research was conducted by the Ipsos Strategic Marketing agency, in five cities in Serbia and Amity in Belgrade, based on a survey questionnaire developed by the associations Amity and FemPlatz.

IPSOS and Amity used face-to-face method (CAPI) for data collection. Data collection was carried out during the period 23rd May – 13th June 2020. The research included women older than 65 from six selected cities - Belgrade, Novi Sad, Kragujevac, Niš, Bor, and Čačak. 100 older women were interviewed from each of these cities, including women from rural areas. A total of 601 older women were interviewed.

The 2011 Census was used for the sampling frame, i.e., urban-rural. Prior to the start of fieldwork, additional training of interviewers was conducted, and a questionnaire was piloted on 10 respondents, keeping in mind the specific target group that was interviewed and the research topic. Given that the data collection period was immediately after the state of emergency, caused by the COVID- 19 outbreak, had ended, respondents were surveyed on the street (at the market, in front of the post offices, health centre, in the park, at the bus station), and *snowball method* was used in rural areas.

38 ______ 39

29 interviewers participated in the research, under the supervision of five regional coordinators. During the field part of the research, the control of the survey procedure was performed on 5% of the sample. Before sending the database for processing, a logical control was performed. In accordance with safety measures, the interviewers used protective masks (visors) and hand sanitizer during the field work.

For data processing, the software program for statistical processing and data analysis *The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences* (SPSS) was used.

The qualitative research was conducted through focus groups and in-depth interviews, in the period from 19th June to 31st July 2020, and was conducted by the researchers from the Amity and the FemPlatz. According to the research plan, one focus group with older women and two in-depth interviews (one woman from urban and one from rural areas) were to be held in each of the six selected cities (Belgrade, Novi Sad, Kragujevac, Niš, Bor, and Čačak). However, due to the emergency situation caused by the COVID-19 outbreak and the measures that were in force during July due to the worsening of the epidemiological situation, a focus group discussion with older women was not held in Niš. A total of five focus groups were held, one in Belgrade, Novi Sad, Kragujevac, Čačak, and Bor, with the participation of 57 older women. In addition, 17 in-depth interviews were conducted, two in each of the five cities, and the remaining in-depth interviews were conducted with older women from Niš, instead of a focus group that was not held. In total, the qualitative study included 74 older women.

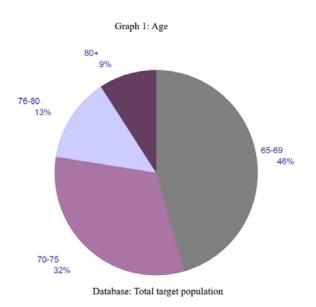
2.2. Findings and interpretation

The questionnaire consisted of five sections: socio-health and economic status, everyday living and attitudes, participation of older women in public life, political participation of older women and the impact of measures introduced due to the COVID-19 outbreak on older women. Focus group discussions and in-depth interviews were conducted on the same topics, and focus group participants also discussed the key issues that older women face in Serbia and recommendations for improving their position.

Considering the research method, the part related to the demographic characteristics of the sample presents data for older women who participated in the qualitative and quantitative part of the research separately, while the findings and interpretation from both sources are presented within the topics covered.

2.2.1. Demographic characteristics of the sample

601 women participated in the quantitative research conducted by the survey questionnaire. As can be seen from the Graph 1, the most represented are women from the age group 65-69, and the least represented the women from the age group of 80+. In the age group 65-69, there are significantly fewer women with primary school and women who receive a family pension, while in the group 80+ there are significantly more women with primary school and those who receive family pensions - Table 1 (Appendix 1). This is not surprising, especially given the data presented on older women's education, literacy, and socio-economic status.



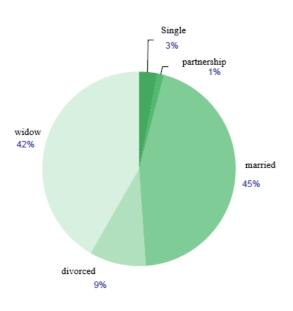
The sample of older women who participated in focus groups and in-depth interviews was as follows: age group 65-69 years - 25; 70-79 years - 41 and age group of 80+ - eight women.

There were the most married women and widows in the sample. Divorced women were below 10% and a very small number of unmarried women and women living in informal marriage (partnership) - Graph 2.

In the age group 65-69 there are significantly more married and divorced women, as well as significantly fewer widows, while in the age groups of 76-80 and 80+ there is a significantly higher number of widows. Also, a significantly higher number of widows receive a family pension, and a large number of married older women are without personal income - Table 2 (Appendix 1). It is not surprising that there was a significantly higher number of widows in the sample in the age group of 75+, if we take into account the longer life expectancy of women in Serbia. In addition, patriarchal gender patterns are visible in terms of personal income of the

respondents, because a large number of older women who did not work in the open labour market, and are beneficiaries of family pensions.

Graph 2: Martial status

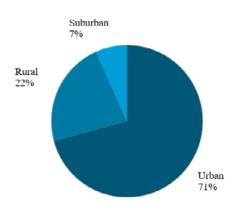


Database: Total target population

Among the respondents who participated in focus groups and in-depth interviews, 35 were married, 28 widowed and 11 unmarried or divorced.

Respondents who participated in this survey mostly lived in cities (71%), while a smaller number of those living in rural areas (22%) and in suburbs (7%) - Graph 3. Among respondents living in cities there are significantly more of those with college or university education, while among respondents living in rural areas there are significantly more of those with primary education and significantly fewer of those with secondary and higher education - Table 3 (Appendix 1).

Graph 3: Where do you live?

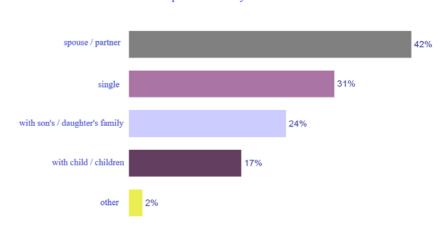


Database: Total target population

60 women from urban and 14 from suburban and rural areas participated in focus groups and in-depth interviews.

Most respondents from the sample live with a spouse (42%), and over 30% live alone - Graph 4. In the age group 80+ significantly more women live alone, while in the group 65-69 a significantly higher number of respondents live with children. Also, among women living with a spouse / partner, there is a significantly higher number of women who do not have a personal income - Table 4 (Appendix 1).

Graph 4: Who do you live with?

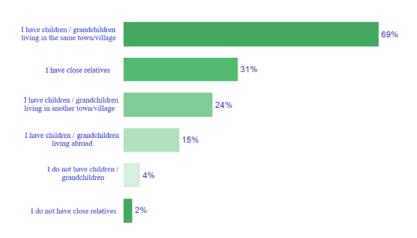


Multiple choice; Database: Total target population

Among the respondents who participated in focus groups and in-depth interviews, the largest number lived alone (27), followed by respondents living with a spouse (24), while 23 respondents lived in multi-member households.

The largest number of respondents (69%) have children / grandchildren living in the same place, over 30% have close relatives, followed by those who have children / grandchildren in other places in Serbia (24%) and abroad (15%) - Graph 5. A significantly larger number of respondents living in rural areas have children / grandchildren living elsewhere in Serbia - Table 5 (Appendix 1). It is not surprising that respondents living in rural areas have significantly more often children / grandchildren living elsewhere in Serbia, having in mind the data on rural depopulation in Serbia and on rural-urban migration.

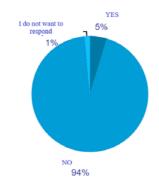




Multiple choice; Database: Total target population

The largest number of respondents belongs to the major ethnic community (94%), slightly less than 5% belong to the ethnic minority community, and 1.3% of respondents did not want to declare themselves - Graph 6. Among the respondents who are members of the ethnic minority community significantly larger number are women with primary school - Table 6 (Appendix 1).

Graph 6: Belonging to ethnic minority



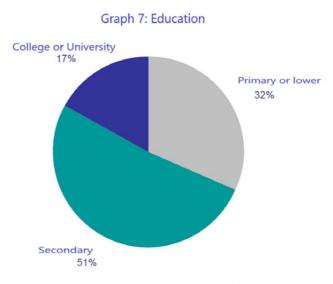
Database: Total target population

Among the participants in focus groups and in-depth interviews, most were Serbian women (65), and three were Roma women, two Macedonians and one Croatian and one Vlach, and two respondents did not want to respond to this question.

2.2.2. Socio-health and economic status

We assessed the socio-health and economic status of the respondents through questions related to education, activities, and income, as well as through questions related to the existence of disability and self-assessment of health status compared to one' peers, as well as the assessment of health status compared to the period of previous six months. In addition, respondents assessed their household standard and answered questions about basic sources of income.

The sample consisted mostly of women with secondary education (51%), followed by women with primary or lower education status (32%) and with college or university education (17%) - Graph 7. In the age groups 76-80 and 80+, there are significantly more women with primary or lower education, as well as those living in rural and suburban areas. Also, among the respondents who have primary or lower education, there are significantly more respondents without income and those who assess the standard of their household as poor - Table 7 (Appendix 1).

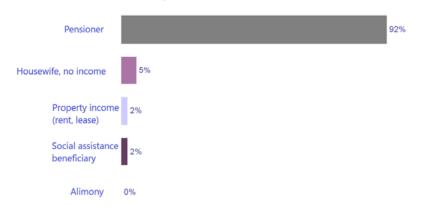


Database: Total target population

In terms of educational status, most of the participants in focus groups and in-depth interviews have completed high school or trade (33), followed by high school or college (30), while 11 women have incomplete primary or primary school.

The sample consisted mostly of pensioners (92%), with significantly fewer women without income (5%), women with income from property (2.2%), and social assistance beneficiaries (2.2%) - Graph 8. Share of women without income is significantly larger among women who have primary or lower education, as well as among women living in rural areas - Table 8 (Appendix 1).





Multiple choice; Database: Total target population

There were 66 pensioners among the participants of the focus groups and in-depth interviews, five women without income supported by relatives and three employed women.

Slightly less than 10% of respondents state that they have a disability - Graph 9. There were significantly fewer women with disabilities who receive an old-age pension, as well as significantly fewer women without disabilities who receive a disability pension - Table 9 (Appendix 1).

These data are in line with the data from the 2011 Census, according to which persons with disabilities make up about 8% of the population in Serbia. Out of the total number of persons with disabilities, 58.2% are women and 41.8% are men, which is significantly higher compared to the number of women and men in the total population (51.3% women and 48.7% men). However, it should be noted that 60.3% of persons with disabilities are of 65+, which means that the average age of persons with disabilities is 25 years higher than the average age of the general population in Serbia. 60.3%

Graph 9: Disability

Database: Total target population

Most respondents assess their own health condition as average (62.7%), while approximately the same number assess their own health condition as somewhat better, i.e., slightly worse compared to other persons of the same age - Graph 10. In the age group 76-80 significantly higher number of women assesses their health condition as worse compared to their peers, and there are significant differences among women who do not have their own income, as well as among beneficiaries of disability and family pensions. In addition, significantly more women with a college or university degree assess their own health condition as slightly better than their peers' health, as well as a significantly higher number of women who have rated their household standard as good - Table 10 (Appendix 1)

This is in line with the presented results of research on the relationship between poverty and health status, i.e., people who are poor, as well as people with low levels of education are in poorer health condition compared to the rest of the population, with health additionally deteriorating with aging.¹⁷⁹

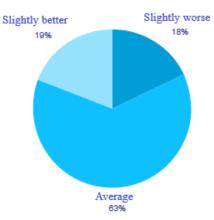
YES 10%
NO 90%

¹⁷⁷ Milan M. Marković, *Persons with Disabilities in Serbia, 2011 Census: Households and Dwellings in the Republic of Serbia,* Republic Statistical Office, Belgrade, 2014, p. 22

¹⁷⁸ Ibid, p. 22-23

¹⁷⁹ Milan M. Marković, Persons with Disabilities in Serbia, 2011 Census, Households and Dwellings in the Republic of Serbia, Republic Statistical Office, Belgrade, 2014, p. 22

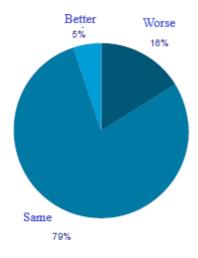
Graph 10: Assessment of health status in relation to persons of the same age



Database: Total target population

Most respondents rate their current health condition as the same compared to six months ago (78.7%), about 16% assess the current health condition as worse and about 5% as better compared to six months ago - Graph 11. As with the previous question on health status in general, there is a significantly higher number of respondents who have rated their health condition as worse compared to six months ago among those with primary or lower education, as well as among those who do not have their own income and who assess their household standard as poor - Table 11 (Appendix 1).

Graph 11: Assessment of health status compared to six months ago



Database: Total target population

Given that health is very important to the older persons, focus group discussions and in-depth interviews included several health topics. Our assumption was that serious health issues affect their active life in the local community and demotivate them to participate in political processes. Although most respondents have health problems typical for their age, this does not prevent them from functioning within their household and in the local community. And when they state that they suffer from several diseases, they explain that they use the therapy that was prescribed to them and that they "keep their health condition under control". Younger respondents (65-70) generally think that their health condition is satisfactory, that is, that they are in good health.

- I have many diseases, I've had five surgeries.
- I am in poor health, I suffer from several diseases, which are under control.
- I have health issues, but I am taking my medication.
- My health condition is good, I function independently...

They have also talked about their perception of health care system functioning and generally stated that specialist examinations are long overdue and that most prescription drugs require a financial participation and some to be paid completely, which is a challenge for those with low pensions or without sustainable sources of income. There were also complaints about the attitude of health care workers towards the older persons.

- Scheduling specialist examinations is unsolvable. Not all of us have the money to go to private practitioners.
- As far as health care services are concerned, it could be better. But we are a poor country... Only the relationship between doctors and patients can be improved, which has not been functioning well lately.
- You wait for hours at the doctor's, even if you have an appointment.
- We don't have a doctor in the village, so when you get sick, it's all up to you.
- The system is to blame, not our doctors. It would be better to have a family doctor, instead of a chosen one who examines all categories...
- We cannot stop the aging process, but we can and should receive different treatment in health care.

It is difficult to reach a specialist, and there are no geriatricians

I am not satisfied with the state of health care. My biggest problem is making an appointment with a specialist. A general practitioner can be reached in about a week, and everything else is very difficult. To do some screening, it's very painstaking. Procedures (waiting) should definitely be shorter, because at our age, when we get sick, it can be fatal, so it is very important for us that these deadlines are much shorter. That is one of the objections.

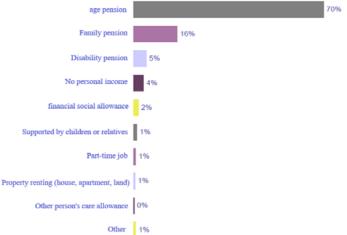
As for health care and our age, I think it would be very good to have a geriatric service. We feel bad when we go to the doctor. They give the same medicines to everyone, they often shout, we don't understand what they are telling us, they talk quickly... We have a desire to stay mentally healthy, and physically as long as we can. Give us, as Europe has, a geriatrician, a practitioner who understands our age and with whom we can discuss a range of (our) issues. And not: be satisfied with the medicines and go home and wait for you to die.

The health care system is very important for everyone and especially for older women, because everyone uses it and it is very important for them to receive services on time, those services to be available to them, for services to be of high quality and for health care staff to have more time to listen and understand problems and needs of older women. It is obvious that there is a lack of preventive work because they themselves say that they need not only medication but also a conversation and consultation with a doctor, so one of the solutions could be to open a counselling centre for older women and men.

Regarding basic sources of income, most respondents receive a pension, while about 4% have no personal income, just under 2% receive social assistance, and less than 1% work part-time, have income from renting real estate or receive other person's care allowance - Graph 12.

When the data on the basic sources of income of the respondents are crossreferenced with other socio-demographic characteristics, it is evident that the age pension is received by a significantly lower number of women with primary or lower education, as well as women living in rural areas. On the other hand, a significantly higher number of women receiving a family pension is in the age group 80+, among women living in rural areas, as well as among those with primary or lower education - Table 12 (Appendix 1). These findings indicate that a large number of low-educated women, as well as a large number of women living in rural areas, were not employed in the open labour market and did not qualify for a pension. Due to that, a large number of older women are in a situation to receive a family pension, which they inherited from their husbands.

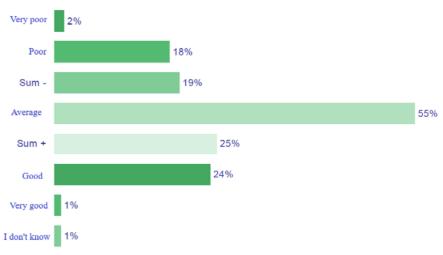
Graph 12: Basic source of income



Database: Total target population

Just under 20% of respondents rate their household standard as very bad or bad, about 55% rate their standard as average, while just under 25% of respondents rate their household standard as good or very good - Graph 13. Looking at other socio-demographic characteristics it can be concluded that the education of the respondent is crucial for the household standard. Namely, a significantly higher number of women who have primary or lower education assesses their household standard as poor, while a significantly higher number of respondents who have college and university education assesses their household standard as good - Table 13 (Appendix 1).

Graph 13: How would you assess the standard of your household



Database: Total target population

2.2.3. Everyday life and attitudes

Everyday life and attitudes of older women were determined through a set of questions related to the way they usually spend their time, and certain activities were offered, such as: watching TV, housework, hanging out with neighbours and friends, walking, working in gardens / cottages, assistance with caring for grandchildren or other relatives, handicrafts, internet, travel, cultural events, volunteering, paid work, and the like. In addition, respondents estimated how much time they had for themselves. Also, one issue referred to areas in the community in which the older women should play a more active role, such as cultural activities, health care, ecology and environmental protection, social protection, education, infrastructure, etc., while one issue referred to the ways in which older women participate in community life, such as voting, working in local community councils, participating in community-related surveys, working in the house council, participating in municipal / city assembly work, participating in debates and forums, etc.

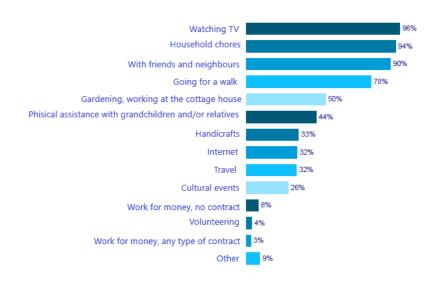
Spending time and daily responsibilities

Most respondents spend time watching television, doing household chores, hanging out with friends and neighbours, as well as walking. Almost half of women state that they work in the garden / cottage, while 44% help with grandchildren or other relatives. Slightly fewer spend time traveling and have opportunities to attend cultural events. There is a significant number of those who reported working for money under any type of contract, with no contract, or as volunteer (15%). The largest number of women who work for money, but without a contract are of 65-69, and estimates their household standard as poor - Chart 14.

Among the respondents, there are significant differences in the way they spend their time, that is, in activities in which they are engaged. A significantly smaller number of women living in rural areas and a significantly larger number of women living in the city go for a walk. There is a significant difference in the age group 65-69, in which a larger number of women help with grandchildren or other relatives, use the Internet in greater numbers, attend more cultural events and work for money more frequently, but without an employment contract. On the other hand, all of the above are done to a much lesser extent by women in the age groups 76-80 and 80+.

Women who have primary or lower education use the Internet less, travel less and attend cultural events less, while women with college and university education do it significantly more. Women living in the city travel more and attend cultural events more compared to women living in rural areas. In addition, there is a significantly lower number of women who travel and attend cultural events among women who rated their household standard as poor and among women who receive family pension. Women who are members of political parties or have been members of political parties travel more - Table 14 (Appendix 1)

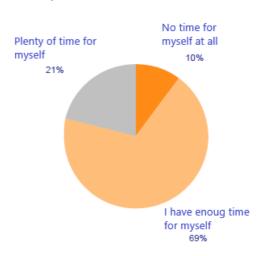
Graph 14: Daily activities



Database: Total target population

The largest number of respondents state that they have enough time for themselves (68.6%) - Graph 15. A significantly higher number of women in the age group 80+ have plenty of time for themselves, while a significantly smaller number of women in the age group 65-69 state that they have a lot of time for oneself. A significantly larger number of women living in rural areas do not have time for themselves at all - Table 15 (Appendix 1).

Graph 15: Time for oneself



Database: Total target population

Participants in focus groups and in-depth interviews point out that older women, although they have formally completed their work engagement and retired, continue with various activities until old age. They still do most of the household chores, whether they live alone or with their partner / spouse or in large families. Preparing meals, preparing for the winter, cleaning the house, helping with grandchildren and great-grandchildren, etc., are some of the tasks that older women perform. Sometimes it is their own choice or there is no one younger to do it, and sometimes it is imposed on them. In addition, older women often care for other adult, dependent family members. According to women's statements, the biggest burden in the household is borne by older women from rural areas, who have to work in the house, in the field and in the barn for the rest of their lives, that is, "while they can stand on their feet". Most of them state that they do not always have enough free time for themselves, and when they do, they spend it at home. Focus group participants were older women who were active and engaged not only within the household but also in the local community. However, they indicate that this is not the case with most older women, who usually are not active in the community. Here are some answers as an illustration of their daily lives, free time, and attitudes about the inactivity of older women in their community:

- Most women have a lot of responsibilities and little free time for themselves. When women retire, we take over those responsibilities by ourselves. Sometimes it is imposed on us by some life circumstances, and sometimes it is our good will. For example, instead of distributing our time to household chores and family, and for ourselves, we usually use our free time in a way to allow our children to bring us grandchildren, to do some other tasks, so we have really little free time.
- As for free time, I have none. I have always looked after the children, my own, and then my grandchildren, and now I take care of the grandchildren of my late sister, since their father passed away.
- I have a lot of responsibilities, but I also have free time for myself, I have a husband who has had many surgeries and suffered a stroke and I have a lot of responsibilities there. We go to the doctor's a lot, I maintain the house and yard and flowers, but I also have free time for myself, to relax...
- (Woman) has (free time) as much as she wants, but we all want to please the children and we are the one to be blamed, we want to give them everything even when they have not asked for it. I am from Vranje, we are too fond of children...
- It is important to fight for your own attitude and for your personal free time. I dedicate the whole week to my grandchildren, but when the weekend comes, I cook them a pot of sarma or something, put a backpack on my back and leave, that is my day that I've decided to dedicate to myself. But there are few older women who can afford it.
- In my environment, I do not know older women who are active in the local community, but I think that in this turbulent period of 30 years, all those women have endured a lot. And simply, when they retired, they either fell ill or had other responsibilities, like with their grandchildren. For that reason, in my opinion, they

are not active. In my environment, older women were mostly housewives. They are used to being in the house and not going out, hanging out. If you asked them, they probably say something like "and what am I going to do with those old women".

- I live in rural, farming, I have a lot of responsibilities, the cattle,... but again the house has to be cleaned up and one can work all day. Regardless of my age (74), there is always work to be done. There are younger people to help, but I take care of the sheep and around the cattle and the house a bit... We are used to it, that's how we do it, that's life (in the countryside)...
- The tradition is still strong, because you have a very small number of women in the village who own property. When a father has female children, he very often transfers the property to his son-in-law or grandchildren and skips the daughter. She is perceived as either not diligent or as incapable. And we know that the whole rural household rests on the back of one woman, she also has to organize herself around the workers and cook lunch and take care of the children.
- Regardless of whether they have finished their working life, those in the village still have obligations, but in the city they still have fewer obligations and more time for themselves.
- In my free time, I do some embroidery on pillows, pillowcases, while men go to a pub or a play a game.
- Women of our age are very numb, it is difficult for them to move, they prefer to spend time in houses, they hide.

At the age of 83, from morning to evening in the service of others

My day starts around seven o'clock, when I get up, I make breakfast for me and my husband. Then I prepare lunch, for me and my husband and for my son and daughter-in-law, to whom I send everything they need every day. My son is a disabled pensioner, and my daughter-in-law never worked. They live on a disability pension of RSD 14,000. That's why we buy and prepare everything for them every day. Fortunately, we have two pensions, so we are somehow making ends meet. I also prepare food for my brother who is ill. Also, I visit my sister who is unable to go out, I help her with everything she needs. I work all day, I am everyone's maid. I clean, prepare, clean... My husband doesn't hear anything and I have to shout and explain it to him. He is the only child, and he is used to everything being as he wishes. Everything to be as he determined. I just work for others; I don't have time for myself. I never have free time to dedicate to myself. I am always there for others and so on until evening, until 10 o'clock when I go to sleep. And I would like to go somewhere in peace, where no one asks me anything, does not ask for something, and to sit and watch and enjoy in nature, the murmur of a river and the chirping of birds. Today, I can't play sports like I used to, but I could at least walk in nature.

This is just one of the examples of older women who work continuously in their very late years, that is, they are "in the service" of members of their immediate and extended family. They do not say that they are sick and that they need support and assistance, but they do all the work as long as they can. Otherwise, the whole family system would

collapse. Very often, no one in the family notices and recognizes that the older woman needs rest and free time, and even the older women themselves, even when they need to change something, do not do it because the family depends on them.

"As a service with working hours"

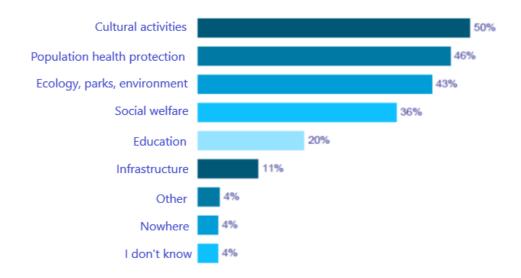
I gave a lot. And I got into a situation where my family didn't treat me like I was in old age. They look at me like I'm a younger person and as if I can do anything. However, when you reach a certain age, you slowly give up and you can't do everything. I exercise, I go to the gym, I do everything to be vital. I am a manager, I am engaged on all sides. But slowly you get into a situation where those around you are used to the fact that you can do everything. You can't even complain, they don't trust you when it's hard for you. I got into a situation to say - that's enough, I don't give anything to anyone anymore. Now I act as a 'service provider with working hours', I work when I want and then finish. You live in a family and you have to be engaged all the time. It is true that we look different, that we fight, but life and our body say something else. I think that we are really endangered because we have to do a lot and they are constantly watching us - take care of the grandchildren... I will come to see him and play with him and that's it. I have to rest my body so I can continue. We need to be active, but within limits.

It is obvious that older women perceive their obligations and their personal free time in different ways. Some perceive that they have obligations and have come to terms with the fact that household chores are only women's tasks, they have accepted their role and do not try and do not think that they need to change something, no matter how difficult it is for them. Another group of them is aware that they need to change something in their attitude towards the obligations that they impose on themselves or that are imposed on them, but they also do nothing. The third - much smaller - group of older women are those who know how to draw the line between household chores and personal free time.

Participation in community activities

Many respondents believe that older women should be more actively involved in cultural activities in the community (50%), in activities related to public health (46%), in ecology and environmental protection (43%) and in activities related to social welfare (36%) - Graph 16. Significantly fewer women with primary and lower education believe that older women should play a more active role in cultural activities, ecology and environmental protection, social protection, education, and infrastructure, while at the same time, significantly higher number of women with a college or university degree believe that these are precisely the areas in which older women should play a more active role. Ecology and environmental protection, as well as education, are significantly more recognized by women living in the city as areas in which older women should play a more active role. Cultural activities are reported in a significantly larger number of women who rated the standard of their household as good. Also, women who used to be members of political parties in significantly greater numbers recognize social protection and infrastructure as areas in which older women should play a more active role - Table 16 (Annex 1).

Graph 16: Areas where older women should be more active

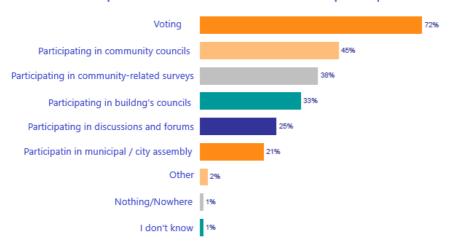


Multiple choice; Database: Total target population

Most respondents believe that older women should participate in community life by voting in elections (72.4%), followed by work in local community councils (45%), as well as participation in community-related surveys and work in the house council - Graph 17. In answering this question, there are no statistically significant differences in relation to the age of the respondents, but there are statistically significant differences in relation to education. Respondents with college and university education to a much greater extent believe that older women should participate in the work of local community councils, community-related surveys, work in building community councils, participation in debates and forums, as well as participation in municipal / city assemblies.

On the other hand, respondents who have primary or lower education to a much lesser extent believe that older women should participate in these community activities. Also, there are significant differences in terms of whether respondents live in the city or in rural areas, so a significantly larger number of respondents living in the city believe that older women should participate in the work of building community councils, in debates and forums, as well as that they should participate in the work of municipal / city assemblies, compared to a significantly smaller number of women living in rural areas. There are also statistically significant differences in the responses of women who are members of political parties or who have been members of political parties, meaning that they state significantly more often that older women should participate in community life through work in building community councils, in debates and forum, and in the work of municipal / city assemblies - Table 17 (Appendix 1).

Graph 17: How should older women participate in community life



Multiple choice; Database: Total target population

It is also important to point out the attitudes of older women regarding the influence of men and decision-making on issues concerning women and the community. The largest number of focus group and in-depth interview participants indicate that men have a more dominant role in decision-making at all levels, starting with decision-making in the household, then in the associations of pensioners, in the local community and beyond. In addition, they are aware that there are women who fight for their participation in decision-making and who succeed in that, but not many. Some of the respondents' answers to this topic are:

- In 90% of cases it's up to men. The need for control is expressed in them.
- Mostly male population, no one asks us anything, we are always humiliated women by men.... we are poorly appreciated and respected, older women especially.
- There are more men in decision-making bodies, so they are statistically louder. What the lady says, while we were employed, there was a meeting of working people, there was a workers' council, you had various commissions and you could, if you were interested, be in a commission, say your opinion and that opinion could or could not be accounted for, and you could hear counterarguments. You have no place where you can make a statement now, not even in your own family.
- -Specifically in my case, men are much more active, even in decision-making. The first is that they use the opportunity to run away from home, the second is to present themselves differently. They have that something... I don't know... they are different at home, and they are different in public. I think that they are much more active and want to be more active, and that working for community is much more important for them, and besides they have a woman to take care of everything, the whole family.

- Men are in all leading positions and of course they have an influence on all issues, including those concerning women. They believe that women are not capable. That's where they're wrong. Women need to be educated. To go to college, to be equal. And then when people are being elected in different bodies, men and women should be equally represented, so that we can present everything properly. And we should distribute jobs so that everyone would be satisfied."
- Let me tell you, in that decision-making, it doesn't matter at all who prevails. What matters is what is voted on, whether it is good for the people or not, and not whether I will prevail. What do I have to fight against if something is good?
- Here, I will give you an example for that decision-making. This is the example of the assistant mayor for ecology, who is a woman. As far as I know, she's not going to stay that for long, even though she did it very well. Now, there should be a lot of money for ecology and now it should be run by a younger man. I consider it discrimination against women. That is my opinion: now that money is going to arrive, remove the woman, a man will be better to manage projects in ecology. All directors of public companies where the money is are men, and I will be the director of the library, the director of the museum, the director of archives, galleries, where the salary is twice lower than the salary of the director of a public company, where the money is: as a rule, men take it from women because they do not want women to have big money at their disposal, and that is my belief.

From the above answers, it is evident that older women clearly notice gender-based discrimination in a society in which gender stereotypes are still deeply rooted and women, especially older women, are not in the same position compared to men nor they have the same social influence.

2.2.4. Participation of older women in public life

We measured the participation of older women in public life through questions about membership in associations and the reasons why the respondents were not, that is, why they stopped being members of the association. Also, we offered respondents to rate their interest in participating in organized social, educational, recreational services / programmes on a scale from 1 to 5, and to those who were not interested in this type of participation, we provided the opportunity to identify among the reasons for lack of interest, why they were not personally interested.

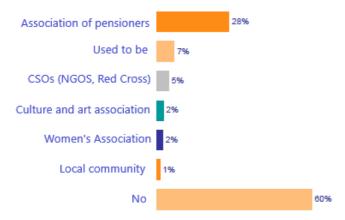
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Membership in associations

Most respondents are not members of any association, and only 7% of respondents were previously members of an association. Among the respondents who are members of the association, most are those who are in the associations of pensioners, while the percentage of older women who are members of CSOs and cultural and artistic societies is far lower. Women who are involved in the association of pensioners in most cases are not particularly active in associations, they joined it for cheaper procuring of firewood for the winter, winter supplies, or to borrow money from the cash register of mutual aid so that they could able to apply for going to spas for rehabilitation, at the expense of the PDI Fund, because they are from the group of those with lower pensions.

It is symptomatic that only 2% of women are in women's associations - Graph 18. One of the reasons for this situation is certainly the fact that among women's associations in Serbia there are relatively few who specialize in issues related to the position of older women.

Graph 18: Are you a member of an association?



Multiple choice; Database: Total target population

Data on the membership of older women in associations confirm the findings of previous research, according to which the participation of older people in CSOs in Serbia is extremely low, with women are less frequently members of both traditional organizations, such as church, and sports and activist organizations compared to men. Their participation is slightly higher than men's only in humanitarian organizations (1,4: 1,1),¹⁸⁰ which is a reflection of the traditional gender role of women in society.

The low level of involvement of older women in the membership of the association should be interpreted in light of the relatively low public trust in CSOs (16%), which is by far lower than the trust enjoyed by system institutions (the army 57%,

police 39%) and the church (46%), but¹⁸¹ and the entrenched negative image of non-governmental organizations in the public.¹⁸²

Cross-referencing the findings with the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents, the results of which are shown in Table 18 (Appendix 1), shows that there are no significant deviations in terms of membership in associations with regard to the age of the respondents or their education. There is, however, a statistically significant difference in the answers of respondents who belong to the category of "housewives without income", compared to the other two categories of respondents (pensioners and women who have income from social assistance, annuities) below the average in terms of membership in pensioners' associations, which is understandable, given that they do not have the status of pensioners, and above average among respondents that are not members of any association. It is obvious that the civic activism of "housewives without income" in relation to other categories of women is significantly lower, which negatively affects the quality of their social life and social inclusion. Therefore, this category of women should be given special attention in activities aimed at motivating and involving them in civil society organizations.

A slightly less significant level of difference exists among respondents regarding basic sources of income: in relation to respondents who are pension beneficiaries, respondents without income and those who are beneficiaries of social assistance or other income are in a significantly smaller number members of pensioners' associations and are more frequently among those who are not members of any association. In addition, respondents living in rural are somewhat underrepresented in the category of respondents who were once members of the association. The lower participation of women without income in pensioners' associations is understandable, given that they do not have the status of pensioners, but when it comes to engaging in other associations, respondents without income and those who are beneficiaries of social assistance or have other incomes are generally less motivated to join associations.

Women in rural are underrepresented in the membership of the association, which is certainly influenced by the underdevelopment of the civil sector in rural areas, but also they have less free time, given that their workload is higher compared to women in the city: they work in agriculture longer than average working hours, and at the same time do almost all household chores, and they spend most of

According to a 2017 survey, the general population's trust in NGOs is only 16%. *Public opinion of Serbia, Political activism of the citizens of Serbia, CeSid, Belgrade, 2017, p. 36.*

Zdenka Milovojević, *CIVICUS Civil Society Index - Report for Serbia*, Research and Analytical Centre Argument, Centre for Non-Profit Sector Development, Belgrade, 2006, p. 196.

Time use data show that women in rural areas are most burdened by unpaid care work. During 2015, they spent 21.1% of their time in unpaid household chores, while women in urban areas spent slightly less time in these activities - 17.9%. Economic value of unpaid care in the Republic of Serbia, Coordination Body for Gender Equality, Belgrade, 2020, p. 25. Available at: http://socijalnoukljucivanje.gov.rs/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/Analiza_monetarne_vrednosti_neplacenog_rada_UN Women_SRB.pdf

¹⁸⁰ Source: ISI, 2012. Cited by: Babović et al., Op.cit, 2018, p. 50-51.

their free time on resting to renew their energy for work. 184

There is a clear correlation between the respondents' membership in political parties and membership in associations. Namely, in the category of respondents who have never been members of an association, there are fewer of those who are or have been members of political parties. The political engagement of the respondents is not, however, influential in terms of membership in cultural and artistic societies, women's associations, and local communities - Table 18 (Appendix 1).

Most of the respondents who participated in focus groups and in-depth interviews are members of civil society organizations, both locally and nationally. This is not surprising because we used the services of local CSOs in this research, which is why older women, who are members of the association, were among the participants in the research. Among the respondents, there were mostly older women who were socially active during the working period and most often have continued to be active even after retirement. However, this is not a rule that applies to all women. Most women also retire from public and social life upon retirement. Those who join associations of pensioners usually do so to use the benefits in purchases, loans, and going to spas for rehabilitation, etc:

- I am a member of the board of directors in the association of pensioners and I participate in decision making.
- I am in a Women's Active, where we gather every Thursday. We have an hour available for socializing, and after that the men from the association of pensioners make us leave, even if sometimes don't finish everything. For example, if we rehearse in a choir for a performance or sing solo. They (men) want to play chess or dominoes, so we women bother them. We didn't fight for more time. By the way, we are the only older women in Bor who are active outside the household. About 40 of us and that's it. They stay at home, working or watching TV. Some have simply relaxed when they retired and are no longer interested in anything but home and grandchildren.
- I am a member of the art association and the mushroom farmers' association. I am driven by the need for creativity. I am still the member, and I am active because we have two exhibitions a year. I have always been a member of an association.
- I was a member of many associations in my youth. I am now in the Circle of Serbian Sisters, an organization that deals with humanitarian and educational work. I am driven by the desire to still be able to help someone.
- I am lucky that my husband and I have the same interests and we always go together. He acts and sings, I act and recite. We went to all the private homes, we held concerts and made life better for those people who can't get out of bed. I can't describe to you how fulfilled I feel when I return home and return the film and the picture of how happy that someone was while listening to our recitations, singing

and how happy he/she was with our presents.

Attitudes are often formed in the house at the earliest age

We are a third age generation. We took a lot from our house, where we were born. From mothers and grandmothers, how to be women, mothers, housewives. As much as they want us to get involved and be active in social and political life, we are the bearers of many things that men are not even aware that are needed to be done in the family. Maybe upbringing doesn't allow us to be active in the local community or to do something just for ourselves. Children sometimes tell us to leave all household chores and to read, walk, take care of ourselves. But upbringing is different and it is more important to do all the obligations in the family first. We are to blame ourselves, in a way. That we cook, that we vacuum, that we forget about what it looks like to read, what it looks like to watch a good movie, what it looks like to go out for a walk. To play with grandchildren, but in an intellectual way, not to be constantly on the phone and computer.

I am a member of the Pensioners' Union and an international association, so I participate in decision-making in the Union. I am motivated by the fact that I grew up in such a family where a woman had the right to vote and the right to think. While I was working, I fought for the rights in the union, so probably because of that. When I retired, I said: I am a grandmother to my grandchildren and to no one else. I will not allow myself to dress in black, sit at home, knit socks and be treated as one pleases. I can't afford that. I'm active and I think it gives me some drive to get better.

This example also confirms the presence of strong traditional patterns, as well as the fact that upbringing and socialization in childhood have very important impact on attitudes in adulthood. Most of the older women we spoke to believe that older women are not active enough and cite various reasons for their inactivity, such as the impact of family upbringing, gender roles, life circumstances, but also their own choices.

Gender inequality

No, older women are not active in public space, it is already a model and the most common pattern of women's behaviour and behaviour towards women in Serbian society. It is a common place for women's lives to take place on the margins of society, outside the sphere of the "public", in the area of the "private", in the family. So, with retirement, women become even more firmly entrenched in the family ("as grandma service") and to that extent they get lost from the public sphere, where they did not have the same chances and opportunities as men, even before. Discrimination against both women and the older persons of both sexes contributes to this. As a society / culture, we tend to underestimate the possibilities of the older persons and, as a rule, do not trust them.

Traditional gender roles are also expressed in the Roma community, and research shows that Roma women are in a significantly worse position compared to Roma men, as well as compared to women and men from the majority population.¹⁸⁵

Rural women as helping members of agricultural households: position, roles and social rights, SeCons, UNDP, Belgrade, 2008, p. 56-57.

¹⁸⁵ See: Roma Women's Center Bibija, op.cit, 2019; Kosana Beker (ed.), Op.cit, 2019

Finger-counting

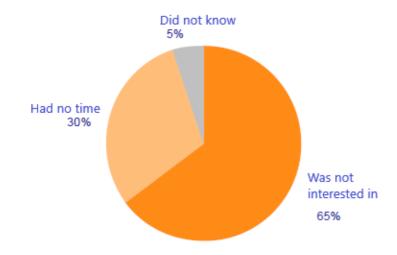
I am a representative of Roma women, socially and politically active. But there are very few of us among Roma women. You can count us on your fingers... I am engaged in the civil sector, where I had the opportunity to learn a lot, and I had to - because I represented my Roma community before the ministers, before the Prime Minister...

I have enough time for myself, because I have the help of my daughter, who replaces me wherever needed. However, today's older Roma women are not socially active in 99% of cases, they need someone to lead them. It is a generation that finished a maximum of eight grades (primary school), many did not finish even four grades, so they were not employed anywhere. They worked only in the house around the children and helped the men with collecting cardboard and other waste. The main burden of caring for Roma children is on women. You can count on the fingers Roma women who finished high school from my generation. I know only three Roma women from my generation who graduated from college. That is why today the largest number of older Roma women do not have a pension but live on poor social assistance. It's eight thousand (RSD), what can you do with it, what can you cook for lunch. There are those who go to the food bank. I know a couple of them who go to beg and there are some who still collect cardboard, snails or whatever. Where will they be included?

Reasons for not being member in associations

Women who are not members of any association, were offered with three reasons why they are not members – the majority have opted for a reason "was not interested". There are more than twice as many who state "I did not have time", and 5% of respondents did not know about such a possibility - Graph 19.





Database: not being members of an association (60% of the target population)

It is obvious that the lack of interest of older women is the primary reason why they are not members of associations, but for as many as 30% of older women the reason is lack of time, which correlates with the fact that as many as 44% of older women work physically around grandchildren or other relatives. The fact that 5% of respondents are not members of any association because they did not know about such an opportunity can be interpreted by the fact that in some areas, especially rural, associations do not exist or do not operate, influencing the level of women's awareness of opportunities to engage in associations.

There are no differences in the distribution of responses according to education, age, place of residence and other socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents. - Table 19 (Annex 1).

Among the participants of focus groups and in-depth interviews, there were women who had never been members of any association. The reasons for not being involved are very different, but most often women stated lack of interest, preoccupation with household chores and unpaid work (care of dependent members), their own illness, as well as cultural reasons related to the traditional role of women in the family. Some of the answers were:

- No, I am not a member of any association. At first, I could hardly wait to retire, you know how it has been lately. You can't wait to grow old to retire given that companies are closing. Then when I retired, I got sick and it just all went in a different direction.
- No, neither am I. I was very attached to the children, that is. grandchildren so I didn't have much time for anything else.
- I have never been in any party or association, nor was I interested in that.
- I have never been a member of any association. I had no contacts with members who would involve me in the activities of that association.
- Women give up when they encounter the first obstacles, precisely because men think so that it's their fault, that their place is at home. If a woman appeared alone at the age of 75-80 and wanted to get engaged, it would be unusual and they would condemn her. And men fight, regardless of age. We cannot stop the aging process, but we can get a different treatment and fight for it.
- I have never been a member of the association. I had so many obligations in my life that I did not achieve anything but work, home, husband, children, friends. They used to visit us a lot. I am from a Montenegrin family. What would happen if a father-in-law or mother-in-law came, and I was out. And their son at home. Although he would never forbid me, far from it. If I turn back time, I would do the same.
- I am not a member of any association, not even a pensioner's one. I can't, I used to take care of my husband, now I take care of my mother. My mom is 92 years old, she is not mobile, she cannot see and she is demented so my sister and I take care of her. She's been with her sister for two months, then with me for two. Those

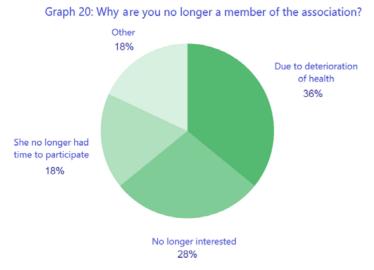
4 _____ 65

two months, when my mother is not with me, pass quickly, I use it for a walk with my friend. I don't have time to get involved, to be active somewhere. I was quite engaged while working. At that time, there were all kinds of workers' councils and so on. But not now.

- Women are not interested and that is why they do not get involved, in fact they believe that it is not for them, and I am one of them.
- There are also women who would get involved, but are no longer physically capable.

Reasons for termination of membership in the association

From the respondents who were but no longer are members of the association (6% of respondents), we wanted to find out what reasons influenced the termination of membership in the association, by offering them four possible answers. The distribution of responses shows that "deteriorating health" is the dominant reason for termination of membership, followed by "lack of interest", "lack of time to participate in association activities" and "other reasons" - Graph 20. Such a high share of older women with health condition as a reason for termination of the membership in association corresponds to data on poor health of the older persons: old age in Serbia is not characterised by healthy years of life, the older persons are more likely to suffer from chronic diseases than the younger population, and among older women chronically ill women account for as much as 69.9%. ¹⁸⁶



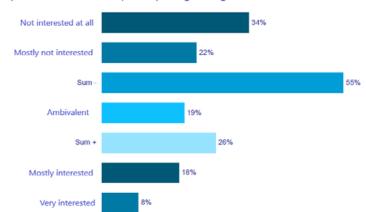
Database: No longer a member of the association (6% of the target population)

Age, education, sources of income, place of residence, standard of living and membership in political parties do not affect the termination of membership of respondents - Table 20 (Appendix 1).

Discussions on the participation of older women in social and public life confirmed the heterogeneity of the group of older women, including in terms of participation and interest in participating in social and public life, especially in relation to activities related to membership and activities in organizations.

Interest in participating in organized services

The level of interest in participating in organized social, educational, recreational services was assessed by the respondents on a scale from one (not interested at all) to five (very interested). The sum of the percentage of respondents who gave negative marks is 55%, which is more than double the sum of the percentage of respondents who gave positive marks. It is worrying that the extremely negative answer dominates, 'not interested at all', and that only 8% are those who are very interested - Graph 21.



Graph 21: Interested in participating in organized services

Database: Total target population

Cross-referencing the findings with the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents - Table 21 (Appendix 1) shows that the respondents' interest in participating in organized services / programmes is to some extent influenced by their age, education, income sources, place of residence and household standard.

Respondents aged 76-80 and 80+ are more represented among respondents who are not interested in participating in organized services, and among those who are interested, there are slightly more respondents aged 65-69, and slightly fewer respondents aged 76-80. Both data show that interest in participation decreases slightly with age.

Respondents with primary and lower school express significantly more disinterest in participating in organized services, and respondents with college and university education express slightly higher interest. These data correspond to the data on the level of education of the respondents who express interest in participation: significantly below the average are the respondents with primary school, and significantly above the average are the respondents with college and university education.

¹⁸⁶ Marija Babović et al., Op. cit, 2018, p. 26-27

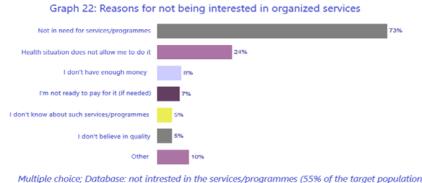
While activities and income do not affect respondents' interest in participating in organized social, educational, and recreational services, sources of income have some influence. Namely, among the respondents who are not interested in organized services, there are more beneficiaries of family pensions and respondents without personal income. In the category of respondents who are interested in participating in this type of services, there are slightly fewer respondents with a family pension. When the distribution of each of the five answers is compared with the sources of income of the respondents, it seems that the source of income, per se, does not affect the interest of older women to participate in organized social, educational, recreational services.

Cross-referencing the findings with the place of residence of the respondents shows that this demographic characteristic has an impact on their interest in participating. Namely, the respondents living in rural are significantly more frequent among those who are not interested in services, which corresponds to the fact that they are slightly below the average among the respondents who are interested in this type of services. Such a situation is certainly influenced by the lack of free time of women in rural, whose needs are subordinated to work, but also their lifestyle, which is characterized by passive forms of entertainment and rest. There are some differences in the distribution of responses with regard to the household standard. The data point to the conclusion that with the increase of the living standard of the respondents, the level of their interest in engaging in social, educational, and recreational activities also increases.

Reasons for lack of interest in participating in organized services / programmes

In an effort to find out the reasons for the respondents' lack of interest in participating in organized social, educational, and recreational services, we offered the respondents several answers, with the possibility of giving multiple answers.

The most frequent answer is "I have no need for these services/programmes," or nearly a quarter of the respondents cited the health situation as the reason for lack of interest. The answers "I do not have enough money for these services" and "I am not ready to set aside money if these services are to be paid for" have almost the same frequency (8% and 7%), but the number of those who do not know that such services exist is not negligible (5 %) or do not trust the quality of services - Graph 22.



When it comes to the influence of socio-demographic characteristics of respondents who opted for certain reasons for lack of interest in services, there is a statistically significant difference among respondents whose health situation does not allow such activities: this answer was chosen below the average by age group of 65-69, and above average by women of 80+ - Table 22 (Appendix 1).

There are more women in rural than women in the city who are not interested in participating because they do not have enough money or are not ready to set aside money for those services. This data should be interpreted in the context of rural women's access to financial resources, which is characterized by the absence of independent income, scarcity of household income, but also by the limited access to money in the household.¹⁸⁸ This connection is confirmed by the fact that these answers were significantly higher than the average for women living in a household with a poor standard. Although material deprivation is highest at the age of 75+, and among women in the group of the eldest women,¹⁸⁹ in the age pattern itself, it is irrelevant when it comes to older women who are not interested in participating due to lack of money.

Bearing in mind that the participation of older women in social, educational, and recreational services/programmes is one of the ways of their social inclusion and has positive effects on their psychophysical health, it is necessary that organizations involved in organizing these services/programmes take measures to increase motivation of older women, especially women in rural, to participate in these activities, their better information about the type and price of services, etc. It is also important to ensure that low-income women are exempt from paying for services, and it is especially important to enable older women to be not only service beneficiaries, but also their providers, because such engagement enables the use and transfer of their knowledge, skills and capacities. It contributes to their social inclusion and self-affirmation and has a positive effect on building self-esteem and self-confidence.

2.2.5. Political participation of older women

Politics, as a representative area of public life, has always been a dominant and privileged men's space, which was marked by significant gender stratification. However, it is evident that the participation of women in politics has increased in recent decades, but they are still on the margins of political life in terms of number and influence. Given the widespread sexism along with ageism and the double standards of aging at the expense of women. Older women are on the "margins of the margins", that is, a distinct minority in the women's political corpus.

187 SeCons, op.cit, 2008, p. 57.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid, p. 54.

¹⁸⁹ Eurostat, Statistics on income and living conditions.

¹⁹⁰ Natalija Žunić, *Gender stereotypes about women and men in politics*, Journal no. 63, Faculty of Law of Niš, 2012, no. 63, p. 282.

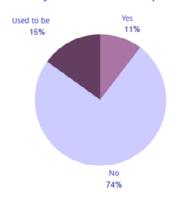
¹⁹¹ Susan Sontag, *Women and the Double Standard of Aging*, available at: https://archive.org/stream/pdfy-Y6o4iGliJNpAyGcb/double-satandard.aging djvu.txt

In order to acquire a deeper insight into the political participation of older women, respondents were asked several general and specific questions which have enabled us to find out the level of their involvement in political life and gain insight into their views on the political participation of older women and the introduction of quotas as an instrument for increase the participation of women / older women in representative bodies.

Membership in political parties

The political participation of older women is at a very low level: only 10% of the respondents are members of a political party, while the other 90% are not, with only 15% of those who used to be a member - Graph 23.

Graph 23: Are you a member of a political party?



Database: Total target population

These data confirm earlier findings on the population's lack of interest in politics, ¹⁹² as well as findings of low political participation of older persons, especially older women, who are twice less likely to join political parties compared to men (9.8: 4.3). ¹⁹³

Only some socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents have a certain influence in terms of membership in political parties. In contrast to age and income being without influence, there is a statistically significant difference in terms of education: respondents with primary and lower education are below average in terms of membership, and respondents with college and university above average. In other words, a lower level of education of the respondents means their lower political participation. Also, women in rural are less frequently members of political parties than women in the city, but the level of significance of this difference is not large (0.05) - Table 23 (Appendix 1).

Among the participants in focus groups and in-depth interviews, there were more than a third of women who have experience in politics, whether they were active

192 Surveys at the general population level show that as many as 37% of respondents are not interested in politics at all. Public Opinion of Serbia, Political Activism of Serbian Citizens, CeSid and USAID, Belgrade, 2017, p. 9.

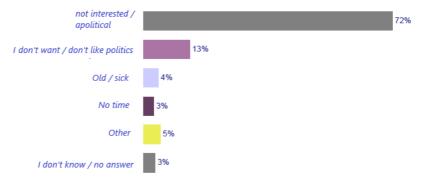
193 Source: ISI, 2012. Cited by: Babović et al., 2018, op. cit, p. 51.

earlier while employed, or now when they are retired, and there were those who had been doing it continuously for years but in different political parties. This significantly deviates from research that shows that in Serbia about 5% of older women are members of a political party, but as already explained, in our sample there were many women who are engaged in organizations, including political parties. In focus groups, some women who have joined a political party in recent years have explained this not as their desire for political engagement, but as an opportunity to receive an aid package or that their children or grandchildren could have a better chance of getting a job. Among the participants were women who had never been officially in a political party but were supporters and follow political events. Respondents who used to be members of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (hereinafter: CPY), and later the League of Communists of Serbia, state that they joined for various reasons and motives. Some proudly state that they used to be members of the CPY out of conviction or because of family tradition, because their parents were also members, and there are also those who "had" to become members because of their employment.

Reasons for not joining a political party

Most respondents state that lack of interest / apoliticalness is a reason for not joining a political party, but there is a relatively large number of those who do not want or do not like politics (13%). There are more of them than the total number of older women who state other reasons for that - Graph 24. These findings confirm the findings about the apolitical nature of the general population, to which women are more inclined than men.¹⁹⁴ A high percentage of respondents who say they are not interested in politics (72%) is also a product of the widespread belief that politics is not a "female sphere" among the women themselves, but also of stereotypical attitudes about the abilities, capacities and social role of older women. On the other hand, the relatively large number of older women who are not members of a political party because they "do not like politics" can be linked to the great distrust of the public in politics and politicians.¹⁹⁵

Graph 24: Why aren't you a member of a political party?



Database: not being a member of a party (74% of the target group)

¹⁹⁴ CeSid and USAID, 2017, op.cit, p. 9

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

Socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents do not affect the level of their apoliticalness, and are not important in the category of women who are not members of political parties for other reasons - Table 24 (Appendix 1). The research did not confirm that education and place of residence affect the level of apoliticalness of older women, although at the level of the general population these factors have an impact. 196

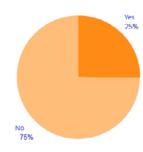
Participants in focus groups and in-depth interviews who have never been engaged with politics explain their own non-participation due to lack of interest and lack of time due to family obligations. Some of the answers were:

- I have never been a member of any party, nor was I interested in that. But I believe that political participation is for women. My daughter is in the party, she fights like "Marko in Kosovo" even though she sees that she is without material compensation, on the contrary, it does not bring her anything. It takes a lot of time, so much so that children are almost deprived because of it.
- What I think exists in society is the tradition where women who are over 60 think that they should not be involved in politics, they have adopted the traditional upbringing that a woman's place is at home.
- Women are not included in the political life of the community because they do not have enough interest, knowledge, and free time.
- I was a member of the CPY, not out of conviction, but out of necessity, because at the time of my employment, moral and political suitability was required, and only members of the CPY fulfilled that.
- Women have a place in politics. She must choose treatment for her father-inlaw, brother-in-law, child and neighbour, and fight for herself and be in politics. A man doesn't have to (fight for), he has been pursuing a career from the beginning, whether he is a doctor, an engineer, or a tinsmith.
- Nobody invited me to join, nor asked me to, and I wasn't really interested either.

Change of political party

Older women, members of political parties, are mostly "loyal" to their political parties. However, a quarter of the respondents changed their political party - Graph 25. Considering that they are 65+, the change of political party in a number of respondents can be related to the termination of membership in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, of which they were members.

Graph 25: Have you ever changed the political party?



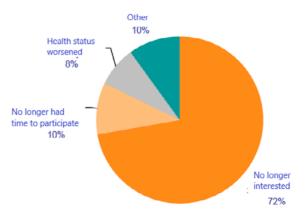
Database: some members of political parties (10% of the tartget population)

None of the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents has an impact on the frequency of membership change - Table 25 (Appendix 1).

Reasons for termination of membership in a political party

In an effort to find out the reasons for the termination of the membership of older women in political parties, we offered the respondents three possible reasons: loss of interest, deterioration of health and lack of time. More than two thirds of respondents stopped being members of a political party due to loss of interest, but there is a relatively large number of those who no longer had time to participate in party activities (10%) or stopped being members due to deteriorating health - Chart 26.

Graph 26: Why are you no longer in the political party?



Database: Former members (15% of the target population)

The loss of interest in membership in political parties should be interpreted in the light of the high level of distrust of the general population in political parties and politicians (57%).¹⁹⁷ On the other hand, it is symptomatic that as many as 10% of respondents state that lack of time is the reason why they do not participate in political party activities, because these are women 65+ who are

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

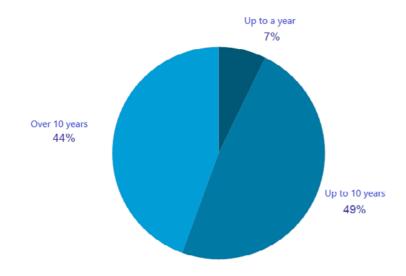
no longer professionally engaged, so it is to be expected that they have more free time. However, we should not ignore the fact, as confirmed by the findings of this research, that almost half of older women are engaged in providing assistance in caring for grandchildren and caring for other relatives.

Age, education, and other socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents do not affect the reasons for termination of their membership in political parties - Table 26 (Appendix 1).

Length of party service

According to the survey results, older women who are or have been members of political parties have many years of experience within the political party, and only 7% of respondents have been members of a political party for less than a year - Graph 27.





Database: Members or former members of the political party (25% of the target population)

The fact that only 7% of respondents have less than a year of party experience, which means that they joined a political party in old age, should be interpreted in the context of public attitudes according to which citizens are most engaged in political life because they expect personal gain.¹⁹⁸

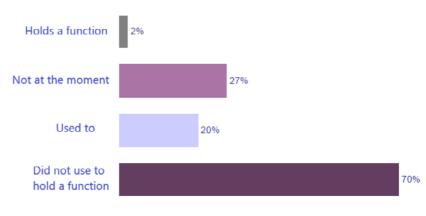
There is no correlation between the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents and the length of their membership in political parties - Table 27.

Party functions and influence on decision-making of party bodies

To find out the position and real power and influence of older women in political parties, we asked respondents several questions regarding their functions and participation in party bodies and gave them the opportunity to assess their own influence on decision-making within the party.

Answers to the question "Have you ever had a political function", show that respondents most often were not in office (70%). Only 2% of respondents now have a function in the party, while 20% previously had a function in the party, and 7% more of those who do not have a function in the party - Graph 28. These data suggest that women are generally less on positions and in decision-making bodies in the parties, regardless of age, and that with the entry of women into old age, the already small power that they, as women, had in the parties further decreases.

Graph 28: Have you ever held a function in the political party?



Multiple choice; Database: members or former members of the political party (25% of the target population)

Cross-referencing the findings with the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents points to the conclusion that only education has a certain impact on the acquisition of functions in the party: among current party officials there are fewer women with lower education, and among those who were former party officials there are significantly more women with college and university education. Although the election to party positions is still not a matter of formal procedures, but depends on informal centres of power,¹⁹⁹ it seems that even in such circumstances, a higher level of education increases the chance for women to take official positions in their parties, as this contributes to the promotion of the party's staff as professional and competent. Other socio-demographic characteristics have no impact on the acquisition functions in parties - Table 28 (Appendix 1).

¹⁹⁹ Višnja Baćanović and Ana Pajvančić, Capacities of Political Parties in Vojvodina for achieving gender equality, Provincial Institute for Gender Equality, Novi Sad, 2010, p. 11.

We checked the position of older women in political parties and the degree of their influence through questions about the participation of respondents in the decision-making bodies of which they are members. The responses shown in Chart 29 confirm that less than a quarter of respondents, current or former members of political parties, participate or have participated in decision-making bodies.

Graph 29: Do you participate in party's decision-making bodies?



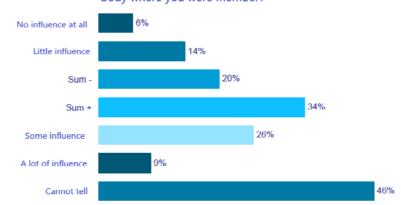
Database: members or former members of the political parties (25% of the target population)

The level of participation in decision-making bodies is not correlated with age, education, place of residence nor any other socio-demographic characteristic of the respondents - Table 29 (Appendix 1).

Bearing in mind that the public, and especially women themselves, have doubts about the influence of women in politics, 200 we gave respondents who participate or have participated in party decision-making bodies the opportunity to assess on a four-point scale (1 - had no influence at all 4 - had a lot of influence) what was their real influence on the decision-making of their respective bodies. An additional option was the answer "I can't tell". Almost half of the respondents (46%) could not assess their impact, and among those who could, there are more of those who estimate that they had some or much influence (34%) compared to those who did not or did not have any impact at all on decision - making of the bodies in whose work they participated - Graph 30.

If respondents who negatively assessed their own influence on the decision-making of the bodies of which they are members are added and respondents who could not assess their own influence, it can be concluded that the personal sense of power of women in parties is low, which confirms the findings of previous research.²⁰¹

Graph 30: How do you assess your own influence on decision-making of the political body where you were member?

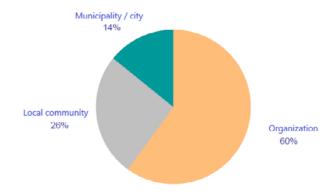


Database: participants in decision-making bodies of the political party (6% of the target population)

Socio-demographic characteristics are not statistically significant in terms of self-assessment of the influence of respondents on the decision-making of the bodies in which they participated - Table 30 (Appendix 1).

Decision-making bodies in which respondents participate are at the low level of influence: those are mostly authorities in organizations, less frequently bodies in local communities, while the lowest participation is in the bodies of local self-government - Chart 31.

Graph 31: Level of decision-making body you participate or participated in?



Database: participants in decision-making body in the political party (6% of the target population)

Socio-demographic factors are not relevant from the aspect of the level of activity of the bodies in whose work the respondents participate - Table 31 (Appendix 1).

The attitudes and experiences of the participants in the discussions on the issue of political engagement are very different, especially if we keep in mind that there were women who held high positions in the party among the respondents. Women participated in decision-making in the party at the level at which they were

²⁰⁰ Ana Vuković, Attitudes of women politicians towards women's political participation in Serbia: Five years later, Sociological Review, vol. XLVIII (2014), no. 3, p. 402.

²⁰¹ Baćanović and Pajvančić, 2010, op.cit, p. 96

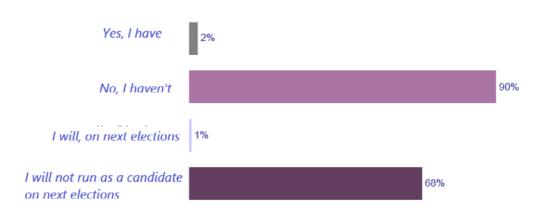
engaged, however the impression is that they did not have much influence on the content of the decisions that were made, but only voted. Some state that they were persistent when they cared about something, as well as that they managed to fight for their position and for that position to be accepted. Those who participated in the party bodies believe that the experience was significant because they opened topics and issues that concerned pensioners. Finally, some say that they have been static and have not worked hard to participate in important issues:

- I was a member of the League of Communists when I worked, and then not. They received me at the suggestion of my boss. I had no role in decision-making, I was just an ordinary member and I went to meetings when I needed to. I was just an observer and nothing more. I was also very static, I admit, I could hardly wait for the meeting to end and to go home. Otherwise, I have my own opinion on who to vote for. Today, I think that women should participate, but it is a matter of affinity. If they are interested, because otherwise their voice is not heard in the house, let alone in the community. Today, I am only interested in the house, children, grandchildren and my circle of friends, the people who bind me.
- I was a member of the League of Communists and I participated in decision-making, but it was all about working in a factory. My children were small then and I didn't even have time, and I didn't even want to be active more. My dad always said woman was made for kitchen. And those were meetings before and after working hours, so I had to run home, small children and so on. And as the kids got older, more and more worries about them, so I didn't want to get too involved. When I was younger, I endured. And now I wouldn't.
- When I got a job, I immediately joined the Communist Party. I was even delegated as a representative at some construction workers' congresses. When it became the Socialist Party, then it all became somehow different and I stopped dealing with it. When I retired (in the '90s), I was in PUPS, I thought that I should be where some initiatives for solving pensioners' issues were proposed. I was there for six, seven years. However, when that ceased to be what it was at the beginning, I left that party and joined the SNS, where I am still a member. These are the second elections I have participated in as a field activist. In the party, in working with pensioners. By the way, I did not run for candidacy.

Readiness for candidacy

In the electoral process, women's candidacy is one of the key links for achieving adequate representation of women in representative bodies at all levels, which includes the readiness of women to accept candidacy. Judging by the answers of the respondents, older women did not run as the candidates in the last elections, nor will they run as the candidates in the next ones - Graph 32. The data that only 2% of respondents ran as the candidates earlier, and that only 1% of them will run as the candidates in the next elections are an indication that political parties do not recognize older women as possible candidates to be encouraged and supported, which is a reflection of double standards of aging against women, but also a product of sexism and ageism.

Graph 32: Have you run as a candidate?



Multiple choice; Database: Total target population

Interestingly, education, age and other socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents are not relevant in terms of their willingness to run as the candidates - Table 32 (Appendix 1).

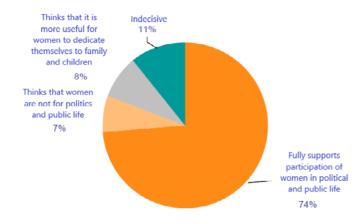
Participants in focus groups and in-depth interviews have mostly never run as the candidates in the elections, neither before nor today, but some of them are active during the elections, by encouraging pensioners to vote.

Attitudes towards women's participation in political and public life

One of the factors of political and civic activism of women in general, and even older women, is certainly their attitude towards women's participation in the public and political spheres. We offered the respondents several answers, which are based on different attitudes that prevail in the public on this issue. As many as 74% of respondents support the participation of women in public and political life, while 11% are indecisive. It is encouraging that only 11% of respondents believe that women are "not for politics and participation in public life" - Graph 33.

The attitude that it is more useful for women to dedicate themselves to children and families, represented by 8% of respondents, manifests their conservative attitude about the gender role of women, but can also be understood as an expression of disappointment and scepticism, perhaps based on personal experience, about opportunities for women to influence positive changes in society through their involvement in political life.

Graph 33: Your attitude about women's participation in political and public life?



Database: Total target population

Cross-referencing the findings with the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents shows that the positive attitude towards women's political and civic activism is somewhat less pronounced among respondents with primary school, social assistance beneficiaries or those with other sources of income, as well as among suburban respondents. This corresponds to the finding that respondents with primary school and those whose standard is poor are significantly more in favour of the view that it is more useful for women to dedicate themselves to family and children - Table 33 (Appendix 1). The findings suggest that the level of gender sensitivity of older women is somewhat lower in older women with lower levels of education and lower living standards.

Focus group and in-depth interview participants mostly think that women have a place in politics and that it is important that they participate:

- Of course, it is important that older women are included at all levels. Their experience is important. Nobody forbids them to get involved in politics. The thing is in the women themselves. I think older women are burdened by taking care of their grandchildren. There are also those who would participate but do not have time. There are many young people who have lost their jobs and are now supported by pensioners. It's not easy. Our situation is not favourable at all.
- It is a difficult path for all groups of women, and almost closed for older women and their social promotion, through any political activity.
- Women who are 'unspent', I can't do that, but I support anyone who can be politically active. With my disability, I don't know if I will get up in the morning.
- Women should be engaged at all levels, but maybe a little less at the republic level. Great engagement is required here. She needs to be in good health, e.g. if women can do it, I'm for it. If she can accept to be there 10, 12 hours or more,

because the assemblies are held sometimes well into the night. If she can, I support every woman who would run as a candidate and who is of 65+.

- Is seems there is a tradition where women who are over 60 think that they should not be involved in politics, they have adopted the traditional upbringing that a woman has to stay at home. I was shocked at the meeting with political associates, there was an older professor who, when I was introduced as a councillor in the city assembly, asked me a question, what is the essence of why women withdraw from politics - How did your husband allow you to get involved into politics?

Itisimportantthatwomenareaware of the importance of older women's participation in politics, whether they are personally interested or not. They recommend the participation of older women at all levels, from the local community to the national level, but it is also necessary to work on the political education of older women. Older women should be in decision-making positions, especially in places where decisions are made about issues that concern them. This does not necessarily have to be through political parties, but it can be participation in the work of the local community, housing community, in professional and other civil society organizations or in the management boards of institutions and companies, i.e., advisory bodies:

- I am sure that it is very important at all levels. Well, if we now have a representative of women at the village level, more attention would be paid to women in rural and their rights and needs. Although, I think few people would vote for a woman if she ran. Men would try to prevent that because there is money where the decisions are being made. I would support any woman who decides to run, why not. Everything a man can do, a woman can do, in some things women make smarter decisions.
- If they need more, they should, because I believe that with their experience and their life attitudes, women can make a contribution, especially at the local, in local communities. Local communities should be the nucleus of this society as it used to be.
- I think that man make decisions on behalf of women as well. There should be more of us where decisions are being made as soon as possible, especially in relation to issues that concern us.
- Women are more sensitive, gentle, and patient than men. More economical, so they need to be asked (for their opinion) more.
- Women are more oriented towards the common good, and less towards the government, and that is why they should be included where issues important not only for them but for all citizens are discussed.
- It is necessary to have our representatives. No one else will fight for us.

However, some respondents were pessimistic about the influence of older women on decision-making:

- They would be in the background. They couldn't come to the focus, I don't think they could do anything.
- Even if they enter politics, they are more of a decor, they just need to raise their hand when voting and they do not choose how to vote. I believe that even the younger councillors are not being asked much.
- When a woman gets into something that men consider their sphere, then they perceive it as an attack. Politics is something men in Serbia consider their sphere and regardless of the fact that there are some legal frameworks that they have to follow you just said that women fought for their presence of 40% that's not it; it could be made 60% women and 40% men, and men would still make decisions.
- Woman is the main pillar of the house, but no one gives her credit for it. I have the impression that this is pro forma now. If a woman raises children, supports her husband and everything, why wouldn't she be there (in politics)? Somehow, one gets the impression that women are smarter in multitasking, so maybe they would be there as well.
- You need to educate men first, so that more women can participate in politics.
- My word used to matter, now it doesn't. Current politicians rarely keep their word, their morale is not at an enviable level, there is interest in every action, there are few people with whom one should hang out and work.

Attitude about electoral quotas

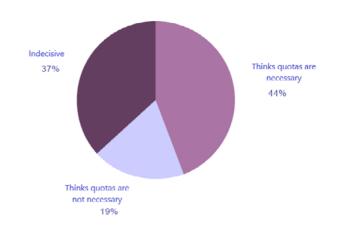
Practice has shown that mandatory electoral quotas for the underrepresented sex are the most effective instrument for increasing the representation of women in representative bodies. ²⁰² In an effort to find out the respondents' attitudes towards quotas, we first asked the question "Is it necessary to provide a certain number of positions on the electoral lists for the underrepresented gender (quota)?". Slightly less than half of the respondents gave a positive answer, almost a fifth thought that quotas were unnecessary, but there was also a large number of respondents who were indecisive about this issue - Graph 34.

Overall, quotas have relatively broad support among respondents, which is higher

202 See: Marijana Pajvančić, Legal Framework for Gender Equality, Provincial Institute for Gender Equality, Novi Sad, 2008. Available at: https://ravnopravnost.org.rs/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/1-Pravni -framework-equality-sex.pdf; Zorica Mršević, Towards a Democratic Society - System of Electoral Quotas, Institute of Social Sciences, Belgrade, 2007.

than the support that quotas enjoyed among women 10 years ago. 203 The attitude about the needlessness of the quotas, expressed by 19% of respondents, should be interpreted in the context of the still widespread opinion shared by women politicians that quotas for the underrepresented sex have bad effects on the choice of competent women. 204





Database: Total target population

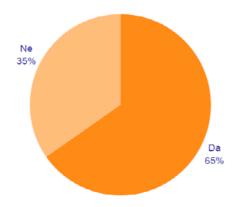
Socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents are generally not correlated with their attitude towards quotas. However, support for quotas is higher among older women with college and university education and among those who are members of political parties. Accordingly, among the respondents with primary and lower education and beneficiaries of family pension, there is more people that have no defined position regarding quotas, a certain difference also occurs in the number of respondents who believe that the introduction of quotas is unnecessary, which is slightly higher among respondents with primary and lower school. In general, with a higher level of education, quota support also increases - Table 34 (Appendix 1).

²⁰³ According to a 2011 survey, 23% of women were for and as many were against a 50% quota for the underrepresented sex. Suzana Ignjatović et al., Citizens of Serbia on Gender Equality, Public Opinion of Serbia on Gender Equality, Institute of Social Sciences - Centre for Political Science Research and Public Opinion, Directorate for Gender Equality of the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy of the Republic of Serbia, Belgrade, 2011, p. 76.

²⁰⁴ According to research findings on the attitudes of women politicians from Southeast Europe, their attitude towards electoral quotas is ambivalent and even negative. Among them, there is the dominant opinion that the rules of democracy are gender neutral so that the personal qualities of women are crucial for success, thus sending the wrong message that there is no gender discrimination and barriers, but that the success of women depends on their individual preference - and the commitment. See: Yvonne Galligan, Sara Clavero, *Prospects for Women's Legislative Representation in Post-socialist Europe: The Views of Female Politicians*, Gender and Society, Sage Publications, Vol 22, 2008

Bearing in mind that older women are often eliminated in the candidacy process, which is influenced by widespread stereotypes and prejudices about their abilities and capacities, we asked respondents who consider quotas necessary if a quota for women 65+ is necessary within the quota for women's participation. As many as 65% of respondents supported these quotas - Graph 35. This finding is a kind of confirmation that older women are aware of the fact that they do not have equal chances not only in relation to men, but also in relation to younger women and that they are not recognized as party members who can contribute to the promotion of the political party and attracting voters with their experience and competencies.

Graph 35: Is quota for women of 65+ necessary under the quota for women?



Database: participants who think quotas are necessary (44% of the target population)

The attitudes of the respondents are not influenced by their socio-demographic characteristics, although it is noted that quotas for women 65+ are somewhat less supported by women with low educational status and women in rural areas - Table 35 (Appendix 1).

Most participants in the focus groups and in-depth interviews are aware of the existence of quotas for women on electoral lists, generally for a quota of 30%, while fewer participants heard that the quota of 40% for the underrepresented gender. Opinions differ on the introduction of quotas for older women, from those that it is only pro forma, to those who believe that it is not the number of participants that matters but the quality of participation, however it is important that most participants still support quotas for older women:

- I think that within the quota for women, a quota for the participation of older women should be introduced.
- Mandatory quotas on the electoral lists are very welcome because in that way they provide greater participation of women in political life. I think that the age quota for women on the electoral lists would be a kind of discrimination against the older persons.
- For me, it has always been that we must, first of all, look for quality, which we

- do not have. To meet that quota now, we will accept anyone who will pay us a membership fee, regardless of whether she is worth it. After all that, women of 65+ can be there, because of their experience and knowledge, but it also depends on women. We can advocate for a larger number of older women in the quota, but again, we must first think about the quality of those women.
- Older women can transfer their life and work experience. They could, but at the level of the local community. Quota does not have to provide quality. If there are political and active women, they should be elected, but not at any cost. Older women have their problems, but they will not be solved by numbers, but by strong, smart and hard-working women, regardless of age.
- Why is the percentage of women in politics limited? Men make such decisions. Why can't it be 60-70% women? Women should show that they are capable of being equal with men. We need to be more represented in socio-political life, to engage and be maximally represented.

Formal equality and de facto inequality of women and men

When we look at the status of women in politics in Serbia today at the end of the second decade of the 21st century and measure it with solidly branched de jure measures, we will notice disagreement, although some progress has been made. The legal, institutional, political, and socio-cultural dimension of all efforts to change the circumstances in which women are involved in politics in Serbia has not brought women to places where power and authority are concentrated, that is, gender segregation in politics still exists. Special measures for women in politics increase their descriptive representation, however, the question of their substantial representation and representation of women's interests always remains. The relationship between the de jure and de facto situation, formal equality and de facto inequality, is permanently at disbalance. The question is constantly asked whether legal measures are sufficient to achieve a decisive step forward or whether society needs a complex path of socialization of women's rights / women's political rights in a certain stimulating cultural framework.

It is important that older Roma women are included

It is also important that Roma women are active, from the local to the national level, but they lack the means to train them and help them understand why it is important for them to participate. Politics is life, and older women are the ones who should live that life. Politics is when they need to decide which bread to buy. Older Roma women did not decide for whom would marry, or how many children they would give birth to, or what they would wear, all of which were decided by men or an older persons, father-in-law or mother-in-law. The young women were not asked much. With today's younger Roma women, that is changing, and it is good that it is so.

4 ---- 85

2.2.6. **COVID-19**

Older people, especially in isolation and people with cognitive impairment, dementia, as well as people highly dependent on other person's care, can become anxious, angry, stressed, upset or withdrawn during an outbreak or while in isolation.²⁰⁵ In addition, the older persons are at risk of abuse during the COVID-19 outbreak, including physical, psychological, sexual abuse, financial abuse / exploitation, and neglect.²⁰⁶ Although the mortality rate of older men is higher, according to available data from high-income countries, older women in many countries are at particular risk of COVID-19 because they are exposed to multiple and intersectional discrimination.²⁰⁷

In order to combat and prevent the spread of the infectious disease COVID-19 and protect the population, a state of emergency was declared in Serbia on 15th March 2020,²⁰⁸ which lasted 53 days. During the state of emergency, measures were introduced to restrict freedom of movement.²⁰⁹ These measures mostly affected the older persons, whose freedom of movement was suspended for 354 hours per week for 35 days, with the threat of sanctions.²¹⁰

Older people living alone were in a particularly difficult situation, especially those in need of someone else's care and assistance, most of whom were women. Most social protection services were either suspended or services were provided with significant restrictions, and the provision of health care services was reduced and limited to emergencies. Due to the general prohibition of movement, it was difficult to provide assistance and support the older persons in their daily activities by their family members and informal caregivers. Humanitarian and other activities at the local level were organized by the crisis centre, which assessed the needs of certain

205 Mental health and psychosocial considerations during the COVID-19 outbreak, WHO, 18.3.2020, available at: https://www.who.int/docs/default-source/coronaviruse/mental-health-considerations.pdf

206 Ibid.

207 Global Technical Brief, Implications of COVID-19 for Older Persons: Responding to the Pandemic, UNFPA, 2020, p. 9

208 Decision on Declaring A State of Emergency, "Official Gazette of the RS", no. 29/2020.

209 Order on Restriction and Prohibition of Movement of Persons on the Territory of the Republic of Serbia ("Official Gazette of RS", No. 34/2020, 39/2020, 40/2020, 46/2020 and 50/2020), Order on Organization and Implementation of Quarantine Measures ("Official Gazette of the RS", No. 33/2020), etc.

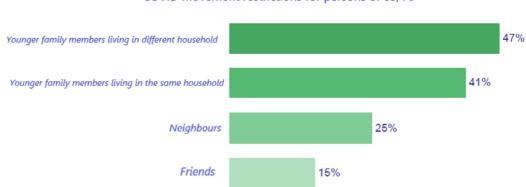
210 The order restricting and prohibiting the movement of persons of 65+, living in populated areas with more than 5,000 inhabitants, as well as persons of 70+ in populated areas with up to 5,000 inhabitants, completely prohibited movement, except on Saturdays, from 4 to 7 o'clock in the morning. Later, these measures were partially relaxed, but the regulations were often changed.

211 The share of the older persons in the total population is 19.2%. Most of them are women, who make up two thirds of single older persons' households. *Women and Men in Serbia*, Republic Statistical Office, Belgrade, available at: https://publikacije.stat.gov.rs/G2017/Pdf/G20176008.pdf

categories of the population without involving representatives of vulnerable groups. As a result, targeted and gender-responsive measures aimed at meeting the daily needs of certain vulnerable groups, including the older persons, were lacking. Access to information on available forms of assistance and support was limited, and help and support lines were generally not available at the time of the state of emergency. It is evident that in the conditions of the state of emergency, all lines of domination, marginalization and gender and other inequalities faced by older women have come to full expression.

In this part, we present the experiences of older women outside institutional accommodation and their subjective experience of the impact of measures on their daily lives during the state of emergency.

During the period when people older than 65/70 were forbidden to move, support and assistance in the procurement of food, medicine and other necessary things were provided to older women by younger family members, who live with them (41%), i.e. do not live in the same household (47%). In addition, help and support was provided by neighbours (25%), friends (15%) and volunteers (6%) - Graph 36.



Graph 36: Assistance with food and medicine procurement during the COVID movement restrictions for persons of 65/70+

Multiple choice; Database: Total target population

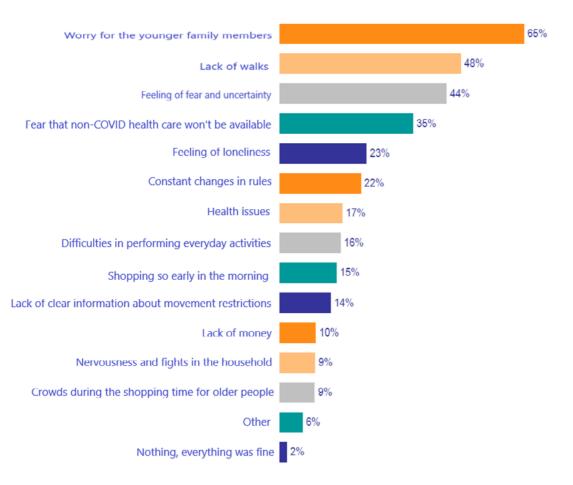
Volunteers

There are no significant differences in terms of socio-demographic factors, except that it is noticeable that women of lower financial status were less supported by neighbours, while significantly more neighbours provided support to those women who rated their household standard as poor - Table 36 (Appendix 1)

Many problems for older women were present during the period of prohibition of movement. Most of the answers were related to concerns for younger family members (65%), followed by lack of walks, feelings of uncertainty and fear, concern for health, loneliness, and the like - Graph 37.

Regarding the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents, a significantly larger number of respondents from the age group 80+ were worried about their health and were tormented by a feeling of loneliness. The lack of walks bothered women with college and university education and women living in the city significantly more, while women living in rural were much less bothered by the lack of walks. The lack of comprehensible information regarding the prohibition of movement bothered women with high school and women living in the city much more, while it was reported significantly lower among women with primary school and women living in rural - Table 37 (Appendix 1).

Graph 37: What were your main problems during the movement restriction period?



Multiple coice; Database: Total target population

Older women cite the following problems, as the most pronounced:

- I was worried all the time.
- I couldn't hang out with my grandchildren and children. I was just thinking if they were ok.

- We have to move. This COVID-19 has set me back so much because of the blood sugar, so I am now on a strict diet.
- I didn't go out for two months, I felt like I was in prison.
- It was terrible during the outbreak, when we had a walk. The city looked ghostly, it looked so horrible, that I thought I was going to die from that picture.
- It was sad to look out the window when the curfew started, no one came out of the house, everything was eerily empty.
- The feeling of coercion and instilling fear bothered me the most.
- It bothered me that I could not organize a medical examination and I should have.
- We had one nurse, there in the centre, who measured our blood sugar and blood pressure once a week. During the restriction of movement period, that was not the case because the centre did not work.
- While there was an outbreak, we were sitting at home, so I called the doctor on the phone, I called five times, no one answered, then when someone answered the sixth time, he told me that the line is busy. Well, three more times like that...
- I was annoyed by the conflicting information, which was very irritating.
- They should have allowed us to go out in the evening as soon as the curfew started and not late at night.
- It was extremely inhumane to go shopping at 4 o'clock in the morning.
- It was hard for me to get up at three in the morning to get ready and go shopping.
- I don't have supplies in the house, I never even had them. And the term for shopping does not suit me, and it is also very crowded.
- Generation 65+ is used to listening, that has been demonstrated in these circumstances of the outbreak and certain prohibitions and recommendations that have been given. Fewer women 65+ died from the COVID-19 than men, because they took care of everything. Because they know their family needs them and they always put their family first. Women unconditionally follow the recommendation to wash their hands and be careful.

Some older women state that they felt humiliated and underappreciated because of the situation they found themselves in, that they missed spending time with family and friends and their normal life, that they felt like they were in prison. Also, they state that they were very upset by the fact that they could not adequately take care of themselves (for example, the impossibility of going to the hairdresser, etc.), that they could not go to organized recreational and other facilities, to excursions and trips. For some, the problem was lack of money (10%), and some had difficulty performing daily activities (16%). A small number of older women state that they

have fully come to terms with the situation, realizing that they are at risk and have stayed at home to avoid infection, and there have been older women who have violated the ban and occasionally went for walks and shopping.

2.3. The key issues of older women

We could not miss the opportunity without hearing the opinions of the participants in the focus group discussions **about the key problems of older women**. In the interviews, they listed **four key issues that affect older women most**:

- poor financial situation due to low pensions, for those who receive them, and even worse for those who are outside the pension system, on the one hand, and that their children often do not work, so they all depend on the older women's pension, on the other;
- disrespect, even within the circle of one's family because a lot of older women are forgotten by their children, some of them suffer from violence, while some are the informal caregivers of the sick family members, and the work is not appreciated, and there is no respect for women who are caregivers;
- life in elderly households when they are unable to function independently and there is no assistance, because daily community-based social care services, even if they are developed, include a small number of older persons and are inaccessible to all who need them; older women often do not have access to health care services, especially those from rural areas;
- -loss of self-confidence (they are afraid that they are unnecessary due to old age, or they lose faith in themselves, i.e., they doubt their own abilities). This lack of self-confidence often keeps them in a subordinate position in relation to men. Women are usually more inclined to underestimate themselves. Here are just a few of the statements, noting that certain statements are repeating:
- They certainly face illness, problems with children who do not work, pensioners who support their children. The grandchildren arrived. You didn't work for the children, they won't even talk about your grandchildren.
- The problem of pensioners is a small pension. They cannot provide themselves with basic things and satisfy basic needs.
- As older persons, we are humiliated at all levels, from public transport to health care institutions.
- Material problems are the key issue, they result in health care problems and disrespect from young people...

- There are many women who have been abandoned by their children... but they hide it.
- The doctor is scheduled in a month and a half, for me that is the biggest problem.
- Abandonment by children if she gives one child a pension authorisation, the others will not see her, they get angry.
- When think of it all, self-confidence is lost, older women even if they encounter a small obstacle lose self-confidence, it is not so much about the house or the husband. Men believe in themselves much more.
- The key question for an older woman who lives alone is who will help her at home, who will help her financially and who will take her to the doctor, get what she needs, if she is incapable or sick. All the women to whom I proposed some kind of assistance, had such miserable pensions that they had no chance to pay anything, RSD 12,000, 18,000... If she has no one else, and the help of a gerontohousewife is needed by many,... often, there are two of them in the house who need assistance,..., it's absolutely impossible to help everyone. Even if I find a woman who will help for 200 dinars/hour, that is not enough, because they need more hours of assistance per day.
- There are also people who need help, so they enter into legal relations with a third party and get into difficult situations there. Some kind of legal advisor would be needed, whether at the local community, at the Social Welfare Centre, or something... Someone who would tell that woman don't do that, that's nonsense or don't do it with her, you're better off with that other person, that is not smart,...
- Violence against older women. I had domestic violence during the outbreak, I recently found out. Against an older woman, who is almost immobile, a very nice lady. By her daughter. She died of grief these days. She had a good caregiver, but she died of grief.
- I had the opportunity to watch when I go to holidays, weddings, birthdays and so on, and there are usually a lot of young people there. Whatever happens, there are very few older persons. I like to dance, so I started to dance and than looked around and all the young people were around me. Oh, dear, what am I doing I'm a grandmother among the youth. No one to get up (and dance), not even the few older people who came because probably, I guess, young people leave the older persons at home to look after small children and take care of the house. Unfortunately, older persons are mostly present at funerals
- Here, we now had a celebration at home and then they say to me: Well, young people are sitting here, and older people are sitting there, and I think: there is no life until there is an intertwining between the young and the old. But what am I going to do, I sit where they tell me and keep quiet.

These examples show how **pronounced the generation gap** is today **and how much it limits social interaction and communication between people**.

It is most difficult for older women from the village

There is absolutely no support for older women, and on the other hand it is a generation that is ashamed to ask for help because they were thought to carry the burden until they collapse, and I think those women, of that age, are the most sensitive in this society. We do not introduce anything (any measures) without being forced to do it. Women in rural areas are especially sensitive because these are places where if you raise your voice, you get such condemnation from the environment, because you are a woman, regardless of whether you are right or not. She is already silent and suffering for the good of the family, for the good of the children, she is silent and suffering, whether it's good or not for her. Those women are the most invisible and those women should be cared for.

2.4. Priority areas in which it is necessary to improve the position of older women

At the end of the interviews with women in focus groups, we asked them to define a maximum of three areas in which it is necessary to improve the position of older women. Here are their common answers:

- **Health care should be improved,** the availability of health care services to be provided to everyone who needs them and dental services to be provided to the older persons through insurance, and not that they must pay for everything. **Community-based social care services to be provided to all who need them** (FG Kragujevac).
- To increase pensions, to provide assistance to those women who do not have a pension, to provide daily community-based services and to increase empathy for each other (FG Bor).
- The state should not further decrease the amount of pension in relation to salary, to make a public nursing home for older people in Čačak, as has been requested for years, as and to reduce the participation for the medicines and medical aids (FG Čačak).
- Individual awareness should be awakened, we should be the initiators of activities in the community, we should promote intergenerational solidarity, we may have all the laws, but we lack application or control whether they are implemented at the local level. Eradicate discrimination against older women (FG Belgrade).
- Social services to be strengthened, more funds to be invested in social care services. Improve the material and social status of older women. Health system in general should be improved (FG Novi Sad)

2.5. Conclusions and recommendations

Older women in Serbia are at a disadvantage compared to older men, as well as compared to women and men from other age groups. The problems they face are numerous: their socio-economic situation is poor, they are more exposed to poverty, they often do not have enough income to meet basic needs, they have increased medical treatment costs. Almost 20% of respondents in this survey rate their household standard as very poor or poor, while just under 25% of respondents rate their household standard as good or very good. It is indicative that 8% of respondents do not have a pension and only 2% of them receive financial social assistance from the state.

Interviews with older women through focus groups and in-depth interviews also confirmed that the socio-economic situation of older women in Serbia is worse, and that they lack daily community-based social and health care services.

Most respondents rate their own health as average (62.7%), while approximately the same number rate their own health as slightly better (19%), i.e., slightly worse (18%) compared to other people of the same age. Our assumption was that more serious health difficulties affect their active life in the local community and demotivate them to participate in political processes. Not all older women have the same opportunities and equal access to health care facilities, and the most common reasons are distance from health centres, poverty, inadequate access to public transportation, inaccessibility of transportation and often health care facilities themselves. In addition, many older women find it very difficult to schedule specialist medical examinations, especially if they live in rural. The vast majority of older women (86%) state that due to their age, health care workers treat them with less respect, and that there is a practice of referring to privately owned health clinics for those specialist examinations for which there are long waiting lists, which practically deprives them from specialist health care services due to lack of financial resources.

Older women are neglected in society, although they make voluntary contributions to their community and public policies do not respond to their needs. Over 80% of older women believe that society does not pay enough attention to their position, and they cite poor socio-economic position as their biggest problem. Their contribution in the form of giving advice and wisdom to the younger generations and society as a whole should be recognized, which is not the case now. Old age is a very common basis for discrimination against the older persons, and older women are at increased risk of discrimination in employment if they are close to retirement, in earnings, access to financial services, property ownership. They are very often exposed to violence. Older women often do not recognize the discrimination to which they are exposed. Because of all this, older women often lose self-confidence.

The contribution of older women and their role in households is not sufficiently visible, although it is very important like providing assistance to their

children and grandchildren. They continue to make a significant contribution to the households in which they live, even after retirement, most often through housework and care for dependent family members, and those living in rural through work in agriculture. Unpaid work of older women is important for the whole household, but it is most often neglected. 94% of respondents in this survey perform household chores, almost half of older women state that they work in a garden/cottage, while 44% help with grandchildren or other relatives. As many as 15% of them state that they work for money under any contract or without a contract or on a voluntary basis, which means that they are also economically active. Women from the age group 75+ are less active.

According to this research, older women spend their free time watching television (96% of them), hanging out with friends and neighbours (90% of them), as well as walking (78% of respondents). Some spend time traveling (32%), attending cultural events (26%).

There are significant differences among the respondents in the way they spend their free time. Significantly fewer women living in rural go for a walk than those living in the city. There is a significant difference in the age group 65-69, in which a larger number of women use the Internet, attend more cultural events, unlike women from the age groups 76-80 and 80+. Women who have primary or lower education use the Internet less, travel less and attend cultural events less, while women with college and university education do it significantly more. Women living in the city travel more and attend cultural events more compared to women living in rural. Also, there is a significantly lower number of women who travel and attend cultural events among women who rated their household standard as poor and among women who receive a family pension. These older women may be at risk of isolation and exclusion. Obstacles to the equal social participation of older women include poverty, poor health, low levels of education, lack of transportation, access to services, and age discrimination.

This research confirmed that **older women are insufficiently involved in organized activities in the community and are insufficiently involved in decision-making, which affects their lives.** A large number of respondents believe that older women should be even more actively involved in cultural activities in the community (50%), in activities related to public health (46%), in ecology and environmental protection (43%) and in activities related to social welfare (36%). The majority of respondents believe that older women should participate in community life by voting in elections (72.4%), followed by work in local community councils (45%), as well as participation in community-related surveys and work in the building community councils.

The participation of older women in various associations of citizens and professional associations is not at an enviable level.

Although the majority of older women (60%) are not members of any association of citizens, and only 7% of respondents were previously members of an association,

most of those who are members are in the associations of pensioners (28% and mostly interesting, those with lower pensions), then in civil society organizations (5%), in women's associations (2%), cultural and artistic society (2%) and local communities (1%). The low level of involvement of older women in the membership in associations should be interpreted in the light of relatively low public trust in CSOs (16%).

Women in rural are underrepresented among the members of associations, which is certainly affected by the underdevelopment of the civil sector in rural areas, but also due to less free time of women in rural, given that their workload is higher than of the women in the city: they work longer than average working hours in agriculture, and at the same time they do almost all household chores. Unemployed women are less likely to join any association.

Respondents who were members of the association and then stopped, state following reasons for termination of membership: "deterioration of health" as the dominant reason, which corresponds to data on poor health of older women, followed by "loss of interest", "lack of time to participate in activities of the association" and "other reasons".

Respondents who are not members of any association - out of three offered reasons why not - mostly opted for "I was not interested" (65%), "I did not have time" (30%), and 5% of respondents did not know about the option.

Almost 45% of respondents are not interested in participating in organized social, educational, recreational services, and community programmes. This is to some extent influenced by their age, education, sources of income, place of residence and household standard. Respondents living in rural areas are significantly more dominant among those who are not interested in social, educational and recreational services and programmes.

Most of the older women we have spoken to in focus groups and in-depth interviews also believe that older women are not active enough, citing various reasons for their inactivity, such as the impact of family upbringing, gender roles, life circumstances, and their own choices. No one encourages them to engage, nor invites them to get involved. Their exclusion in rural and Roma communities is especially evident. All of the above seems to further encourage and maintain their passivity when it comes to proactivity in engaging in public and political life.

Women in Serbia have had a legal right to participate in politics and political decision-making since 1946, when they were given the right to vote. But social norms and gender roles condition inequalities between men and women in politics. This is especially true for older women. Even though women participate in public life in Serbia, which is confirmed by the fact that the law set a quota of 30% and 40% for women's participation in electoral lists, this does not guarantee that older women will be included, although they make up to almost 28% of the total number of women in Serbia. Among women in assemblies, there is a disproportionately small number of older women or none.

In the 2016 elections in Serbia, the quota (30%) for the participation of women in assemblies was respected, except in Bor, where there were 26%, while in the 2020 elections, in the analysed sample, the quota was respected in 50% of cases. The representation of older women in assemblies at all levels is very low, and this was especially pronounced in the 2020 elections, when among the elected representatives was even smaller proportion of older women in relation to the 2016 elections. Among women in the National Assembly of Serbia in the 2020 mandate, which make 39%, only 3% are older women, while in the Assembly of the Autonomous Province Vojvodina has 2%. Proportionately, the largest share of older women is in the City Assembly of Belgrade, where there is 8% of them, among 46% of women members of the City Assembly. There are 7% of them in the Assembly of Čačak, 5% in Niš, while there are none in the Assemblies of Novi Sad and Bor.

The participation of the older persons in assemblies is not an in-focus topic in the world, nor in Serbia. The Council of Europe has published many data on the electoral systems of the 47 member states, including data on women's participation in parliaments, as well as on the participation of young people (under 30) in parliaments, but no data on the participation of older people or older women.

The political participation of older women, according to this research, is at a very low level: only 10% of respondents are members of a political party, while the other 90% are not, with only 15% of them who used to be members.

As reasons for not joining a political party, of those who have never been in a political party nor are today, 72% of respondents state lack of interest / apoliticalness as reason for not joining a political party, and 13% are those who do not want, i.e., they don't like politics. Socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents do not affect the level of their apoliticalness, nor are of importance in the category of women who for other reasons are not members of political parties. The research did not confirm that education and place of residence affect the level of apoliticalness of older women, although at the level of the general population these factors have an impact.

Older women, members of political parties, are mostly "loyal" to their political parties. However, a quarter of the respondents changed their political party. Considering that the respondents are 65+, the change of political party in some cases can be related to the termination of membership in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, of which they were members.

According to the survey, **older women who are or have been members of political parties have many years of experience in the party,** and only 7% of respondents have been members of a political party for less than a year.

Research on participation in the positions in the political party and the influence on the decision-making of party bodies shows that respondents most often did not hold a position (70%). **Only 2% of respondents now have a function in the party**, while there is 20% of those who previously had **a function in the party**, and 7% more of those who do not have a function in the party now. These data

suggest that women are generally less in functions and in decision-making bodies in parties, regardless of age, and that with the entry of women into old age, the little power they had as women in parties further decreases.

Cross-referencing the findings with the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents points to the conclusion that **only education has a certain influence on the acquisition of functions in the party:** among current party officials there are fewer women with lower education, and among those who were former party officials there are significantly more women with college and university education.

Only 22% of respondents, current or former members of political parties, participate or have participated in decision-making bodies in the party. Decision-making bodies in which respondents participate or have participated are at low level: they are mostly authorities in organizations, a much smaller bodies in local communities, while the lowest participation is in the bodies of local self-government.

The fact that only 2% of respondents ran as the candidate before, and that only 1% of them will run in the next elections, is an indication that older women are not recognized as possible candidates by political parties to be encouraged and supported, which is a reflection of double standards of aging that affect women, but also a product of sexism and ageism.

Attitudes of older women towards women's participation in the public and political spheres are positive and show that **as many as 74% of respondents support women's participation in public and political life,** while 11% are indecisive. It is encouraging that only 11% of respondents believe that women are "not for politics and participation in public life".

The attitude that it is more useful for women to dedicate themselves to children and families, represented by 8% of respondents, manifests their conservative attitude about the gender role of women, but can also be understood as an expression of disappointment and scepticism, perhaps based on personal experience about the opportunities for women to influence positive changes in society through their involvement in political life.

Cross-referencing the findings with the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents shows that the positive attitude towards women's political and civic activism is somewhat less pronounced among respondents with primary school, social assistance beneficiaries or those with other sources of income, as well as among suburban respondents.

Focus group and in-depth interview participants mostly think that women have a place in politics and that it is important for them to participate.

We first investigated the **attitude of older women towards electoral quotas** through the question "Is it necessary to provide a certain number of positions on the electoral lists for the underrepresented sex - women (quota)?". Slightly less than half of the respondents gave a positive answer, almost a fifth considered the

quotas were unnecessary, but there was also a large number of respondents who were ambivalent about this issue (37%).

Bearing in mind that older women are often eliminated in the candidacy process, which is influenced by widespread stereotypes and prejudices about their abilities and capacities, we asked respondents who consider quotas necessary if a quota for women of 65+ is necessary within the quota for women's participation. As many as 65% of respondents supported these quotas. This finding is a kind of confirmation that older women are aware of the fact that they do not have equal opportunities not only in relation to men, but also in relation to younger women and that they are not recognized in party structures as persons whose experience and competencies can contribute to party promotion and attraction of voters.

Most focus group and in-depth interview participants are aware of the existence of quotas for women on electoral lists, mostly of 30% quota, while fewer have heard that a 40% quota has been introduced for the underrepresented sex. Opinions differ on the **introduction of quotas for older women, but most of the respondents still support them.** There were also those who believe that the number of participants is not important, but the quality of participation.

In general, quotas have relatively broad support from respondents, which is higher than the support that quotas enjoyed among women 10 years ago. The view on the needlessness of quotas, expressed by 19% of respondents, should be interpreted in the context of the still widespread opinion, shared by women politicians, that quotas for the underrepresented sex have bad effects in terms of choosing competent women.

Focus group and in-depth interview participants recommend the participation of older women at all levels from the local community to the national level. **Most agree that older women need and can provide the most at the community level.**

Older women are largely excluded from participation in decision-making even in their family circle and this is considered normal. According to tradition, in the society in Serbia, a man is considered the "head of the family", which is especially present among the older generations, especially those who live in rural and among the Roma population. Men play the dominant role in decision-making at all levels: he has money, he decides what to buy, what will be grown in the field, how many children should be born, while older women participate in conducting these operations, sometimes even more than older men. They state their poor position both within the family and within society, but most often do not link it to the violation of their basic human rights.

It is necessary to change the value patterns that old age is equal to the disease, that older people are a burden to society and traditional expectations that an older woman has a purpose only within the house. They are equal members of the community and should be included in the community at all levels and in all areas. Legal measures are not enough, but the socialization of women's political rights is needed.

Older women have the right to participate in society and the Republic of Serbia is obliged to take measures to enable all older people the freedom to choose their way of life and the possibility of equal participation in social life.²¹²

The political participation of older women is very important at the time when policies are being created in order to prepare countries for the challenges posed by an aging population, and Serbia is one of them. Both young and old generations need to be equally empowered to express their needs and interests. It is a powerful advocacy tool in political parties, where older women can directly influence political programmes, especially when represented in Parliament.

Some governments have founded coordination bodies for aging issues. For example, Austria has an independent council of senior citizens that makes a major contribution to the discussion on national aging policy. In Spain, participation and dialogue between the older persons and public administration is easier through various forums, including the State Council for the Older Persons, the Councils of the Autonomous Communities for the Older Persons and local councils in some larger cities.²¹³

At the fourth ministerial conference of the UN on Aging, held in 2017 in Lisbon, the Ministerial Declaration *Sustainable Society for All Ages: The Recognition of the Potential for a Longer Life.* The declaration identifies three areas of action: recognizing the potential of older people; encouraging longer working life and working ability, and ensuring dignified aging. Within the first area, among other activities, it was determined to hold the effective consultations with older people and involvement of older people and their representatives at national, regional and local levels in creating policies, strategies and measures that directly affect their lives, taking into account the diversity of older people. persons and their needs.

Achieving gender equality is identified in **the 2030 UN Agenda for Sustainable Development** as the 5th of 17 goals. Within this objective six subobjectives have been set, including the one:

Ensure women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic and public life

At the national level, the general framework of human rights is provided by the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia (2006), which guarantees a whole range of civil, political, economic, and social rights. From the aspect of participation in public and political life, constitutional norms guaranteeing freedom of assembly (Art. 54), freedom of association (Art. 55), and the right to petition (Art. 56) are particularly important. The Constitution guarantees the right to vote, stipulating that every adult, able to work citizen of the Republic of Serbia has the right to vote and to be elected, that the right to vote is universal and equal, that elections are free and direct, and voting is secret and personal (Art. 52). Citizens are also guaranteed the right to participate in the management of public affairs and to enter public services and public functions under equal conditions (Art. 53).

²¹² Article 23 Revised European Social Charter

²¹³ Excerpt from Aging Policy, UNECE No. 4, November 2009

Anti-discrimination legislation, election regulations, regulations on political parties and associations and other regulations relevant to the social inclusion of the older persons are a guarantee of women's rights, including older women in public and political life.

Therefore, it is necessary to work on:

- 1. Raising awareness of civil society organizations and general public about the rights of older women to participate in public life of the community and in places where decisions affecting them are being made at all levels, in order to change laws and improve mechanisms for greater participation of women in public and political life (within the quota for women's participation, set a quota for older women);
- 2. Raising the level of awareness and information among older women about their rights based on international documents (UN, Council of Europe), national laws, as well as the importance of their participation in public and political life, i.e., in places where decisions that affect them are being made;
- 3. Educating older women about political processes and models of participation in decision-drafting and decision-making to increase women's ability to participate in decision-making and management;
- 4. Advocating for more equitable division of labour and household chores between men and women, in order to improve the opportunities for women to equally influence the shaping and defining the policy from the local level onwards;
- 5. Advocating for the provision of quotas for women's participation in local communities as well as quotas for older women at all levels, within the quotas for women;
- 6. Advocating for the establishment of senior citizens' councils in local governments' units, which will include older women in proportion to the number of members;
- 7. Raising awareness and educating other stakeholders in the community about the principles of gender equality and combating discrimination against older women.

THE POSITION AND PARTICIPATION OF OLDER WOMEN IN POLITICAL AND PUBLIC LIFE IN SERBIA



Winning photo

in the Photo Contest "Man in Focus", by the EU Delegations to the Republic of Serbia and National Geography magazine in category: The Best photo of EU **project:** At the station -A volunteer on her way to the dependant person, project "For increased participation of older women in public and political life", **Association of Citizens** Amity, Belgrade 2020

Photo: Vojislav Luković

3 LEGAL FRAMEWORK

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3. LEGAL FRAMEWORK

3.1. International legal framework

3.1.1. Universal level

3.1.1.1. International human rights treaties

At the United Nations level, a special convention for the protection of the older persons has not yet been adopted, although its preparation has been underway for many years.²¹⁴ Therefore, general and specific international human rights treaties are of relevance for the human rights of older persons at the UN level.

Serbia ratified eight of nine UN human rights treaties, and after the successor's statement in June 2001, it began monitoring the implementation of international human rights standards and has established a practice of submitting national reports to relevant bodies²¹⁵ established by international treaties, i.e., the optional protocols from those treaties.²¹⁶ The Rpublic of Serbia is also subject to the procedures followed by these bodies in dealing with complaints of violations of the

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²¹⁴ For the reasons for the adoption of a special Convention on the Rights of Older Persons, see: Why Do We Need a Human Rights Convention for Older Persons? http://www.globalaging.org/agingwatch/convention/why/index.htm (accessed on 6.8.2020) Why it's time for a convention on the rights of older people (2009); http://www.globalaging.org/elderrights/world/2009/Humanrightsconvention.pdf (accessed on 6.8.2020) What difference would a New Convention Make to the Lives of Older People? (2008) http://www.globalaging.org/elderrights/world/2008/newconvention.pdf (accessed on 6.8.2020) Strengthening the rights of older people under the UN Convention, https://www.redcross.org.rs/media/1672/jacanje-prava-starijih-serbian.pdf (accessed on 6.8.2020)

Data on reports submitted by Serbia to UN treaty bodies so far are available at: https://www.ljudskaprava.gov.rs/sr/fascikla/ljudska-prava/me%C4%91unarodni/konvenije (accessed on 6.8.2020)

Universal international treaties and the optional protocols adopted therefrom established treaty bodies (committees) for monitoring compliance with treaties: the Human Rights Committee, the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, and the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women and the Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. These committees may have one of the following responsibilities: to consider reports submitted to them by States Parties, to act on inter-State complaints, to deal with individual complaints, to initiate ex-officio investigations into serious or systematic human rights violations, and to make general comments. All five committees are responsible for reviewing States Parties reports and making general comments, while accepting the remaining three competencies requires a separate written declaration by States or ratification of optional protocols. (See more: Nebojša Raičević, Universal International Antidiscrimination Standards and Supervision of Their Implementation, in: Petrušić, N. Antidiscrimination Law: Regulations, Practice and Reality, Faculty of Law, Niš, 2017, pp. 39-46).

rights guaranteed by international treaties.²¹⁷

We will present the provisions of the conventions that are of immediate importance for the equal participation of women and men in public and political life.

The general framework for the protection of human rights is provided by the UN Charter and the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which are part of the corpus of customary international law and are binding on all UN member states.

UN Charter (1945),²¹⁸ Chapter IX, entitled *International Economic and Social Cooperation*, foresees, inter alia, that the UN will work to increase living standards, full employment and conditions for economic and social progress and development, and to address international economic and social issues, health and related issues, universal respect and appreciation of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, regardless of race, sex, language or religion (Article 55).

Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948),²¹⁹ in Articles 1 and 2, guarantees freedom and equality in dignity and rights to all people, regardless of "any difference, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other affiliation, national or social origin, ownership, birth or other status." Although age is not explicitly stated as a basis for discrimination, discrimination is prohibited on this basis as well, as the list of personal characteristics is not exclusive. When it comes to participation in public and political life, important are the provisions that guarantee freedom of peaceful assembly and association (Article 20) and the right to participate in the management of public affairs, directly or through freely elected representatives (Article 21). The right to free participation in the cultural life of the community and scientific progress is also important (Article 27).

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966)²²⁰ guarantees a whole set of civil and political rights. From the aspect of women's participation in public and political life, the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion (Article 18), freedom of expression (Article 19) and the right to freedom of association with other persons (Article 22), as well as the right to participate in public affairs (Article 25). The Covenant explicitly stipulates the obligation of member states to ensure the equal right of men and women to enjoy all civil and political rights formulated in this Covenant (Article 3). According to the Committee's interpretation, article 3 of the Covenant requires States to ensure not only safeguards but also affirmative action to ensure that women and men enjoy guaranteed rights, which cannot be achieved by law alone but through targeted measures in order to remove barriers related to the

gender role of women in society.²²¹ The provision prohibiting discrimination and guaranteeing the right to effective protection against discrimination based on any personal characteristic, and "especially on the grounds of race, colour, sex, language, religion, political and any other opinion, national and social origin, property, birth or other status" is also important (Article 26). Although age is not listed in personal properties, discrimination is also forbidden on this basis, as well, given that the list of personal characteristics is not exhaustive.

International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966)²²² guarantees set of rights in economic, social, and cultural spheres. Among other things, the right to participate in cultural life and scientific progress (Article 15). According to Art. 2 par. 2 of this Covenant, States Parties shall ensure that the rights guaranteed therein are exercised "without discrimination on grounds of race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or any other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status."

Serbia is also bound by the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1965),²²³ which states, inter alia, that "States Parties condemn all propaganda and all organizations which are based on ideas or theories of superiority of one race or group of persons of one colour or ethnic origin, or which attempt to justify or promote racial hatred and discrimination in any form." States Parties, inter alia, have the obligation to prohibit and to guarantee the right of everyone to equality before the law and the enjoyment of rights without distinction as to race, colour or national or ethnic origin, including political rights, especially the right to participate in elections, voting rights, and candidacies - according to the system of universal and equal voting rights, the right to participate in government as well as in the management of public affairs, at all levels, and the right of access, under equal conditions, to public functions, the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association (Art. 5).

Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) (1979) ²²⁴ is an international charter of women's rights. With its ratification, states have taken on the obligation and responsibility to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women in exercising civil, political, economic, social, and cultural

²¹⁷ More: Nevena Petrušić and Kosana Beker, *Equality in Practice, Application of Anti-Discrimination Laws in Serbia*, Equal rights trust, London, 2019, p. 26.

The Charter was signed on 26th June 1945 in San Francisco and entered into force on 24th October 1945.

²¹⁹ UN General Assembly Resolution 217 (III) of 10th December 1948.

²²⁰ Law on Ratification of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, "Official Gazette of the SFRY – International Treaties", no. 7/71.

²²¹ General comment No. 4: Article 3 (Equal right of men and women to the enjoyment of all civil and political rights). UN Human Rights Committee, 1981, https://www.refworld.org/type,GENERAL,HRC,,453883ffa,0.html (accessed on 5.8.2020).

²²² Law on Ratification of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. "Official Gazette of the SFRY – International Treaties". no. 7/71.

Law on Ratification of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination ("Official Gazette of the SFRY", No. 31/1967).

²²⁴ Law on Ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, "Official Gazette of the SFRY – International Treaties", No. 11/1981. the FRY became a member of the Optional Protocol to this Convention as well, the Law on Ratification of the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, "Official Gazette of the FRY - International Treaties", no. 13/2002.

rights, not only in public but also in private life, including the family.²²⁵ Discrimination against women is defined as "any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field." (Article 1). It is the responsibility of the States Parties to take in all fields, in particular in the political, social, economic and cultural fields, all appropriate measures, including legislation, to ensure the full development and advancement of women, for the purpose of guaranteeing them the exercise and enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms on a basis of equality with men. (Article 3). This includes the obligation of states to take appropriate measures to influence the change of social and cultural customs based on prejudice and the understanding of the superiority of men.

The Convention emphasises the special importance to the participation of women in the public and political life of their countries. The preamble to the convention explicitly states: "Recalling that discrimination against women violates the principles of equality of rights and respect for human dignity, is an obstacle to the participation of women, on equal terms with men, in the political, social, economic and cultural life of their countries, hampers the growth of the prosperity of society and the family and makes more difficult the full development of the potentialities of women in the service of their countries and of humanity." The importance of women's participation in decision-making is stressed: "Convinced that the full and complete development of a country, the welfare of the world and the cause of peace require the maximum participation of women on equal terms with men in all fields." The provisions of Article 7 of the Convention reaffirm the right of women to vote in all elections and their right to be elected to electoral bodies, a right already enshrined in other international instruments, with the right of women to vote in public referendums explicitly emphasized. The duty of the States Parties is to "ensure" the right of women to participate, i.e., to be elected to all bodies elected through public elections; to participate in the creation and implementation of government policy and to hold managerial positions and perform all public functions at all levels of government. Thus, governments are obliged to create conditions to facilitate women's participation, by introducing quotas and/or in other ways. The obligation of the member states to provide conditions for women to participate in the work of non-governmental organizations and associations dealing with public and political life in the country on the basis of equality with men has also been determined.

Obligations of States Parties in terms of balancing the conditions for the participation of women in public and political life are more precisely set out in *General Recommendation 23 of the CEDAW*.²²⁶ The General Recommendation pointed out that

despite Despite women's central role in sustaining the family and society and their contribution to development, they have been excluded from political life and the decision-making process, which nonetheless determine the pattern of their daily lives and the future of societies. Particularly in times of crisis, this exclusion has silenced women's voices and rendered invisible their contribution and experiences.²²⁷ It was also pointed out that all nations, the most significant factors inhibiting women's ability to participate in public life have been the cultural framework of values and religious beliefs, the lack of services and men's failure to share the tasks associated with the organization of the household and with the care and raising of children. According to the CEDAW, in all nations, cultural traditions and religious beliefs have played a part in confining women to the private spheres of activity and excluding them from active participation in public life.²²⁸ The gap between the *de jure* and *de facto* situation, i.e., the rights and real participation of women in politics and public life in general, is particularly emphasized, with the indication that women's participation of up to 30 or 35 percent (commonly referred to as "critical mass") provides their real impact on policy and contents of decisions and revitalization of their political life.

In *General Recommendation 23*, the CEDAW indicated the specific measures to be taken by States Parties, the effectiveness of which is subject to evaluation by the Committee when considering States Parties periodic reports. Among other things, states are obliged to introduce measures whose implementation will:

- create a balance between men and women in publicly elected positions;
- ensure that women understand their right to vote, the importance of this right and how to exercise it;
- ensure that obstacles to equality are overcome, including those resulting from illiteracy, lack of understanding of language, poverty and restrictions on women's freedom of movement;
- help women who have such problems to exercise their right to vote and to be elected;
- ensure equal representation of women in the formulation of state policy;
- implement in practice the right of women to perform public duties;
- enable the election of women who have a reputation and who can influence public opinion;
- ensure that effective laws prohibiting discrimination against women are passed;
- encourage non-governmental organizations and public and political organizations to adopt strategies that help women's representation and participation in the work of these organizations;

The second part of the Convention (Articles 7-9) sets out the obligations of states to protect the rights of women in political and public life, while the third part (Articles 10-14) deals with the obligations of states to eliminate discrimination in education and employment, health, social and cultural life, and the fourth part (Articles 15-16) to guarantee the equality of women before the law, in exercising their legal rights and in the areas of marital and family relations.

General Recommendation No. 23: Political and Public Life, CEDAW, 1997, available at: https://www.refworld.org/docid/453882a622.html (accessed 7.8.2020).

²²⁷ Ibid, par. 9.

²²⁸ Ibid, par. 10.

 Adopt strategies that strengthen the representation and participation of women in the work of these organizations.

UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (2006)²²⁹ is a comprehensive international treaty designed to protect and promote the rights and dignity of persons with disabilities. It does not create new rights for persons with disabilities, but connects the rights and freedoms guaranteed by other international agreements and adapts them to the needs and position of persons with disabilities. Regulating the social status of persons with disabilities is based on the following principles: respect for the inherent dignity and self-determination, nondiscrimination, participation in all spheres of social life, respect for diversity, equality of opportunity, accessibility, equality between men and women and respect for the rights of children with disabilities (Art. 3). Several provisions are dedicated to the participation of persons with disabilities in political and public life. States Parties guarantee persons with disabilities political rights and the opportunity to enjoy them on an equal basis with others, and are obliged to ensure that persons with disabilities can participate effectively and fully in political and public life on an equal basis with others, directly or through freely chosen representatives, including the right and opportunity for persons with disabilities to vote and be elected, to actively promote an environment in which persons with disabilities can participate effectively and fully in the conduct of public affairs without discrimination and equally with others, and to encourage their participation in public affairs, including participation in nongovernmental organizations and associations dealing with the issue of public and political life of the country, as well as in the activities and administration of political parties and the establishment and affiliation of organizations of persons with disabilities to represent persons with disabilities at the international, regional and local levels (Art. 29). In addition, the obligations of States Parties were determined to ensure the right of persons with disabilities to equally participate with others in cultural life, recreation, leisure, and sport (Art. 30).

3.1.1.2. UN documents on aging

The United Nations has systematically begun to address the phenomenon of aging in the early 1980s, and several action plans and recommendations have been adopted so far.

At the **first World Assembly on Aging**, held in Vienna in 1982, the **International Plan of Action on Aging** (the so-called Vienna Plan) was adopted.²³⁰ It is the first document on the problems of aging, which offers recommendations for the design and elaboration of strategies and programmes aimed at solving the problems related to aging. The Vienna Plan contains 62 recommendations to governments

229 Law on Ratification of the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, "Official Gazette of the RS", no. 42/09.

and civil society to effectively solve the problems associated with an aging population, including the recommendations regarding the development of services targeting older people. The recommendations are grouped into six areas: health care and nutrition, protection of the older persons as consumers, housing and the environment, social security, income and employment security, and education.

Special importance is given to the **UN Principles for Older Persons**, adopted by the UN General Assembly Resolution in 1991. 231 The adopted UN Principles for the Older Persons recommend the governments to build their national programmes for the older persons while respecting the principles of independence, social participation, social care, self-fulfilment, and the dignity of the older persons. One of their most important principles is the principle of social participation, which implies that people in old age should remain an integral part of society, actively participate in the creation and implementation of policies that directly affect their well-being, and share their knowledge and skills with younger generations. Governments should create opportunities for older people for service to the community and to serve as volunteers in positions appropriate to their interests and capabilities, as well as to support the organization of movements and associations of the older persons. On the other hand, the principle of *self-fulfillment* includes that older persons should be able to pursue opportunities for the full development of their potential and have access to the educational, cultural, spiritual and recreational resources of the society in which they live.

The **Second Assembly on Aging**, held in Madrid in 2002, adopted the **Political Declaration on Aging**, together with the **Madrid International Plan of Action on Aging**. The adopted documents represent the response of the international community to the opportunities and challenges of an aging population in the 21st century and creating the age friendly societies.

The *Political Declaration on Aging* reaffirmed the determination of the international community to develop democracy and promote the rule of law and gender equality, human rights, including the right to development, and to eradicate all forms of age discrimination. In addition, it confirmed that all persons, regardless of age, are entitled to respect, healthy and safe life and active participation in economic, social, cultural and political life of society, and expressed willingness to invest efforts to preserve the dignity of the older persons and to eliminate all forms of neglect, abuse and violence (Article 5). It is especially emphasized that in the modern world, invaluable wealth and modern technology represent the potential that enables men and women to live to a ripe old age in better health and safety, as fully integrated and active participants in society, providing effective contribution to community and society, and enjoy community support when they need it. The view was expressed that older people can be fully integrated only when old age is recognized as an achievement, a support for the development of human skills, experience and resources provided. It was pointed

²³⁰ Available at: https://www.un.org/development/desa/ageing/resources/vienna-international-plan-of-action.html (accessed on 7.8.2020).

²³¹ Available at: http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/ageing/un_principles.html (accessed on 7.8.2020).

²³² Political Declaration and Madrid International Plan of Action on Aging, 2002, A/ CONF.197/9. http://www.un-ngls.org/orf/pdf/MIPAA.pdf (accessed on 7.8.2020).

out to the expectations of older persons and the economic needs of society, requiring that older persons are able to participate in the economic, political, social and cultural life of their societies (Art. 12).

Madrid international plan of action on aging (hereinafter MIPAA) contains specific recommendations for improving the social status of the older persons throughout the world, and insists on wider integration of the aging phenomenon into all development plans at the national and international levels, recognizing the ability of older people to contribute to their society. This document provides policy makers with a practical tool that can help them focus their attention on key priorities related to individual and demographic aging processes.

The introductory part of the MIPAA contains the key issues that have been addressed, in which, from the aspects of social inclusion, of particular importance are:

- creating conditions for older people to participate equally and effectively in the economic, political and social life of the community, including paid and voluntary service;
- creating opportunities for individual development, development of creative potential and well-being throughout life, through e.g., access to lifelong learning, participation in community life, while recognizing that older people are not a homogeneous group, but that there are differences among them;
- ensuring the full enjoyment of economic, social and cultural rights, as well as civil and political rights, and the elimination of all forms of violence and discrimination against older people;
- the obligation to establish gender equality through, inter alia, the elimination of gender-based discrimination;
- Facilitating partnership between all levels of government, civil society, the private sector and older persons themselves in translating the International Plan of Action into practical action.

The introductory part of the MIPAA, points out to the need to include aging in all areas and in all policy activities (*mainstreaming aging*) at the global level. As the process of population aging is not only universal, but is able to determine the course of history, the impact of the aging process is no less than the impact of globalization. It is therefore essential to recognize the ability of older people to contribute to society because they do not improve only their status by their activities, but also the society in general. Accordingly, the potential of older people should be seen as the basis for future development.²³³

In the second part of MIPAA, entitled "Recommendations for action", ten priority areas of action are envisaged and within each area, specific problems and objectives and actions for overcoming them are defined.

Within the Priority direction I: Older persons and development several priorities have been defined. The Priority direction I is the active participation of older people in the development of society, which defines objectives that are reflected in the recognition of social, cultural, economic and political rights of older people and the participation of older people in decision-making at all levels. In the segment concerning the older persons in rural areas, two goals have been defined: improving living conditions and infrastructure, and overcoming the marginalization of the older persons in rural areas. To overcome the problems of older migrants, their integration into the new community is crucial. The importance of access to knowledge, education and training was especially pointed out, as well as the need to make full use of the potential and knowledge of people of all ages, emphasizing the benefits of experience that increases with age, contribution to the reestablishment and reconstruction of the social structure of the community. Another priority direction is Priority direction II: Advancing health and well-being into old age. Within this area, the first segment of recommended measures and activities relates to the promotion of health and well-being throughout life. Priority direction III is Ensuring enabling an supportive environments. It was pointed out that housing and living conditions are of special importance for the older persons.

The third part of the MIPAA concerns its implementation. Actions at the national and international levels are clearly separated and the importance of various specialized research and analyses related to the aging process is pointed out. The view was expressed that systematic monitoring of the implementation of the MIPAA by States Parties is crucial for success in improving the quality of life of older people. Governments are encouraged, to develop, in cooperation with decision-makers, appropriate monitoring mechanisms, with the mutual exchange of information, experiences and good practice being particularly valuable. Monitoring of the implementation of the Madrid Action Plan is entrusted to the UN Commission for Social Development, which is in charge of including various dimensions of the aging process in its programmes.

Based on the Madrid Political Declaration and MIPAA, the UN Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) adopted in 2002 the *Regional Implementation Strategies of the MIPAA*.²³⁴ In this document ten obligations of the States Parties were established, in which the integration and participation of older persons, in order to secure the quality of life for all ages and maintain independent living of older people, including health and well-being, to improve gender equality and support for families caring for the older persons, and to promote inter- and intra-generational solidarity between family members.

In the context of the Regional Implementation Strategies of the MIPAA so far four regional conferences have been held and four declarations adopted.

The First UN Conference on Aging was held in Berlin in 2002235 and resulted

²³⁴ ECE/AC.23/2002/2/Rev.6 of 11th September 2002, http://www.unece.org/pau/docs/ece/2002/ ECE AC23 2002 2 Rev6 e.pdf (accessed on 5.8.2020).

The conference was held at the invitation of the German Government, on 11-13th September 2002 in Berlin. Information on the Conference program and the list of participants are available on the website http://www.unece.org/pau/age/mica2002/ (accessed on 5.8.2020).

in the adoption of the Ministerial Declaration "A Society for All ages in the UNECE Region".²³⁶ The declaration points to demographic challenges, as well as to the fact that increasing longevity is an important achievement, and that older people are a valuable resource because they contribute substantially to society. It was also emphasized that it is of great importance to enable the older persons to participate fully in all aspects of life. The approach to aging should be inclusive, with the development of a society for people of all ages, through the strengthening of intergenerational solidarity, with the younger generations having a responsibility and a special role in building a society for people of all ages. With reference to the Regional Implementation Strategies for the MIPAA, the need to include aging in all areas and in all policy activities (mainstreaming aging) was reiterated. The determination of UNECE member states to cooperate with relevant UN bodies and agencies and other intergovernmental organizations and nongovernmental networks in the region that are actively dealing with issues related to the aging process was also expressed.

The second UN Conference on Aging was held in 2007 in Leon (Spain). At this Conference, the Ministerial Declaration "Society for All Ages: Challenges and Opportunities " was adopted.²³⁷ In this Declaration, States Parties reaffirmed their commitments to the adoption of the Berlin Ministerial Declaration in the implementation Regional Implementation Strategies for the MIPAA. The continuation of progress in longevity was welcomed, as an important achievement, and the agreement with the changes and adaptations made in response to the aging population was emphasized. Pointing to the achieved results, it was emphasized that states remain committed to creating a society for all ages, which relies on respect for human rights, protection against age discrimination, social cohesion and equal opportunities for men and women of all ages. In achieving that goal, the principles of independent living, participation, protection, self-realization and dignity of the older persons, which derive from the UN Principles for the Older Persons, have been reaffirmed. Special emphasis was placed on the need to promote a positive image of older people, through the education system and media campaigns, in order to spread knowledge about the important contributions of older people to their families and society.

At the *Third UN Ministerial Conference on Aging* held in 2012 in Vienna²³⁸ "*Ministerial Political Declaration*" was adopted, focusing on the following areas: longer working life and ability to work; participation, non-discrimination and

Berlin Ministerial Declaration A Society for All Ages in the UNECE Region, ECE/AC.23/2002/3Rev.2. from 11.9.2002. http://www.unece.org/pau/docs/ece/2002/ECE_AC23_2002_3_Rev2_e. pdf (accessed on 5.8.2020).

237 Report of the UNECE Ministerial Conference on Aging "A Society for All Ages: Challenges and Opportunities", ECE/AC.30/2007/2, of 23rd January 2008. Available at: http://www.unece.org/pau/docs/ece/2007/ECE_AC30_2007_2.e.pdf (accessed on 5.8.2020).

Host of this conference, which was held on 19-20th September 2012, was the Government of Austria, and organized by the UN Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE). Data on the program, participants and adopted documents are available at http://www.unece.org/index.php?id=23448 (accessed 5.8.2020).

social inclusion of older people; dignity, health, independence of the older persons and intergenerational solidarity.

The Fourth UN Ministerial Conference on Aging was held in Lisbon in 2017, at which the Ministerial Declaration entitled "A Sustainable Society for All Age: Recognizing the Potential for Longer Life" was adopted.²³⁹ The declaration defines three areas of operation: Recognizing the potential of older persons; Encouraging longer working life and ability to work and Ensuring ageing with dignity. Within the first area, among other activities, it was determined to hold effective e consultations with, and involvement of, older persons and their representatives at the national, regional and local levels in designing policies, strategies and measures that directly or indirectly influence their lives, taking into account the diversity of older persons and their needs.²⁴⁰ It was also pointed to the need to promote a positive image of older persons, acknowledging their contributions to society and strengthening multigenerational discourse and intergenerational learning by all stakeholders, cultivating a life-course perspective in education, the media and other areas to promote better understanding of individual and societal ageing and the opportunities it presents that this aging creates.²⁴¹ One of the activities aimed at recognizing the potential of older people is fostering work and volunteering of younger and older persons in intergenerational settings to help them understand how important and rewarding communication, exchange of experiences, cooperation and intergenerational solidarity are in all areas of life, within and outside the family.²⁴²

3.1.1.3. Other international documents

Otherinternational documents of specialized UN organizations, its authorities, bodies and agencies, such as the conventions of the International Labour Organization, are also important for achieving gender equality and improving the position of women, including older women, adocuments of the World Health Organization (WHO) and the WHO Regional Committee for Europe, etc. The **Beijing Declaration** and **Platform for Action**, adopted at the 4th World Conference on Women held in Beijing (China) in 1995, are of great importance for the creation of equal opportunities for (older) women to participate in public and political life.

Declaration text available at https://www.unece.org/fileadmin/DAM/pau/age/Ministerial_ Conference_Lisbon/ Declaration/RC_2017_Lisabonska_ministarska_deklaracija.pdf (accessed on 5.8.2020).

²⁴⁰ Ministerial Declaration, para. 14

²⁴¹ Ministerial Declaration, para. 15

²⁴² Ministerial Declaration, para 16

²⁴³ Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, (ILO, C-111), Vocational Rehabilitation and Employment (Disabled Persons) Convention (ILO, C-159), Human Resources Development Convention (ILO) - C - 142) et al.

²⁴⁴ The Alma-Ata Declaration (1978), the Ottawa Charter (1986), the Jakarta Declaration (1997), Mental Health Declaration for Europe (2005) and others.

The Platform for Action emphasizes that the principle of equal participation of women and men in government and responsibility implies that this principle should be realized in the family, in the workplace and in the wider community. In addition, it is pointed out that equality between men and women is a human rights issue, a condition for social justice, and that it is a necessary and basic precondition for equality, sustainable development and the preservation of peace. The demand for undertaking urgent and coordinated activities and for the creation of a peaceful, fair, and humane world, based on human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the principle of equality of people of all ages, in all spheres of life, is emphasized. It is empasized, that accelerated economic growth, although necessary for social development, by itself, does not improve the quality of life of the population as it may create conditions that worsen social inequality and marginalization, and that it is necessary to look for new alternatives, to ensure that all members of society benefit from economic growth - based on a holistic approach to all aspects of development: growth, equality between women and men, social justice, preservation and protection of the environment, sustainability, solidarity, participation, peace and respect for human rights.²⁴⁵ Concerns have also been expressed about the social status of older women, given that, according to UN projections, by 2025, 72% of the population in developing countries will be of 60+, and more than half of those will be women. It is emphasized that the care and nursing of children, the sick and the older persons is a responsibility that falls disproportionately on women due to the lack of equality and balanced division of paid and unpaid work between women and men.²⁴⁶ It is especially emphasized that throughout the life cycle a woman's daily existence and long-term aspirations are limited by discriminatory attitudes, unfair social and economic structures and lack of resources in most countries, which prevents their full and equal participation in social life.

The *Platform for Action* also points out that women face barriers to full equality and progress due to certain factors, including the age. It has been pointed out that many women face special obstacles due to various factors other than gender per se, and that these various factors isolate or marginalize such women, who are deprived from human rights, have no access or are denied access to education and training, employment, housing and economic self-sufficiency and are excluded from the decision-making process.²⁴⁷

A special section IV-G "Women in power and decision-making" is dedicated to the participation of women in public and political life. It is emphasized that, despite the widespread democratization movement, in most countries women are largely underrepresented at most levels of government, especially in ministerial and other executive bodies, and that although women make up at least half of the electorate in almost all countries and have attained the right to vote and hold office in almost all States Members of the United Nations, women continue to be seriously underrepresented as candidates for public office.²⁴⁸ The Platform for

Action emphasizes that the tendency for political decision-making to remain in the domain of men is reinforced by socialization and negative stereotyping of women and men, including media stereotyping, and the significant influence of women on many key institutions is being prevented by the lack of female representatives in decision-making positions. It is also emphasized that owing to their limited access to the traditional avenues to power, such as the decision-making bodies of political parties, employer organizations and trade unions, women have gained access to power through alternative structures, particularly in the non-governmental organization sector. Through non-governmental organizations and grass-roots organizations, women have been able to articulate their interests and concerns and have placed women's issues on the national, regional and international agendas.²⁴⁹

The *Platform for Action* emphasizes that a factor affecting the poor representation of women in public and political life is the unequal division of labour and responsibilities within households based on unequal power relations also limits women's potential to find the time and develop the skills required for participation in decision-making in wider public forums. Therefore, A more equal sharing of those responsibilities between women and men not only provides a better quality of life for women and their daughters but also enhances their opportunities to shape and design public policy, practice and expenditure so that their interests may be recognized and addressed. Non-formal networks and patterns of decision-making at the local community level that reflect a dominant male ethos restrict women's ability to participate equally in political, economic and social life.²⁵⁰

When it comes to accountability for overcoming the negative situation, the Platform for Action makes it clear that equal sharing of power and decision-making at all levels depends on governments and other factors that undertake gender-based statistical analysis and direct gender perspective into policy development and implementation. program.

The Platform for Action sets out two strategic objectives, and for each objective appropriate actions to be taken by governments, political parties, the UN agencies and women's NGOs. The first strategic objective is to - take measures to ensure women's equal access to and full participation in power structures and decision-making and the second strategic objective is to - Increase women's capacity to participate in decision-making and leadership.

In the UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development²⁵¹ Achieving gender equality was identified as the 5^{th} of a total of 17 goals. Under the 5^{th} goal, six targets have been identified, including:

- End all forms of discrimination against women and girls everywhere;
- Recognize and value unpaid care and domestic work through the provision of public

²⁴⁵ Platform for Action, para. 14

²⁴⁶ Platform for Action, para. 30

²⁴⁷ Platform for Action, para 31

²⁴⁸ Platform for Action, para 182

²⁴⁹ Platform for Action, para 184

²⁵⁰ Platform for Action, para 185

²⁵¹ Available at https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/sustainable-development-goals/ (accessed on 8.8.2020).

services, infrastructure and social protection policies and the promotion of shared responsibility within the household and the family as nationally appropriate;

- Ensure women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic, and public life.

Also, the obligations of states to: Undertake reforms to give women equal rights to economic resources, as well as access to ownership and control over land and other forms of property, financial services, inheritance and natural resources, in accordance with national laws; Enhance the use of enabling technology, in particular information and communications technology, to promote the empowerment of women and Adopt and strengthen sound policies and enforceable legislation for the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls at all levels.

3.1.2. Regional level

3.1.2.1. Council of Europe documents

For the improvement of the human rights of older women, including the right to participate in public and political life, the relevant provisions about the human rights protection are those from the documents of the Council of Europe, the Treaties establishing the European Communities and the anti-discrimination directives of the EU, as well as other acts of EU.

At the level of the Council of Europe, a key document in the field of human rights is the **European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms** of 1950, and its protocols. The Convention guarantees a number of civil rights, such as the right to life, freedom of thought, conscience and religion, the right to respect for private and family life, etc., as well as a number of political rights: freedom of expression, freedom of assembly, freedom of association and the right to free elections. Political rights enable individuals and political parties to participate in public life in different ways, and the right to free elections also provides the opportunity for individuals to elect representatives who pass laws and decide on other state issues, and who with the cooperation of political parties, indirectly participate in the creation of the state's will.

Office, Belgrade, 2016.

The Convention prohibits discrimination in respect of the enjoyment of all rights guaranteed by the Convention, on grounds of sex, race, colour, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, affiliation with a national minority, property status, birth, or any other status (Art. 14). Due to the open list of personal characteristics, the prohibition also covers discrimination based on age. Protection against discrimination is strengthened by Protocol no. 12 to the 2000 Convention, which entered into force on 1st April 2005, and provide for the protection of persons against discrimination in respect of the enjoyment of all rights guaranteed by the laws of the State.

The application of the convention in the member states is monitored and the protection of human rights guaranteed by the convention is provided by the European Court of Human Rights, to which individuals can file complaints regarding human rights violations, provided they have exhausted all legal remedies in the country.²⁵⁴ To date, the court has dealt with many cases of discrimination against women based on gender, including cases of multiple discrimination against older women.²⁵⁵

Revised European Social Charter (1996)²⁵⁶ promotes the protection of the fundamental social and economic rights of citizens of the States Parties. The Charter establishes the obligation of States Parties to adopt or encourage, directly or in cooperation with public and private organizations, appropriate measures aimed at enabling the older persons to remain full members of society as long as possible (Article 23).

From the aspect of achieving equal opportunities for participation of (older) women in public and political life, the **Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities** is also important, which obliges States Parties to guarantee to guarantee to persons belonging to national minorities the right of equality before the law and of equal protection of the law. Adequate measures are needed in order to promote, in all areas of economic, social, political and cultural life, full and effective equality between persons belonging to a national minority and those belonging to the majority. In this respect, they shall take due account of the specific conditions of the persons belonging to national minorities (Article 4). Also, it is the obligation of the States Parties to create e the conditions necessary for the effective participation of persons belonging to national minorities in cultural, social and economic life and in public affairs, in particular those affecting them (Article 15).

Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (2011)²⁵⁷ is focused on the prevention and protection of women from violence, which is treated as a violation of human rights and a form of discrimination against women, and the promotion of substantive equality between women and men.

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The Law on Ratification of the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, is amended in accordance with the Protocol No. 11 to the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, Protocol No. 4 to the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, providing certain rights and freedoms not covered by the Convention and its First Protocol, Protocol No. 6 to the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms concerning the abolition of the death penalty, Protocol No. 7 to the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, Protocol No. 12 to Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms and Protocol No. 13 to the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms concerning the abolition of the death penalty in all circumstances," Official Gazette of Serbia and Montenegro – International Treaties", no. 9/2003
 Ivana Krstić and Tanasije Marinković, European Human Rights Law, Council of Europe, Belgrade

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

²⁵⁵ In detail: Kosana Beker, op.cit. 2019.

²⁵⁶ Law on Ratification of the Revised European Social Charter, "Official Gazette. RS Gazette.", 42/09.

²⁵⁷ Law on Ratification of the Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence, "Official Gazette of the RS - International Treaties", no. 12/2013

European Charter for Equality of Women and Men in Local Life²⁵⁸ (2006) is intended for local and regional governments in Europe, which, by signing it, publicly commit themselves to follow the principles of gender equality and implement the provisions of the charter in their communities. The section devoted to political and public life states that signatory states recognize the equal rights of women and men to vote, to be a candidate for and to hold elected office; to participate in the formulation and implementation of policy, to hold public office and to perform all public functions at all levels of government, as well as the principle of balanced representation on all elected and public decisionmaking bodies. The signatories commit themselves to take all reasonable measures to encourage women to register to vote, to exercise their individual voting rights and to be a candidate for public office, to encourage political parties and groups to adopt and implement the principle of balanced representation of women and men all lawful steps, including by adopting quotas where deemed appropriate, to increase the number of women selected as candidates and thereafter elected. In addition, the signatory is obliged to e its own procedures and standards of conduct, so that potential candidates and elected representatives are not discouraged by stereotypical forms of behaviour and language, or by harassment, as well as to adopt measures to enable elected representatives to reconcile their private, work and public life. In addition, the signatories are obliged to to promote and apply the principle of balanced representation to its own decision-making and consultative bodies, and in its appointments to external bodies, and to develop and test new methods where existing forms of participation do not lead to equality.

In addition to the Council of Europe conventions, the recommendations of the Committee of Ministers dealing with gender equality issues in various areas are also relevant. In the domain of balanced participation of women in political and public decision-making, the following are of special importance: Recommendation R(2003)3 on balanced participation of women and men in political and public decision-making, Recommendation R(90)4 on non-sexist use of language, Recommendation R(96)5 on harmonization of work and family life, Recommendation R(2019)1 on the prevention and suppression of sexism, etc.

3.1.2.2. European Union documents

In the European Union (EU) applies a series of acts of primary and secondary legislation on human rights and the protection against discrimination, which are contained in a legally binding and non-binding legal acts. Our country is still not a member of the EU, but in March 2012 it received the status of a candidate country for membership in the European Union, and since September 2013 by concluding the Stabilization and Association Agreement,²⁵⁹ Serbian government has committed itself to gradually aligning its legislation with that of the European Union (*acquis communautaire*).

Preamble to the **Single European Act** (1986) and Art. 6. The **EU** Treaty (Maastricht Treaty) (1993) formally introduced the EU's obligation to respect the rights guaranteed by the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms and the European Social Charter of 1961.

The Treaty of Amsterdam (1997) strengthens the protection of human rights by introducing the principles on which the EU is based and emphasizes the importance of the principle of non-discrimination, extending it to other areas. The Treaty prohibits all forms of discrimination on the basis of any personal characteristics, including age. (Article 13). The same article provides that the Council, acting unanimously on a proposal from the Commission and after consulting the European Parliament, may take appropriate action to combat discrimination based on sex, racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation.

The Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU (2000) proclaims the inviolability of human dignity and combines general human, civil and economic and social rights. Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion (art. 10), the right to freedom of expression and information (Art. 11), as well as freedom of assembly and of association (art. 12), stipulating that everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and to freedom of association at all levels, in particular in political, trade union and civic matters, which implies the right of everyone to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his or her interests, as well as for political parties at Union level to contribute to expressing the political will of of the citizens of the Union.

The Charter prohibited any form of discrimination based on any ground such as sex, race, colour, ethnic or social origin, genetic features, language, religion or belief, political or any other opinion, membership of a national minority, property, birth, disability, age or sexual orientation (Article 21). The importance of the principle of gender equality was emphasized (Article 23), whereby it is allowed to adopt measures providing for specific advantages in favour of the under-represented sex.

The **Treaty of Lisbon** (2007) states, inter alia, that the EU shall combat social exclusion and discrimination, and shall promote social justice and protection, equality between women and men, solidarity between generations (Article 2, paragraph 3). This Treaty strengthened political, economic and social freedoms, and the Charter of Fundamental Rights in the EU became a legally binding document.

EU anti-discrimination rules have been contained in several directives, which have been successively adopted since 1975. Most directives are related to the principle of equal treatment of women and men, including: Directive 75/117/EEC on the approximation of the laws of the Member States relating to the application of the principle of equal pay for men and women, Directive 76/207/EEC on the implementation of the principle of equal treatment for men and women as regards access to employment, vocational training and promotion, and working conditions, Directive 79/7/EEC on the progressive implementation of the principle of equal treatment for men and women in matters of social security, Directive 86/378/EEC

8 ------ 119

Available at: https://ravnopravnost.org.rs/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/Evropska-povelja-orodnoj-ravnopravnosti-na-lokalnom-nivou.pdf (accessed on 8.8.2020).

Law on Ratification of the Stabilization and Association Agreement between the European Communities and their Member States and the Republic of Serbia, "Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia", no. 83/2008

on the implementation of the principle of equal treatment for men and women in occupational social security schemes, etc.

EU Directives prohibit discrimination on grounds of sex, racial or ethnic origin, religious or other beliefs, disability, age and sexual orientation, and their biggest drawback is the establishment of a kind of hierarchy between protected personal characteristics by providing better protection against discrimination on the basis of gender and race than in the case of discrimination on the basis of religious and other beliefs, disability, age and sexual orientation, which makes it difficult, and sometimes impossible, to protect against multiple discrimination. In order to overcome this problem, the European Commission proposed in 2008 the so-called Horizontal Directive, which should eliminate the hierarchy of protected personal characteristics and extend the application of Directives 2000/78/EC and 2000/43/EC.

3.2. National legal framework

The national legal framework relevant in terms of participation and the (older) women in public and political life make constitutional norms on human rights and prohibition of discrimination, anti-discrimination legislation, regulations on elections, legislation on political parties and associations and other regulations relevant for social inclusion of older persons.

3.2.1. Constitutional norms

The general framework of human rights is provided by the **Constitution of the Republic of Serbia** (2006),²⁶² which guaranteed a whole range of civil, political, economic and social rights. From the aspect of participation in public and political life, constitutional norms guaranteeing freedom of assembly are especially important (Art. 54), freedom of association (Art. 55), the right to petition (Art. 56). The Constitution guarantees the right to vote, stating that Every citizen of age and working ability of the Republic of Serbia shall have the right to vote and be elected, that suffrage shall be universal and equal for all, the elections shall be free and direct and voting is carried out by secret ballot in person (Article 52). Citizens are also guaranteed the right to take part in the management of public affairs and to assume public service and functions under equal conditions (Article 53).²⁶³

260 Proposal for a Council Directive on implementing the principle of equal treatment between persons irrespective of religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation, 2008. http://www.homo.se/upload/homo/pdf_homo/Proposal_for_a_Council_Directive020708.pdf (accessed 8.8.2020).

261 See: Kosana Beker, op. cit., 2019

262 Constitution of the Republic of Serbia, "Official Gazette of the RS" no. 98/2006.

263 See: Marijana Pajvančić, *Commentary on the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia*, Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Belgrade 2009, p. 71-77.

Constitution prohibits any form of discrimination, for any reason, including age, which is explicitly mentioned as a basis of discrimination and foresees the possibility of introducing special measures to achieve full equality of persons or groups of persons who are at substantially unequal position compared to other citizens, whereby it opens the possibility of taking special measures to achieve full equality of individuals or group of individuals in a substantially unequal position compared to other citizens shall not be deemed discrimination (Article 21). The Constitution also foresees that State shall guarantee the equality of women and men and develop equal opportunities policy (Art. 15), which implies the creation of conditions for the full development and advancement of women in the political, social, economic, and cultural spheres, so that they can fully to exercise and enjoy human rights and fundamental freedoms equally with men.

Older people are recognized in Article 68. of the Constitution, as one of the special social groups which is guaranteed the right to health care from public revenues, if they do not exercise it on some other legal basis, as well as in Article 70, which refers to pension insurance, which establishes the obligation of the Republic of Serbia to see to economic security of the pensioners.

3.2.2. Anti-discrimination regulations

When it comes to protection against discrimination, general antidiscrimination regulations are contained in the **Anti-Discrimination Law (ADL)** (2009),²⁶⁴ establishing a comprehensive system of protection against discrimination. This law regulates the general prohibition of discrimination, forms and cases of discrimination, as well as procedures for protection against discrimination, and establishes the Commissioner for the Protection of Equality. Gender and age e.g. described as a separate and bases and discrimination, and the special cases of discrimination are regulated, including the discrimination on the basis of sex (Art. 20)²⁶⁵ and age discrimination (Art. 23).²⁶⁶ The Law also regulates severe forms of discrimination, including multiple or intersecting

²⁶⁴ Law on Prohibition of Discrimination, "Official Gazette of the RS", no. 22/2009 (Anti-Discrimination Law - hereinafter: ADL).

According to Art. 20 of the ADL, discrimination on the basis of sex exists if it acts contrary to the principle of gender equality, i.e., the principle of respect for equal rights and freedoms of women and men in political, economic, cultural and other aspects of public, professional, private and family life. The law prohibits, inter alia, denial of rights or public or covert recognition of benefits in relation to or due to sex, physical and other violence, exploitation, hatred, belittling, blackmail and gender-based harassment, as well as public advocacy, support and acting in accordance with prejudices, customs and other social patterns of behaviour that are based on the idea of subordination or superiority of the sexes, or stereotypical gender roles.

Age discrimination it is regulated by the prohibition of discrimination on this basis, as well as the norm which determines that the older persons have the right to dignified living conditions without discrimination, and in particular, the right to equal access and protection from neglect and harassment when using health care and other public services (Art. 23).

discrimination (Art. 13). The law regulates the protection against discrimination provided by the Commissioner for Protection against Discrimination, as well as judicial protection against discrimination, and prescribes sanctions for violations prescribed by the provisions of the ADL.

Special anti-discrimination norms contained in **the Law on Prevention of Discrimination against Persons with Disabilities** (2006)²⁶⁷ which regulates the fundamental principles of protection against discrimination on the grounds of disability, special cases of discrimination against persons with disabilities, the procedure for protection of persons exposed to discrimination, as well as measures taken by the state to promote equality and social inclusion of persons with disabilities.

Law on Gender Equality of the Republic of Serbia²⁶⁸ (2009) prescribes the creation of equal opportunities to exercise rights and obligations of women and men, taking special measures to prevent and eliminate discrimination based on sex, marital or family status, pregnancy or parenthood (Art. 1). The public power bodies conduct an active policy of equal opportunities in all fields of social life. The policy of equal opportunities means the accomplishment of gender equality in all stages of planning, decision-making and implementation of decisions, which are of influence on the status of women and men. (Art. 3). The focus of the law is on special measures that can be taken in order to achieve a policy of equal opportunities and eliminate de facto discrimination based on gender.

When it comes to participation in public and political life, the law regulates the right of women and men to join a political party, active participation in the activities and participation in the bodies of a political party shall be accomplished without any gender-based discrimination, the right to actively participate in party work without any form discrimination, the right to actively participate in the bodies of a political party, under equal conditions and without discrimination. The legislator did not prescribe the manner of exercising these rights but left the regulation of that issue to political parties. The law also regulates the special obligations of political parties, trade unions and professional associations of citizens related to ensuring the equality of women and men (Art. 35).²⁶⁹

With regard to equal representation and equal opportunities for access to executive bodies, public, financial and other institutions, the law regulates only three issues: Gender equality shall be ensured on the occasion of appointment of candidates for the president of the Republic, members of parliament and councilors, in the manner and in accordance with the regulations governing elections. Gender equality shall be ensured on the occasion of appointment of candidates for elections for all positions and appointment to the public power authorities, financial and other institutions. Gender equality shall be ensured on the occasion of implementation of the election

267 Law on Prevention of Discrimination against Persons with Disabilities, "Official Gazette of the RS", no. 33/2006

268 Law on Gender Equality, "Official Gazette of the RS", no. 104/2009

procedure through the composition and operation of the bodies to conduct elections, in accordance with the regulations governing elections. (Article 37). For the purpose of equal participation in international cooperation, it is prescribed, as a special measure, that on the occasion of election or appointment of the delegations representing the Republic of Serbia efforts will be made so that the delegation consists of 30% persons of the underrepresented sex, to international co-operation, which is carried out by the autonomous province and local self-government units. (Article 38).

The law stipulates the obligation of local self-government units to implement a policy of gender equality and equal opportunities within their competencies, which includes a standing body to be set up or an employee assigned for gender equality issues and achievement of equal opportunities (Article 39).

With regard to the work of associations whose objectives are related to the promotion of gender equality, their rights are prescribed in the field of monitoring, active participation and reporting on the achievement of gender equality (Article 42).

3.2.3. Electoral legislation

The Law on the Election of Representatives, which was amended at the beginning of 2020²⁷⁰ prescribes a quota for underrepresented gender of 40%, by prescribing that among every five candidates on the list (the first five positions, the other five positions and so on until the end of the list) must be at least two candidates of the underrepresented gender (Art. 40a par. 1).

The Law on Local Elections, which was amended 2020²⁷¹ also introduced a quota for the underrepresented gender of 40% by prescribing that among every five candidates on the list (the first five positions, the other five positions and so on until the end of the list) must be at least two candidates of the underrepresented gender (Art. 20 par. 3).

3.2.4. Regulations on political parties and associations

Law on Political Parties (2009),²⁷² which is gender insensitive, prescribes that a political party may be established by at least 10,000 citizens of age and citizens

²⁶⁹ See: Marijana Pajvančić, Nevena Petrušić, and Senad Jašarević, *Commentary on the Law on Gender Equality*, Center for Modern Skills, Belgrade, 2010, p. 86-102.

²⁷⁰ Law on the Election of Representatives, "Official Gazette of the RS", no. 35/2000, 57/2003 - decision of the CCRS, 72/2003 - differ. law, 75/2003 - corr. differ. law, 18/2004, 101/2005 - differ. law, 85/2005 - differ. law, 28/2011 - the CCRS decision, 36/2011, 104/2009 - differ. law, 12/2020 and 68/2020

²⁷¹ Law on Local Elections, "Official Gazette of the RS", no. 129/2007, 34/2010 – the CCRS decision, 54/2011, 12/2020 and 16/2020 - authentic interpretation.

²⁷² Law on Political Parties, "Official Gazette of the RS", no. 36/2009 and 61/2015 - the CCRS decision.

having capacities for work of the Republic of Serbia. (Art. 8), and a political party of some national minority may be established by at least 1,000 citizens of age and citizens having capacities for work of the Republic of Serbia. (Article 9). It is explicitly prescribed that membership in a political party is free and voluntary, and that any citizen of age and having capacity for work of the Republic of Serbia may become a member of a political party under equal conditions determined by the statute (Article 21).

Gender equality and the advancement of women in all spheres of social life (economy, culture, science, political decision-making) is contained in the programmes of some political parties and some parties have brought their own codes of gender equality and non-discrimination, which include quotas for underrepresented gender in the bodies of the party and in the institutions in which they operate.

Law on Associations (2009),²⁷³ which is also gender insensitive, regulates the establishment of associations, prescribing that associations can be established and organized freely and independently in order to achieve their goals, but that the goals and activities of associations cannot be aimed at violently destroying the constitutional order and violating the territorial integrity of Serbia, violation of guaranteed human or minority rights or provoking and inciting inequality, hatred and intolerance based on racial, national, religious or other affiliation or orientation, as well as gender, sex, physical, mental or other characteristics and abilities (Art. 2, par. 1 and 2).

3.2.5. Other regulations

The possibility of older people, including older women, to participate in public and political life is also influenced by legal regulations in the field of health and social protection, housing, pension and disability insurance, public information, etc. Here are some of these regulations.

Law on Health Insurance (2019)²⁷⁴ classifies persons of 65+ into a group of the population that is exposed to a special risk of illness and enjoys special conditions in terms of health insurance, and the **Law on Health Care** (2019)²⁷⁵ prescribes that social health care is realized under equal conditions by providing health care to groups of the population that are exposed to an increased risk of disease, whereby people of 65+ are recognized as a special social group.

Law on Social Protection $(2011)^{276}$, which is generally gender-neutral, contains several norms that ensure that the application of the law is gender-sensitive. For the

273 Law on Associations, "Official Gazette of the RS", no. 51/2009, 99/2011 - differ laws and 44/2018 - differ law

274 Law on Health Insurance, "Official Gazette of the RS", no. 25/2019

275 Law on Health Care, "Official Gazette of the RS", no. 25/2019

276 Law on Social Protection, "Official Gazette of the RS", no. 24/2011.

first time, the law regulates the principle of prohibition of discrimination against social protection beneficiaries, and in terms of providing social protection services, establishes the principle of physical, geographical, and economic accessibility, taking into account cultural and other differences, as well as individualized approach to social protection - case manager for each person in a state of social need.

Law on Housing and Building Maintenance (2016)²⁷⁷ stipulates that adequate realocation accommodation should meet the physical accessibility of the facility in accordance with the regulation governing the unimpeded movement and access of persons with disabilities, children and the older persons.

Pension and Disability Insurance Law (2003)²⁷⁸ prescribes the same conditions for women and men in terms of age to receive an old-age pension, with a transitional period until 2032, by which the age limit for women will be increased by six months each year until full equalization (Article 19a). Mothers are granted special insurance period. With the amendments to the law in 2019, spouses and informal partners are equal in terms of exercising the right to a family pension (Article 28).

Law on Public Information and Media (2014)²⁷⁹ prohibits both direct and indirect discrimination on the basis of any personal characteristics, including age and sex. **Law on Public Media Services** (2014)²⁸⁰ prescribes the obligation of public media services to inform all parts of society without discrimination, taking into account especially socially vulnerable groups, including the older persons, members of minority groups, persons with disabilities, socially and health endangered, etc. **Law on Advertising** (2016)²⁸¹ prohibits the advertising message from inciting discrimination on any grounds, including belief, nationality, ethnicity, religion, gender or racial affiliation, political, sexual or other affiliation, social origin, property status, culture, language, age or mental or physical disability (Art. 8).

Sports Act (2016)²⁸² prohibits all forms of direct and indirect discrimination of all actors in sport, on any personal basis and prescribes the obligation to take measures to increase the participation of children, youth, women and persons with disabilities in sports activities, as well as the popularization of women's sports organizations and equal treatment women and persons with disabilities in sports (Article 4).

²⁷⁷ Law on Housing and Buildings Maintenance, "Official Gazette of the RS", no. 104/2016 and 9/2020 - differ. law

²⁷⁸ Pension and Disability Insurance Law, "Official Gazette of the RS", no. 34/2003, 64/2004 - decision of the CCRS, 84/2004 - differ. law, 85/2005, 101/2005 - differ. law, 63/2006 - decision of the CCRS, 5/2009, 107/2009, 101/2010, 93/2012, 62/2013, 108/2013, 75/2014, 142/2014, 73/2018, 46/2019 - decision of the CCSR and 86/2019.

²⁷⁹ Law on Public Information and Media, "Official Gazette of the RS", no. 83/2014, 58/2015 and 12/2016 - authentic interpretation.

²⁸⁰ Law on Public Media Services, "Official Gazette of the RS", no. 83/2014, 103/2015 and 108/2016.

²⁸¹ Law on Advertising, "Official Gazette of the RS", no. 6/2016 and 52/2019 - differ. law

²⁸² Law on Sports, "Official Gazette of the RS", no. 10/2016

KAKO ČITATI TABELE

- Naslov govori o varijabli čije su relativne frekvence date u tabeli.
- U prvoj koloni **Total** su dati procenti za svaku kategoriju tabelirane varijable.
- Svaka sledeća kolona predstavlja procente date varijable u okviru neke subpopulacije.
- Red označen sa N označava veličinu baze, tj. kolika je veličina (pod)uzorka na kome su izračunati procenti.
- Red sa oznakom **sig**, predstavlja značajnost Hi-kvadrat statistika posmatrane varijable i varijable iz kolona. Ako je hi-kvadrat značajan, značajnost je napisana belim slovima.
- Poslednji red tabele 100% govori o tome da se sve vrednosti u svakoj od kolona sabiraju do 100, tj. da su dati kolonski procenti.

seka	0.01
spod proseka	0.02
Ispo	0.10
Ne odstupa	
eka	0.05 0.10
Iznad proseka	0.05
Izna	0.01

Ĉelije tabele su ofarbane u plavo, tj. crveno, ako je vrednost u njima značajno iznad, tj. ispod proseka. Koriste se dve nijanse plave, odnosno crvene boje, za dva nivoa značajnosti: svetlija nijansa za odstupanja značajna na nivou 0.05, a tamnije nijanse plave i crvene za nivo značajnosti od 0.01.

DEMOGRAFSKE KARAKTERISTIKE

Tabela 1: Starosno doba

Total	69-59	601 274		65-69 45.6 100 godina	70-75 31.8 godina	76-80 godina	6.3	
Starost	92-0 <i>1</i>	191 80			100	100		
	+08	26					100	
obr	əzin i snvoneO	191		8	엃	19	41	
Obrazovanje	Srednja	308	0.00	52	33	o	9	
e	Visa ili Visoka	102		84	52	17	10	
Aktivno	Penzionerka	553		46	32	13	0	
Aktivnost i prihodi	Ima prihode od socijanle pomoci, rente, alimenatcije	17	0.99	47	35	12	9	
ii Daza	Domaćica, bez prihoda	31 4		45	23	16	16	
Osn	sįiznėg sneosist	422 2		48	32	13	ω	
ovni iz	Invalidska penzija	28 9	0.	20	66	4	7	
Ii Osnovni izvor prihoda	Porodična penzija	97 32	0.26	32 5	34 2	18	16	100%
noda	iborling ilisteO	2 22		56 45	28 23	9 14	6 18	9
	Bez ličnih primanja Grad	426		2 46	3 31	4 13	8 10	
Tip naselja	olə2	134	0.68	45	31	16	0	
elja	Prigradsko naselje	41		4	4	7	7	
Kako bist	əğoŢ	115		37	37	18	7	
Kako biste procenili standard svog domaćinstva?	ə[nbəraO	331	0.21	46	31	12	1	
tandard a?	Oopto	149		51	29	F	თ	
Da li s poli	вQ	63		09	22	1	9	
Da li ste članica neke političke partije?	эΝ	448	0.19	44	32	14	10	
neke e?	Ranije bila članica	06		4	39	10	10	

Tabela 2: Bračno stanje

March Marc			Starost	st		Obrazovanje	vanje	Akt	Aktivnost i prihodi	prihodi Osnovni izvor prihod	ő	snovni	Osnovni izvor prihoda	rihoda		Tip naselja	selja	Ka standa	Kako biste procenili standard svog domaćinstva?	cenili aćinstva?	Da li s polif	Da li ste članica neke političke partije?	neke ije?
80 56 191 308 102 563 17 31 422 28 97 32 22 426 134 41 115 331 149 63 448 8 1 4 5 2 3 7 3 6 4 2 3 4 5 3 4 2 4 8 4	69-99	92-02		08-97					socijanle pomoci,		Starosna penzija	Invalidska penzija	Porodična penzija	iborling ilisteO					əįnbəraO	Oopto	Бâ	ЭΝ	Ranije bila članica
1 2 2 3 7 3 6 4 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	274 191	19		-					17	31	422	28	26		H	\vdash			331	149	63	448	06
4 5 2 3 7 3 6 4 2 3 4 5 3 4 5 3 4 5 3 4 5 3 4 5 3 4 5 3 4 5 3 4 5 3 4			0.00			0.0	1		00.00				0.00			0.3	98		0.44			0.93	
1 2 2 1	က		2	4	2				9		4		7	က		4			4	2	2	4	-
35 21 39 48 44 43 12 34 51 46 3 41 100 43 48 49 37 47 44 44 46 46 46 46 48 49 37 47 44 44 46 46 46 46 46 46 47 47 47 41 46 46 46 46 46 47 47 47 47 47 46 46 46 46 46 47 47 47 47 47 47 40 41 47 40 40 40 40 40 40 40 40 41 47 40 41 43 40 40	-		7	-	7	7	_	_	12		-			9		-		1	2	-		-	_
4 7 6 12 10 18 11 21 13 12 4 2 13 7 12 11 9 56 64 53 36 33 32 95 38 40 48 41 47 40 41 43 40 100% 40 40 41 47 40 41 43 40	53		44	32	21				12	94	51	46	က						47	44	4	46	39
56 64 53 36 38 6 33 32 95 38 40 48 41 47 40 41 43 40 100%	13		7	4	7				18		11	21		13	_				7	12	11	6	10
100%	31		45	99					53	9	33	32	92	38	4				40	41	43	40	49
													100%										

Tabela 3: Gde živite

Da li ste članid političke pa	θN	448		29	25	7
Da li s poli	БQ	63		9/	19	2
standard tva?	ondoO	149		77	18	2
Kako biste procenili standard svog domaćinstva?	əjnbəraO	331	0.18	89	26	7
Kako bist svog	өšоД	115		71	19	10
<u>ia</u>	Prigradsko naselje	41				100
Tip naselja	ola2	134			100	
Ĕ	Grad	426		100		
co.	Bez ličnih primanja	22		41	22	5
Osnovni izvor prihoda	iborling illateO	32		63	22	16
izvor	Porodična penzija	97		28	38	4
snovni	Invalidska penzija	28		79	14	7
0	Starosna penzija	422		9/	18	7
ipou	Domaćica, bez prihoda	31		45	48	9
Aktivnost i prihodi	lma prihode od socijanle pomoci, rente, alimenatcije	17		92	9	18
Aktiv	Penzionerka	553		72	21	7
nje	Visa ili Visoka	102		92	2	က
Obrazovanje	Srednja	308		80	15	2
qo	əzin i snvoneO	191		45	43	12
	+08	29		73	21	5
rost	08-94	88	99.0	70	26	4
Starost	9 <i>L</i> -0 <i>L</i>	191	0.	69	21	6
	69-99	274		72	22	9
Total		601		6.07	22.3	6.8
						ş

Ranije bila članica

Tabela 4: Sa kim živite

Baza: Ukupna ciljna populacija

	Total		Starost	st		Obra	Obrazovanje	Φ	Aktivno	Aktivnost i prihodi	ë	Osuc	vni iz	vor pr	Osnovni izvor prihoda		Tip n	lip naselja	~	ako biste p svog de	Kako biste procenili standard svog domaćinstva?	andard 1?	Da li s polit	Da li ste članica neke političke partije?	neke je?
		69-99	94-04	08-94	+08	əzin i snvonzO	Srednja	Visa ili Visoka	Penzionerka	socijanle pomoci, rente, alimenatcije	Domaćica, bez prihoda	sįiznėg sneorst2	Invalidska penzija	Porodična penzija	iborling ilsteO Ainčil zeB	einemina	Grad	Selo	Prigradsko naselje	əšoJ	əįnbərsO	Dobro	Ба	ЭИ	Ranije bila članica
z	601	274	191	80	99	191	308 1	102 5	553	17	31 4	422	28	97 3	32 22	_	126 1	134 41	_	115	331	149	63	448	06
Supružnik/partner	42.4	49	42	36	21	35	47	43	42	12	74	20	46	e e	34 82		41 4	47 41	_	34	46	41	40	44	39
Sama	30.8	25	31	38	48	27	34	36	32	35	က	59	29	48	19	en en	33 2	24 27		39	28	30	37	59	37
Sa porodicom sina/kćerke	23.6	24	24	23	25	32	77	15	23	35	53	22	=	28 4	41 27		22 2	28 24	4	19	23	30	17	25	70
Sa detetom/decom	16.8	22	13	13	13	16	8	16	17	18	9	16	25	20 1	16	9	16 1	19 20	0	16	20	6	19	16	18
Drugo	2.0	3	-	-	7	2	2	3	2			2		4		_	2	5	2	-	2	3		2	2

Tabela 5: Deca/unuci Šta sve od sledećeg važi za Vas?

Da li ste članica neke političke partije?	Ne Ranije bila članica	8 90	62 2	33	5 24	17	4	2 2
li ste čla olitičke	on o	448	67	30	25	15	7	
g a	БQ	63	77	33	19	16	9	
i standard stva?	ondoQ	149	62	8	19	20	4	-
Kako biste procenili standard svog domaćinstva?	ə[nbəraO	331	72	31	56	12	2	2
Kako bis	əšoJ	115	70	59	25	16	4	4
æ	Prigradsko naselje	41	71	27	59	7	2	
Tip naselja	oləS	134	51	37	43	10	2	2
F	Grad	426	74	30	18	17	2	7
da	Bez ličnih sinsmina	22	29	27	27	4		
priho	iboding ilsteO	32	78	25	10	78	9	
Osnovni izvor prihoda	Porodična penzija	97	71	26	28	9	9	က
ovni	Invalidska penzija	28	82	21	7	21		7
Osn	starosna penzija	422	89	33	24	16	4	2
nodi	Domaćica, bez	31	89	23	26	16		
Aktivnost i prihodi	Ima prihode od socijanle pomoci, rente, alimenatcije	17	71	18	18	47	18	
Akti	Penzionerka	553	69	32	24	4	4	7
anje	Visa ili Visoka	102	73	33	16	22	11	-
Obrazovanje	Srednja	308	69	33	26	15	က	7
ō	əzin i snvoneO	191	29	26	26	12	က	က
	+08	56	63	23	20	21	1	7
tarost	08-94	80	89	23	29	7	က	က
Star	9 7- 07	191	75	33	24	15	4	3
	69-99	274	29	发	23	15	4	-
Total		601	69.1	30.9	24.0	15.0	4.3	2.2
			Imam decu/unuke, žive u istom mestu	Imam bliske srodnike	Imam decu unuke, žive u drugom mestu u Srbiji	Imam decu/unuke, žive u inostranstvu	Vemam decu/unuke	Nemam druge bliske srodnike

Tabela 6: Da li ste pripadnica neke manjinske etničke zajednice?

ije?	Ranije bila članica	6		7	92	-		
političke partije?	эИ	448	96.0	4	94	2		
s ilod	вQ	63		9	26			
iva?	Dobro	149		2	26	-		
svog domaćinstva?	əĮnbəraO	331	99.0	4	92	-		
gove	əşoŢ	115		7	06	က		
B	Prigradsko naselje	41		2	93	2		
Tip naselja	ola2	134	0.50	7	93			
ם	Grad	426		4	92	7		
	Bez ličnih primanja	22		27	73			
rihoda	Ostali prihodi	32		9	81	13	, 0	
zvor p	Porodična penzija	97	0.71	7	95	-	100%	
Osnovni izvor prihoda	lnvalidska penzija	28	J		100			
ő	Starosna penzija	422		က	96	-		
ij	Domaćica, bez prihoda	31		19	84			
Aktivnost i prihodi	Ima prihode od socijanle pomoci, rente, alimenatcije	17	0.27	12	92	24		
Aktiv	Penzionerka	553		4	96	-		
nje	Visa ili Visoka	102		4	96			
Obrazovanje	Srednja	308	0.05	3	26	-		
g	əzin i snvonsO	191		ω	88	က		
	+08	26		4	93	4		
ost	08-94	80	00.	9	93	-		
Starost	92-02	191	1.0	4	92	-		
	69-99	274		2	94	-		
Total		601		4.7	94.0	1.3		
		z	sig	Da	Ne	Ne želim da se izjasnim	Total	

Tabela 7: Obrazovanje

neke je?	Ranije bila članica	06		7	26	30		
Da li ste članica neke političke partije?	θN	448		38	49	14		
Da li s poli	БС	63		21	29	21		
standard va?	Oopto	149		23	48	29		
Kako biste procenili standard svog domaćinstva?	ə[nbərsO	331		59	55	15		
Kako bist svog	Ьŏŏd	115		20	43	9		
æ	Prigradsko naselje	41		99	37	7	П	
Tip naselja	ole2	134		61	35	4		
Ηİ	Grad	426		20	28	22		
	sįnsminq ninčil zaB	22		98	14		П	
Osnovni izvor prihoda	iborling ilisteO	32		63		13		100%
izvor	Porodična penzija	97		65	30	5		10
snovni	Invalidska penzija	28		18	2	18	П	
ŏ	Starosna penzija	422		20	29	21		
-	Domaćica, bez prihoda	31		06	10			
Aktivnost i prihodi	Ima prihode od socijanle pomoci, rente, alimenatcije	17		77	24	9		
Aktiv	Penzionerka	553		27	24	18		
aje	Visa ili Visoka	102				100		
Obrazovanje	Srednja	308			100			
Obr	əzin i snvonzO	191		100				
	+08	99		48	8	18	Г	
ost	08-97	80		45	34	21		
Starost	92-07	191		8	53	4		
	69-99	274		23	69	18		
Total		601		31.8	51.2	17.0		
		z	sig	Osnovna i nize	Srednja	Visa ili Visoka		Total

Tabela 8: Aktivnost i prihodi

		_					
a neke ije?	Ranije bila članica	06	97		-	က	
Da li ste članica neke političke partije?	ЭΝ	448	06	7	7	2	
Da li st polit	БQ	63	6	2	2	2	2
enili g ۶	Dobro	149	97	2	4		
Kako biste procenili standard svog domaćinstva?	əjnbərsO	331	93	2	2	-	0
Kako sta do	өğоД	115	83	6	-	80	
æ	Prigradsko naselje	14	88	2	2	7	
Tip naselja	olə2	134	88	11	-	-	
흕	Grad	426	8	က	2	2	0
	Bez ličnih primanja	22	2	92			
prihoda	iborling illateO	32	31	22	16	38	
izvor	Porodična penzija	26	86	2			
Osnovni izvor prihoda	luvalidska penzija	78	100				
Ö	Starosna penzija	422	66	0	7	0	0
ipou	Domaćica, bez prihoda	31		100			
Aktivnost i prihodi	Ima prihode od socijanle pomoci, rente, alimenatcije	17			24	7.1	9
Aktiv	Penzionerka	553	100		2	0	
nje	Visa ili Visoka	102	66		4		
Obrazovanje	Srednja	308	86	-	2	-	0
g	əzin i snvonzO	191	62	15	7	9	
	+08	26	89	6			7
rost	08-97	80	91	9		က	
Stal	92-02	191	93	4	ю	က	
	69-99	274	92	2	т	2	
Total		601	92.0	5.2	2.2	2.2	0.2
		z	Penzionerka	Domaćica, bez prihoda	Ima prihode od imovine (renta, zakupnina)	Korisnica socijalne pomoći	Ima prihode od alimentacije

Tabela 9: Invaliditet

	Ranije bila članica	06		7	93	
partije?	θИ	448	90.0	6	91	
	Ба	63		17	83	
	Dopto	149		7	93	
domaćinstva?	əįnbəreO	331	0.14	6	91	
	əšoJ	115		14	98	
5	Prigradsko naselje	41		10	06	
iip iiaseija	ola2	134	0.99	10	06	
	Grad	426		6	91	
5	Bez ličnih primanja	22 '	_	6	91	%00
5	iboding ilsteO	32		6	91	_
Osiloviii izvor priiloda	sįizneq snčiboro9	97		11	89	
7	lnvalidska penzija	28		89	32	
	Starosna penzija	422		2	95	
_	prihoda			16	4	
5	Domacica, bez	3,		_	84	
<u>.</u>	socijanle pomoci, rente, alimenatcije	17	90	9	94	
2	lma prihode od	_	0.90		O,	
AKIIVIIOSU I pillioni	Penzionerka	553		6	91	
<u>a</u>	Visa ili Visoka	102		10	06	
azovanje	Srednja	308	0.82	10	90	
5	əzin i snvonzO	191		80	92	
	+08	26		6	91	
10	08-94	80		6	91	
olarosi	92-07	191	0.11	4	98	
	69-99	274		7	93	
Otal		601		9.2	90.5	
			_	<u> </u>		tal
		z	sig	Da	Ne	Total

Tabela 10: Kako biste ocenili svoje zdravstveno stanje u odnosu na druge osobe Vaših godina?

neke a?	Ranije bila članica	06		10	61	59	
Da li ste članica neke političke partije?	ЭN	448		21	63	17	
Da li s poli	вQ	63		10	29	24	
lard svog	ondoQ	149		7	09	33	
Kako biste procenili standard svog domaćinstva?	əįnbəraO	331		17	29	16	•
Kako biste d	э́ĕо	115		36	53	1	•
rg.	Prigradsko naselje	41		20	63	17	
Tip naselja	olə2	134	0.20	22	99	13	
ď	Grad	426	J	17	62	22	
æ	Bez ličnih primanja	22		14	29		· %
rihod	iboding ilsteO	32		25	20	25	100%
zvor p	Porodična penzija	26		27	99	18	
ovni i;	Invalidska penzija	28		36	22	7	
Osu	Starosna penzija	422		13	99	21	
ē	Domaćica, bez prihoda	31		45	22		
Aktivnost i prihodi Osnovni izvor prihoda	Ima prihode od socijanle pomoci, rente, alimenatcije	17		18	29	24	•
Aktiv	Penzionerka	553		16	63	20	
<u>o</u>	Visa ili Visoka	102		13	25	30	,
Obrazovanje	Srednja	308		15	2	21	
Obra	əzin i snvoneO	191		25	64	7	
	+08	26		21	48	30	
st	08-97	80		28	22	15	
Starost	92-07	191		20	64	16	
	69-99	274		13	99	21	
Total		601		18.0	62.7	19.3	
		z	sig	Nešto Iošije	Prosečno	Nešto bolje	Total

Tabela 11: Kako biste ocenili svoje trenutno zdravstveno stanje u poređenju sa onim od pre šest meseci?

		_	_	_			_
političke	Ranije bila članica	06		13	78	6	
Da li ste članica neke političke partije?	θN	448	0.26	18	78	4	
Da li ste č	вП	63		8	8	œ	
ard svog	ondoO	149		10	86	4	
Kako biste procenili standard svog domaćinstva?	əįnbəreO	331	0.01	15	62	2	
Kako biste	əšoJ	115		25	69	9	
æ	Prigradsko naselje	11		17	9/	7	
Tip naselja	ola2	134	0.13	19	72	6	
Tip	Grad	426	O	15	81	4	
<u> </u>	Bez ličnih primanja	22 '		27	73		%00
rihod	iboding ilsteO	32		38	. 23	တ	¥
vor p	Porodična penzija	97	10.	22	9/	7	
Osnovni izvor prihoda	lnvalidska penzija	28	0	=	98	4	
Osu	Starosna penzija	422		13	81	9	
ë	Domaćica, bez prihoda	31		42	28		
Aktivnost i prihodi	Ima prihode od socijanle pomoci, rente, alimenatcije	17		35	53	12	
Aktivr	Penzionerka	553		4	81	2	
eje	Visa ili Visoka	102		16	28/	9	
azovan	Srednja	308		12	83	2	
Obra	əzin i snvonaO	191		23	72	2	
	+08	26		18	82		
st	08-94	80		\vdash	22	2	
Starost	92-02	191	0.90	17		9	
	69-99	274		4	80	9	
Total		601		16.1	78.7	5.2	
		z	sig	Lošije	Isto	Bolje	Total

Tabela 12: Osnovni izvor prihoda

	Da li ste članica neke političke partije?	Ne Ranije bila članica	448 90	1.00	62 89	17 11	4	2	2 3	2	-	0	0	-	
	Da li ste politič	вQ	63		71	14	7	2				2			
	cenili og a?	Ooloo	149		81	12	က	2			-	-		-	
	Kako biste procenili standard svog domaćinstva?	əĮnbəreO	331	0.80	20	17	2	4	-	-	-			-	
	Kako sta de	ьšоd	115		26	20	7	9	9	က	-	-	-		
	<u>.e</u>	Prigradsko naselje	41		71	10	2	2		2		2	2		
	Tip naselja	oləS	134	0.14	22	28	က	တ	-	-	-			က	
		Grad	426		75	13	2	2	2	_	_	0		0	
	<u>e</u>	Bez ličnih primanja	22					100							
	prihod	iboring ilsteO	32						34	22	16	6	9	16	
cija	Osnovni izvor prihoda	Porodična penzija	26	0.00		100									100%
pula	snovni	Invalidska penzija	28				100								1
ina po	ő	Starosna penzija	422		100										
na cil	ipo	Domaćica, bez prihoda	31	Г	က	9		89		13	10				
Baza: Ukupna ciljna populacija	Aktivnost i prihodi	Ima prihode od socijanle pomoci, rente, alimenatcije	17	0.00	12				29	12		9	9	9	
Baz	Aktivn	Penzionerka	553		9/	17	2	0	0	0	0	0		-	
		Visa ili Visoka	102	F	98	2	2				-	2		-	
	Obrazovanje	Srednja	308	00.0	81	6	9	-	-	-	0			0	
	Obra	əzin i snvoneO	191		4	33	က	10	4	7	7	-	-	2	
		+08	26		22	29	4	7	2	2					
	rost	08-97	80	86	02	51	-	4	က					-	
	Starc	92-02	191	0.9	70	17	9	က	2	-	-	-	-	-	
		69-99	274		73	11	2	4	7	-	-	-		-	
	Total		601		70.2	16.1	4.7	3.7	1.8	1.2	8.0	0.5	0.2	8.0	
			Z	sig	Starosna penzija	Porodična penzija	Invalidska penzija	Bez ličnih primanja	NSP (novčana socijalna pomoć)	Izdržavaju je deca ili srodnici	Radi honorarno	Prihodi od izdavanja nekretnina (kuća, stan, zemlia) u zakuo	Dodatak za negu i pomoć drugog lica	Drugo	Total

Tabela 13: Kako biste procenili standard svog domaćinstva?

		_	_							_		_
je?	Ranije bila članica	06	က	10	13	61	23	23		2		3.1
političke partije?	ЭИ	448	-	19	20	22	25	54	-	1		3.0
polisies in the second	БQ	63	2	51	22	49	58	52	က			3.1
railidai u	Oopto	149					100	96	4			4.0
svog domaćinstva?	əįnbəraO	331				100						3.0
svog svog	əšoJ	115	80	85	100							1.9
	naselje		H					_	_	Н		
æ	Prigradsko	41		27	27	32	20	17	7			3.0
Tip naselja	ola2	134	-	15	16	63	20	20				3.0
F	Grad	426	7	9	19	23	27	28	-	-		3.1
_	Bez ličnih sinsmin	22 4		32	32	22	14	6	2	_		2.9
prihoda	iboding ilsteO	32	6	31	41	47	13	6	က		%00	2.7
vor	Porodična penzija	97	7	22	24	22	19	19		-	¥	2.9
Osnovni izvor prihoda	Invalidska penzija	28		53	53	22	4	4				2.9
ő	Starosna penzija	422	-	14	15	22	78	27	-	-		3.1
hodi	Domaćica, bez prihoda	31	3	29	32	28	10	9	က			2.8
Aktivnost i prihodi	Ima prihode od socijanle pomoci, rente, alimenatciie	17	12	47	29	35	9	9				2.4
Akt	Penzionerka	553	_	16	17	99	26	52	-	_		3.1
anje	Visa ili Visoka	102		7	7	20	42	39	က	-		3.4
Obrazovanje	Srednja	308	_	16	16	29	23	22	_	_		3.1
రే	əzin i snvoneO	191	4	27	30	51	18	18	-	_		2.8
	+08	26		14	14	63	23	21	2			3.1
Starost	08-97	80		56	56	5	21	21		-		2.9
š	92-02	191	2	20	23			22	_	2		3.0
	69-99	274	2	14	16	26		56	_	-		3.1
Total		601	1.5	17.6	19.1	55.1	24.8	23.8	1.0	1.0		3.1
		z	Veoma loše	Loše	Sum -	Osrednje	Sum +	Dobro	Veoma dobro	Ne znam	Total	Mean

Tabela 14: Kako provodite dan, u kojim aktivnostima

a neke	tije?	Ranije bila članica	06	93	68	88	83	30	48	22	40	4	37	6	7	4	21
Da li ste članica neke	politicke partije?	θN	448	97	94	06	9/	25	42	34	58	27	23	7	2	2	9
Da li s	llod	Dа	63	92	92	86	88	09	26	38	43	48	32	10	13	10	10
enili g	٠,	Dobro	149	96	92	26	87	48	4	33	42	52	42	9	2	9	0
Kako biste procenili standard svog	domaćinstva?	əįnbərsO	331	6	94	91	78	25	46	34	31	59	24	9	4	9	1
Kako sta	op	əšoJ	115	92	88	85	29	46	38	24	23	13	12	14	2		2
m.		Prigradsk o naselje	41	86	92	85	99	99	49	59	24	22	15	12	7	2	12
Tip naselja		Selo	134	26	92	26	52	92	41	40	16	16	2	4	-	4	9
Ē		Grad	426	96	93	06	88	34	44	31	38	37	34	80	4	က	6
		Bez ličnih primanja	22	100	91	96	73	82	45	36	တ						2
orihoda		ilsteO iborlinq	32	26	88	94	20	47	53	22	22	19	13	25		9	က
Osnovni izvor prihoda		Porodičn a penzija	26	91	93	82	09	23	37	30	19	21	10	~	က	2	2
novni		Invalidsk a penzija	28	96	82	98	89	39	39	59	59	32	25	7	7	4	18
ő		Starosna penzija	422	26	92	91	98	48	45	32	37	36	32	œ	4	က	თ
ipo		Domaćic a, bez	31	100	94	97	65	22	45	32	10	10		10			က
Aktivnost i prihodi		od socijanle pomoci, rente	17	94	9/	94	53	59	53	18	54	12	9	29		9	
Aktivn		Penzione rka	553	96	26	06	80	49	4	33	33	33	28	7	4	8	6
je		Visa ili Visoka	102	93	93	89	91	36	43	31	62	61	62	4	13	10	25
Obrazovanje		Srednja	308	96	92	35	82	45	47	8	36	8	28	10	7	2	7
o		snvoneO ezin i	191	26	91	88	9	64	39	31	တ	12	2	9	-	-	က
		+08	99	96	82	11	99		16	20	2	6	16	2	2		18
rost		08-94	88	96	94	85	73	49	24	33	19	15	13		က		9
Star		9Z-0Z	191	92	8	6	9/	47	45	32	52	30	22	7	4	က	∞
		69-99	274	97	96	92	84	22	55	34	46	42	33	Ξ	က	4	∞
Total			601	96.2	93.5	90.3	78.2	49.6	43.9	32.9	31.8	31.6	26.3	7.7	3.7	3.0	8.7
			z	Gledam televiziju	Radim poslove domaćice u kući	U druženju sa prijateljima, komšijama	Idem u šetnje	Radim u bašti, vikendici	Pomažem fizički oko unučića ili drugih srodnika	Bavim se ručnim radovima	Koristim internet	Putujem	Posećujem kulturne događaje	Radim za novac ali bez ugovora o radu	Radim kao volonterka	Radim za novac po ugovoru bilo koje vrste	Drugo

Tabela 15: Koliko imate vremena za sebe?

neke je?	Ranije bila članica	6		6	02	21	
Da li ste članica neke političke partije?	θN	448	0.91	1	89	22	
Da li s poli	Ba	63		10	73	17	
tandard a?	Dobro	149		7	72	20	
Kako biste procenili standard svog domaćinstva?	əĮnbəraO	331		1	1.2	18	
Kako biste svog	Pòśo	115		1	22	32	
_	Prigradsko naselje	14		8	- 29	22	
Tip naselja	Selo	134		20	99	20	
ŢĒ.	Grad	426	0	9	72	21	
æ	Bez ličnih primanja	22 7		4	73	4	
rihod	iboding ilsteO	32		19	72	6	100%
zvorp	Porodična penzija	26		4	92	31	¥
Osnovni izvor prihoda	Invalidska penzija	28		18	46	36	
Osu	Starosna penzija	422		10	20	19	
ipo	Domaćica, bez prihoda	31		13	89	19	
Aktivnost i prihodi	Ima prihode od socijanle pomoci, rente, alimenatcije	17	26.0	9	82	12	
Aktiv	Penzionerka	553		10	89	22	
ë	Visa ili Visoka	102		80	72	21	
Obrazovanje	Srednja	308	0.28	10	11	19	
Obra	əzin i snvonzO	191		12	63	26	
	+08	99		4	20	46	
ost	08-97	80	0	5	69	26	
Starost	92-07	191		6	92	56	
	69-99	274		41	75	Ξ	
Total		601		10.3	68.6	21.1	
		z	sig	Uopšte nemam vremena za sebe	Imam dovoljno vremena za sebe	Imam mnogo vremena za sebe	Total

Tabela 16: U kojim oblastima u zajednici bi starije žene trebalo da uzmu aktivniju ulogu?

ı neke ije?	soinslö slid əjinsЯ	06	22	58	54	52	24	19	9	2	2
Da li ste članica neke političke partije?	ЭN	448	48	43	39	32	18	6	4	4	4
Da li s pol	БŪ	63	25	51	72	43	54	14	2	က	2
tandard /a?	Dopto	149	62	42	20	59	21	10	2	က	
Kako biste procenili standard svog domaćinstva?	ə[nbəraO	331	48	20	43	40	20	12	4	ဗ	2
Kako biste svog	əšoJ	115	39	30	35	37	16	6	က	9	1
	Prigradsko naselje	_	44	6	7	4	0	10		2	10
selja	olaS	41	H	99	5 27	34	4 20	3	8		4
Tip naselja		134	39	46	52	22	7			19	
	eimamina Grad	426	24	47	20	4	24	14	4	2	က
oda	Bez ličnih	22	14	89	2	27				4	2
prihe	iboding ilsteO	32	31	20	38	38	13	9		က	9
Osnovni izvor prihoda	Porodična penzija	26	39	4	34	27		9	က	6	9
ovni	lnvalidska penzija	28	36	43	61	46	51	=	4		4
Osn	Starosna penzija	422	22	46	46	38	23	13	2	7	က
ig	Domaćica, bez prihoda	31	19	89	13	59	က	9		10	က
Aktivnost i prihodi	Ima prihode od socijanle pomoci, rente, alimenatcije	17		47	35	47	12			9	12
Aktiv	Penzionerka	553	53	45	45	37	21	12	4	က	က
nje	Visa ili Visoka	102	71	25	8	53	46	23	10		
Obrazovanje	Srednja	308	51	46	47	38	19	11	က	က	2
Obr	əzin i snvonzO	191	37	43	25	25		5	က	7	8
	+08	26	엃	25	39	g	9	13	6	2	
st	08-94	8	21	4	8	38	23	∞	4	က	2
Staro	9 7- 07	191	20	48	42	32	18	13	2	4	7
	69-99	274	53	46	47	40	20	10	7	4	7
Total		601	49.9	46.3	42.9	36.4	19.5	11.0	4.0	3.7	3.7
		z	Kulturne aktivnosti	Zdravstvena zaštita stanovništva	Ekologija, parkovi, životna sredina	Socijalna zaštita	Obrazovanje	Infrastruktura	Drugo	Ništa/Nigde	Ne zna

Tabela 17: Na koji način starije žene bi trebalo da učestvuju u životu zajednice?

23 4 4 6 83 83 83 84 Ranije bila članica 55 T 73 B Da 3 3 3 3 4 4 2 5 5 5 5 6 9 1 Dobro ΑŠOJ 31 26 20 17 Prigradsko naselje 10 10 10 10 10 Selo 8 8 8 8 8 E 40 31 27 Bez ličnih primanja 9 4 19 8 Porodična penzija Invalidska penzija 29 36 29 2 % Domaćica, bez prihoda 13 23 Ima prihode od socijanle pomoci, rente, alimenatcije 17 24 25 35 12 18 2 3 3 Penzionerka Visa ili Visoka 60 22 4 40 33 27 23 əzin i snvonaO 08-97 80 75 43 33 20 21 3 601 72.4 45.1 38.4 32.8 24.8 20.6 2.3 0.8 0.8 Sessem u anketama koje sk Sessem u anketama koje sk u zajednice adom u kućnom savetu sessem u debatama i inimam essem u radu skupštine štinegrada Glasanjem na izborima
Asadom u savetima mesne
Zajednica
Učešćem u anketama koje se
Učešćem u ductrom savetu
Učešćem u kućnom savetu
Učešćem u kućnom savetu
Učešćem u tadu skupštine
opštine/grada
Objavo
Ništa/Nigde

Tabela 18: Da li ste članica nekog udruženja? Višestruki odgovori; Baza: Ukupna ciljna populacija

σ	Ranije bila članica		Ţ.	-	_	2	2	_	m.
a neke rtije?	coinclă clid oline	06	34	14	-	.,	.,		38
Da li ste članica neke političke partije?	ЭИ	448	23	2	ო	2	-	0	89
Da li s poli	БQ	63	48	2	80	9	œ	9	33
tandard a?	ondoO	149	28	7	2	4	က	-	59
Kako biste procenili standard svog domaćinstva?	əįnbəraO	331	28	2	2	2	2	-	61
Kako bist svog	əšoJ	115	23	10	ო	2	2	-	09
	Prigradsko naselje	41	34	7	2	2		7	54
Tip naselja	ola2	134	33	_	-	-			64
Tip	Grad	426	52	ω	2	က	က	-	29
da	Bez ličnih sinemina	22		2					92
Osnovni izvor prihoda	iborling ilsteO	32		16	0				69
izvor	Porodična penzija	97	78	9	-	-	4	-	61
novni	Invalidska penzija	28	32	4	7		4		22
S	Starosna penzija	422	೫	9	2	က	7	~	22
ipou	Domaćica, bez prihoda	31		က					97
Aktivnost i prihodi	Ima prihode od socijanle pomoci, rente, alimenatcije	17	9	54	18		9		47
Aktiv	Penzionerka	553	30	9	4	က	2	-	28
ηje	Visa ili Visoka	102	23	6	4	4	2	7	55
Obrazovanje	Srednja	308	31	2	က	က	7	-	22
Obi	ezin i snvoneO	191	24	7	2		-	-	99
	+08	26	92	7	7		7		89
ost	08-94	80	21	-	9	-		-	09
Staros	9 7 -07	191	30	2	2	က	က	-	28
	69-99	274	30	9	က	က	2	-	29
Total		601	27.6	6.5	4.5	2.3	2.0	1.0	59.7
		z	Udruženje penzionera	Ranije bila članica	Organizacija civilnog društva (NVO, Crveni krst)	Kulturno umetničko društvo	Udruženje žena	Mesna zajednica	Ne, nije članica ni jednog udruženja

Tabela 19: Zašto niste članica ni jednog udruženja? Baza: nisu čianice ni jednog udruženja (60% od ciljne populacije)

neke a?	Ranije bila članica	8		23	4	9	
Da li ste članica neke političke partije?	əN	304	0.37	29	28	2	
Da li s Pol	БQ	21		52	43	2	
dard svog	Oopto	88		69	26	2	
Cako biste procenili standard svog domaćinstva?	əį́nbəɪsO	201	0.80	63	33	4	
Kako biste	əšoJ	69		65	28	7	
ä	Prigradsko naselje	22		29	98	2	
Tip naselja	ola2	88	0.88	63	8	က	
Tip	Grad	251		99	59	9	
g	Bez ličnih primanja	21		29	59	2	%
priho	Ostali prihodi	22		22	38	14	100%
zvor	Porodična penzija	29	96.0	63	31	7	
Osnovni izvor prihoda	Invalidska penzija	16		26	4		
Osu	Starosna penzija	241		29	53	4	
ipc	Domaćica, bez prihoda	30	Г	29	27	7	
Aktivnost i prihodi	Ima prihode od socijanle pomoci, rente, alimenatcije	80	0.95	20	25	52	
Aktiv	Penzionerka	321		65	31	4	
ē	Visa ili Visoka	26		22	43	2	
brazovanje	Srednja	177	0.29	89	27	2	
Obra	ezin i snvoneO	126		64	59	9	
	+08	38		61	56	13	
st	08-94	48		7.1	21	∞	
Starost	91-01	110	0.34	29	38	က	
	69-99	163		29	59	4	
Total		359		64.6	30.4	2.0	
		z	sig	Nije me interesovalo	Nije imala vremena	Nije znala	Total

Tabela 20: Zašto više niste u udruženju? Baza: više nisu u udruženju (6% od ciljne populacije)

			_					
a neke tije?	Ranije bila članica	13		23	15	31	31	
Da li ste članica neke političke partije?	θN	23	1.00	39	35	13	13	
Da li st polit	ьП	3		29	33			
enili عق	Dobro	10		10	40	30	20	
Kako biste procenil standard svog domaćinstva?	əįnbəraO	18	1.00	39	22	=	28	
Kako k star don	ьšоJ	7		55	27	18		
<u>a</u>	Prigradsko naselje	က		33	33	33		
Tip naselja	ola2	2	1.00		100			
Ĕ	Grad	34		38	24	18	21	
<u>8</u>	Bez ličnih primanja	-			100			
prihod	iboding ilsteO	2		40	20	40		
izvor	Porodična penzija	9	1.00	33	33	17	17	100%
Osnovni izvor prihoda	Invalidska penzija	-					100	
•	Starosna penzija	56		88	27	15	19	
= _	Domaćica, bez prihoda	-			100			
ctivnos prihodi	od socijanle pomoci,	4	1.00	20		20		
₹ _	Penzionerka	34		35	53	15	51	
nje	Visa ili Visoka	6		4	22	=	22	
Obrazovanje	Srednja	16	0.91	19	31	25	25	
රි	i snvoneO əzin	14		20	53	4	7	
	+08	4			25		75	
Starost	08-94	6	1.00	26	33	7		
Sts	92-02	9	-	20	20	30		
	69-99	16		25	31	19	52	
Total		39		35.9	28.2	17.9	17.9	
		z	sig	Zbog pogoršanja zdravstvenog stanja	Nije više bila zainteresovana	Nije imala više vremena za učešće u aktivnostima udruženja	Drugo	Total

Tabela 21: Molim Vas da na skali od 1 do 5 ocenite koliko ste zainteresovani za učešće u organizovanim socijalnim, edukativnim, rekreativnim uslugama

N Uopšte niste zainteresovani Jolavnom niste	601 33.6	69-29		08-97 08 4 9	.00	i snvonsO 00 9zin	van Jana van V	Visoka Visoka	Aktivnos (%) % % % % % % % % % % % % % % % % % %	Aktivnostka Penzionenka Marianosti i prihode ost i prihode od socijanle pomoci, rente,	pez buyogs	sizneq 52 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8	Elizned	principoral princi	iboding ilista (%) (%) (%) (%) (%) (%) (%) (%) (%) (%)	bog 2 6 8	<u>.</u>	ONSDERIGHT TO S	əiləsan əšod 72 4	standard svog domadinstva? domadinstva? domadinstva?	ondool 44 0	Da li ste clanica neke političke partije? Da R e Rije bi	Čke p Član Čke p 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2	par a
zainteresovani Sum -	21.6	23	19	25	20	24	23 1	35 5	2 25	24	32	20	21 2 46 7	24 31 75 69	1 27 9 86	20 20	25	24	21	24	17	17	23	
I zainteresovani ste i niste zainteresovani	18.8	20	72	15					70	8 .	9	22					13		22	18	18	17	18	
	26.0	33	55	11	16	14			27	8 :	5 5	30			4	-	15		13	52	39	51	55	
Uglavnom ste zainteresovani	17.6	23	17	6					18	9	13	20	21	9 16	6		10	11	10	17	25	29	16	
Veoma ste zainteresovani	8.3	10	8	3	6	က	6	18	6			10	11	4	3	10	4	2	က	8	14	22	9	
													Ì	100%										
	2.5	27	2 5	0	0	000	26	3.1	25	2.1	7 0	26	27 4 0	0	7	000	٥	20	2,1	2.4	αc	۰,	2 3	

Tabela 22: Možete li mi reći zašto niste zainteresovani za ove usluge/programe? Višestruki odgovori: Baza: nisu zaintenesovani za usluna/momena (550), od alibo zazovani:

		_							_
a neke ije?	Ranije bila članica	43	29	30	5	12	7	5	တ
Da li ste članica neke političke partije?	эИ	569	72	23	6	7	4	4	10
Da li si polit	БП	20	85	15				2	15
enili g ?	Dobro	2	72	27	က	2	2	9	13
Kako biste procenili standard svog domaćinstva?	Osrednje	190	73	21	9	5	4	4	12
Kako str dc	ЭšоJ	75	71	28	15	16	œ	2	4
æ	Prigradsko naselie	21	62	24	19	19	19		2
Tip naselja	Ole2	97	02	21	2	-	7	-	22
Tip n	Grad	214	75	25	6	æ	4	7	2
o.	Bez ličnih primania	19 2	. 84	21		2			
ihoda	iboring ilsteO	22 1	73 8	27 2	23	23	4	2	14
vor pr	Porodična penziia	73 2	71 7	32 2	-	5	ω 	2	7
vni iz	Invalidska penziia	13 7	54 7	38		∞	∞	∞	œ
Osnovni izvor prihoda	Starosna penzija	205 1	73 €	20	0	9	4	4	12
ipor	Domaćica, bez prihoda	25	80	24	80	12			
Aktivnost i prihodi	Ima prihode od socijanle pomoci, rente, alimenatciie	1	73	55	18	18	27	6	
Aktiv	Penzionerka	296	72	22	7	9	4	2	7
<u>.e</u>	Visa ili Visoka	36	64	22	9	က	က	9	17
Obrazovanje	Srednja	158	73	20	œ	0	2	9	7
Obra	əzin i snvoneO	138	74	28	7	9	4	က	12
	+08	42	69	45	7		2	2	12
st	08-94	29	11	29	10	က		80	2
Starost	9Z-0Z	102	75	23	7	œ	9	9	တ
	69-99	129	72	15	0	10	2	2	4
Total		332	72.6	23.5	7.5	6.9	4.5	4.5	6.6
		z	Nemam potrebu za tim uslugama/programima	Zdravstvena situacija mi ne dozvoljava takve aktivnosti	Nemam dovoljno novca za te usluge	Nisam spremna da odvojim novac ako se plaća	Ne znam da postoje takve usluge/programi	Nemam poverenja u kvalitet usluga i programa	Drugo

Tabela 23: Da li ste članica neke političke partije? Baza: Ukupna ciljna populacija

neke je?	Ranije bila članica	06				100	
Da li ste članica neke političke partije?	θN	448	0.00		100		
Da li st polit	вО	63		100			
standard va?	Oopto	149		12	74	14	
(ako biste procenili standard svog domaćinstva?	əĮnbəraO	331	0.48	6	74	17	
Kako bist svog	əşoŢ	115		12	77	10	
<u>'a</u>	Prigradsko naselje	41		7	80	12	
rip naselja	Selo	134	0.02	6	8	7	
를	Grad	426		11	7.1	18	
æ	Bez ličnih primanja	72		2	92		
prihod	iboding ilsteO	32		က	84	13	%
izvor	Porodična penzija	26	0.64	6	80	10	100%
Osnovni izvor prihoda	Invalidska penzija	28		25	22	18	
ő	Starosna penzija	422		11	73	17	
ipc	Domaćica, bez prihoda	31		က	26		
Aktivnost i prihodi	Ima prihode od socijanle pomoci, rente, alimenatcije	17	0.63	9	92	18	
Akti	Penzionerka	553		1	73	16	
ηje	Visa ili Visoka	102		13	61	26	
Obrazovanje	Srednja	308	00.00	12	71	17	
o	əzin i snvonaO	191		7	88	5	
	+08	99		7	77	16	
ost	08-97	8	61	6	80	7	
Starost	92-02	191	0.19	7	74	18	
	69-99	274		14	73	14	
Total		601		10.5	74.5	15.0	
		z	sig	Da	Ne	Ranije bila članica	Total

Tabela 24: Da li ste članica neke političke partije? - (ako je odgovor ne, zašto)

ieke 3?	Ranije bila članica	0								
Da li ste članica neke političke partije?	θN	443	1.00	72	13	4	က	2	3	
Da li st politi	Da	0								
enili g	Dobro	109		62	11	4	2	က	2	
Kako biste procenili standard svog domaćinstva?	əĮnbəreO	242	0.83	7.1	13	2	4	9	3	
Kako sta do	əšoJ	88		99	16	80	-	2	2	
a	Prigradsko naselje	33		61	6	9	9	12	9	
Tip naselja	oleS	113	96.0	12	1	က	4	2	-	
Ĕ	Grad	297		71	15	4	7	4	4	
G.	Bez ličnih sinsming	20		100						
Osnovni izvor prihoda	iborling ilsteO	25		64	ω	4	ω	4	12	
izvor	Porodična penzija	22	1.00	62	17	80	4	œ	-	100%
novni	lnvalidska penzija	16		69	13	9	9		9	
ő	Starosna penzija	305		73	4	က	7	2	က	
ipo	Domaćica, bez prihoda	98		87	က	7			က	
Aktivnost i prihodi	Ima prihode od socijanle pomoci, rente, alimenatcije	12	86.0	42	17	80	œ	80	17	
Aktiv	Penzionerka	401		72	4	4	က	2	က	
je	Visa ili Visoka	62		74	ω	2	ω	က	2	
Obrazovanje	Srednja	213	69.0	72	15	က	-	2	3	
Obr	əzin i snvonzO	168		02	13	9	4	2	2	
	+08	43		09	12	7	2	12	2	
ost	08-97	63	8	29	17	œ	7	9		
Star	9 Z- 0Z	142	0.8	71	7	9	က	4	2	
	69-99	195		9/	4	_	က	က	3	
Total		443		71.8	13.3	4.1	2.9	4.7	3.2	
		Z	sig	Ne interesuje me to/apolitična sam	Ne želim to/ne volim politiku	Stara sam/Bolesna sam	Nemam vremena	Ostalo	Ne znam, nemam odgovor	Total

Tabela 25: Da li ste ikada promenili stranku? Baza: članice neke političke partije (10% od ciljne populacije)

			_			
neke a?	Ranije bila članica	0				
Da li ste članica neke političke partije?	ЭN	0	1.00			
Da li ste politi	вП	63		22	75	
dard svog	ondoQ	18		39	61	
(ako biste procenili standard svog domaćinstva?	ejupeseO	31	0.39	16	84	
Kako biste p	э́žоЛ	14		29	71	
æ	Prigradsko naselje	က			100	
Tip naselja	ola2	12	0.79	17	83	
Ţ	Grad	48		59	71	
	Bez ličnih primanja	-			100	
rihoda	iboding ilsteO	_			100	%00 1
zvorp	Porodična penzija	6	00.	22	28	-
Osnovni izvor prihoda	Invalidska penzija	7	Ì	59	71	
Osi	Starosna penzija	45		27	73	
ipo	Domaćica, bez prihoda	-			100	
ktivnost i prihodi	Ima prihode od socijanle pomoci, rente, alimenatcije	-	0.99		100	
Aktiv	Penzionerka	61		56	74	
ë	Visa ili Visoka	13		31	69	
azovan	Srednja	37	0.87	27	73	
Obra	əzin i snvonsO	13		15	82	
	+08	4		25	22	
ost	08-97	7	0	53	7	
Starost	92-02	4	1.0	21	26	
	69-99	38		56	74	
Total		63		25.4	74.6	
		z	sig	Da	Se	Total

Tabela 26: Zašto više niste u stranci? Baza: ranije bile članica (15% od ciljne populacije)

çke Çke	Ranije bila članica	06		72	10	80	10			
Da ii ste ciamca neke političke partije?	ЭИ	0	1.00							
a a a	Ба	0								
	ondoO	21		81	10	10				
nako biste procen standard svog domaćinstva?	Osrednje	22	1.00	71	7	7	11			
sta dor	əšoJ	12		29	80	80	17			
ja	Prigradsko naselje	2		09	20		70			
Tip naselja	olə2	6	1.00	99	=	22	11			
F	Grad	92		75	თ	7	6			
<u>8</u>	Bez ličnih primania	0								
prihod	iborling ilsteO	4		20		25	22			
izvor	Porodična penzija	10	1.00	70	10	10	10	100%		
Osnovni izvor prihoda	luvalidska penzija	2		40	20	40		10		
ő	Starosna penzija	11		9/	10	4	10			
odi	Domaćica, bez prihoda	0		Г						
Aktivnost i prihodi	Ima prihode od socijanle pomoci, rente, alimenatcije	3	0.98 1.00	29		33				
Aktiv	Penzionerka	87		72	10	7	10			
	Visa ili Visoka	27		78	7		15			
Obrazovanje	Srednja	53		0.98	0.98	89	13	=	8	
o	əzin i snvonsO	10		80		10	10			
	+08	6		100						
ost	08-94	6	6	4		33	22			
Starost	91-01	35	0.95	0.99	35 0.99	74	6	9	11	
	69-99	37		02	16	2	80			
Total		06		72.2	10.0	7.8	10.0			
		Z	sig	Nije više bila zainteresovana	Nije imala više vremena za učešće u stranačkim aktivnostima	Zbog pogoršanja zdravstvenog stanja	Drugo	Total		

Tabela 27: Koliko dugo ste članica bilo koje stranke? Baza: članice neke političke partije ili su ranije bile (25% od ciljne populacije)

a neke ije?	Ranije bila članica	06		ω	46	47	
Da li ste članica neke političke partije?	θN	0	96.0				
Da li s poli	eQ.	63		9	25	41	
i standard stva?	Oopto	39		2	38	26	
Kako biste procenili s svog domaćinst	əįnbəraO	98	60.0	7	48	45	
Kako bist svog	ьžoJ	56		12	69	19	
<u>8</u>	Prigradsko naselje	00		13	38	20	
ip naselja	olə2	21	0.47	14	62	24	
ı≓	Grad	124		9	47	48	
	Bez ličnih sinsmina	-				100	
rihoda	iborling ilsteO	2		20	09	20	· %
zvorp	Porodična penzija	19	98.0	16	28	26	100%
Osnovni izvor prihoda	lnvalidska penzija	12		17	33	20	
SO	Starosna penzija	116		4	48	47	
ipo	Domaćica, bez prihoda	-				100	
Aktivnost i prihodi	Ima prihode od socijanle pomoci, rente, alimenatcije	4	1.00	25	20	25	
Aktiv	Penzionerka	148		7	49	45	
эje	Visa ili Visoka	40		80	35	22	
Obrazovanje	Srednja	06	0.25	4	72	41	
o	əzin i snvonsO	23		17	48	35	
	+08	13			31	69	
ost	08-94	16	92		38	63	
Starost	92-02	49	0.36	9	51	43	
	69-99	75		11	25	37	
Total		153		7.2	48.4	44.4	
		z	sig	Do godinu dana	Do 10 godina	Više od 10 godina	Total

Tabela 28: Da li ste ikada imali neku stranačku funkciju? Višestruki odgovori; Baza: članice neke političke partije ili su ranije bile (25% od ciljne populacije)

a neke tije?	Ranije bila članica	06		16	20	73
Da li ste članica neke političke partije?	ЭИ	0				
Da li st polit	Ба	63	2	43	19	65
enili ćinstva?	Dobro	39	က	33	41	49
Kako biste procenili standard svog domaćinstva?	əįnbəraO	98	-	27	13	9/
Kako standard	ьžoJ	26	4	19	12	81
æ	Prigradsko naselje	8		38	88	20
Tip naselja	Selo	21	5	24	10	98
声	Grad	124	2	27	20	69
æ	Bez ličnih primanja	-				100
prihod	iborling illateO	2			20	80
izvor	Porodična penzija	19		32	7	62
Osnovni izvor prihoda	Invalidska penzija	12	80	80	80	75
ő	Starosna penzija	116	2	58	22	29
ipo	Domaćica, bez prihoda	-				100
Aktivnost i prihodi	Ima prihode od socijanle pomoci, rente, alimenatcije	4		25		75
Aktiv	Penzionerka	148	2	27	20	70
nje	Visa ili Visoka	40	က	15	43	90
Obrazovanje	Srednja	06	2	26	12	9/
o	əzin i snvoneO	23		52	6	83
	+08	13	∞	∞	31	72
rost	08-97	16		31	13	81
Staros	S7-07	49	2	53	24	61
	69-99	75	-	28	16	9/
Total		153	2.0	26.8	19.6	6.69
		z	Ima sada funkciju u stranci	Nema sada funkciju u stranci	Imala ranije funkciju u stranci	Nije ranije imala funkciju u stranci

Tabela 29: Da li učestvujete u organima odlučivanja u stranci? Baza: članice neke političke partije ili su ranije bile (25% od ciljne populacije)

neke je?	Ranije bila članica	6		27	73	
Da li ste članica neke političke partije?	ЭИ	0	0.41			
Da li s poli	ьО	63		17	83	
ndard svog	Dobro	39		28	72	
Kako biste procenili standard svog domaćinstva?	ə[nbəɪsO	98	0.27	24	9/	
Kako biste	əšoJ	26		12	88	
<u>a</u>	Prigradsko naselje	8		20	20	
Tip naselja	olə2	21	0.62	14	98	
Ę	Grad	124		23	22	
	Bez ličnih primanja	-			100	
rihoda	ibodinq ilateO	2			100	100%
Osnovni izvor prihoda	Porodična penzija	19	0.81	2	92	
novni	Invalidska penzija	12		42	28	
SO	Starosna penzija	116		25	75	
odi	Domaćica, bez prihoda	-			100	
ktivnost i prihodi	Ima prihode od socijanle pomoci, rente, alimenatcije	4	96.0		100	
Aktiv	Penzionerka	148		24	9/	
ē	Visa ili Visoka	40		32	92	
azovan	Srednja	8	0.08	20	80	
Obra	əzin i snvonaO	23		13	87	
	+08	13		54	46	
ost	08-97	16	7	19	8	
Starost	94-04	49	0.07	31	69	
	69-99	75		13	87	
Total		153		52.9	17.1	
		z	sig	Da	Se	Total

Tabela 30: Kako procenjujete sopstveni uticaj na odlučivanje organa u kom ste bili? Baza: učestvuju u organima odlučivanja u stranci (6% od ciljne populacije)

a neke ije?	Ranije bila članica	24	4	13	17	22	17	∞	28		2.7	
n ste clanica oolitičke part	эИ	0									z	
polit polit	БQ	=	6	18	27	22	45	0	18		2.7	
tandard /a?	ondoO	11	6	18	27	45	36	6	27		2.6	
e proceniii s i domaćinstv	ə[nbəɪsO	21		14	41	33	24	10	52		2.9	
Nako bist	əšoJ	က	33		33				29		1.0	
B	Prigradsko naselje	4	25	25	20	22	52		25		2.0	
Tip naselja	ola2	က		33	33	33		33	33		3.0	
팊	Grad	78	4	7	4	36	59	7	20		2.8	
	Bez ličnih primania	0									z	
rihoda	iborling ilsteO	0								· %	z	
vor p	Porodična penzija	_							100	100%	z	
Osnovni izvor prihoda	lnvalidska penzija	2		50	20	50	50		09		2.5	
Osu	Starosna penzija	59	7	14	21	38	28	10	14		2.7	
ib	Domaćica, bez prihoda	0	H		-				H		z	
Aktivnost i prihodi	lma prihode od socijanle pomoci, rente, alimenatcije	0									z	
Aktiv	Penzionerka	35	9	14	20	8	56	6	46		2.7	
je je	Visa ili Visoka	14	7	7	4	22	43	4	53		5.9	
Obrazovanje	Srednja	18		17	17	17	1	9	29		2.7	
Opr	əzin i snvoneO	က	33	33	29	33	33				2.0	
	+08	7	14	59	43				25		1.7	
ost	08-94	က				33		33	29		4.0	
Starost	GT-07	15	7	7	13	33	33		23		5.6	
	69-99	10		20	50	09	40	20	20		3.0	
Total		35	2.5	14.3	20.0	34.3	25.7	9.8	45.7		2.7	
		z	Uopšte nije imalo uticaja	Imalo je malo uticaja	Sum -	Sum +	Imalo je donekle uticaja	Imalo je dosta uticaja	Ne može da proceni	Total	Mean	

Tabela 31: Na kom nivou deluje organ odlučivanja u kom ste učestvovali/učestvujete? Baza: učestvuju u organima odlučivanja u stranci (6% od ciljne populacije)

a neke ije?	Ranije bila članica	24		88		80	
Da li ste članica neke političke partije?	ЭV	0					
Da li s poli	вQ	1			73	27	
standard tva?	ondoQ	11		29	თ	27	
Kako biste procenili standard svog domaćinstva?	əĮnbəreO	21	1.00	62	29	10	
Kako bis svo	өšоД	က		33	29		
<u>ia</u>	Prigradsko naselje	4		22	22		
Tip naselja	ole2	က	0.79	33	29		
F	Grad	28		89	4	18	
da	Bez ličnih primanja	0					
r priho	iboding ilsteO	0					100 %
i izvo	Porodična penzija	-	1.00	100	_		
Osnovni izvor prihoda	Invalidska penzija	5			40		
	Starosna penzija	53		62	24	14	
hodi	Domaćica, bez prihoda	0					
Aktivnost i prihodi	Ima prihode od socijanle pomoci, rente, alimenatcije	0	1.00				
Akti	Penzionerka	32		09	26	14	
	Visa ili Visoka	14		2	4	21	
Obrazovanje	Srednja	18	1.00	29	22	1	
ទី	əzin i snvoneO	က			100		
	+08	7		71	14	14	
tarost	08-94	က	8	29	33		
Sta	2V-07	15	Ψ.	09	27	13	
	69-99	10		20	30	20	
Total		35		0.09	25.7	14.3	
		z	sig	Radna organizacija	Mesna zajednica	Opština/grad	Total

Tabela 32: Da li ste se kandidovali na izborima? Višestruki odgovori; Baza: Ukupna ciljna populacija

Tip naselja	Card Geradina Selo Prigradsko naselje Dobro Dobro Dobro Dobro Dobro Da	22 426 134 41 115 331 149 63 448 90	3 1 2 2 4 16 4	91 90 87 93 85 90 92 75 91 91	0 1 2 1 1 3 0	82 64 85 49 62 69 72 63 69 66
Osnovni izvor prihoda	iborling ilsteO	32 2		88		99
vor pr	Porodična penzija	97 3	-	8		75 6
ovni iz	Invalidska penzija	78	7	71	4	. 19
Osuc	Starosna penzija	422	က	91	0	99
odi	Domaćica, bez prihoda	31		24		47
Aktivnost i prihodi	Ima prihode od socijanle pomoci, rente, alimenatcije	17		88		29
Akti	Penzionerka	553	က	6	-	89
nje	Visa ili Visoka	102	6	84		68
Obrazovanje	Srednja	308	-	93	0	63
g	əzin i snvoneO	191	-	98	-	75
	+08	26	4	88	4	75
rost	08-97	8	-	6		89
Star	91-01	191	2	92		89
	69-99	274	က	88	0	99
Total		601	2.3	89.5	0.5	2'. 29
		z	Da, kandidovala sam se ranije	Ne, nisam se kandidovala ranije	Kandidovaću se na sledećim izborima	Neću se kandidovati na sledećim izborima

Tabela 33: Kakav je Vaš stav o učešću žena u političkom i javnom životu? Baza: Ukupna ciljna populacija

	Total		Starost	ost		Obra	Obrazovanje		ktivno	Aktivnost i prihodi		Osnovni izvor prihoda	vni izv	/or pri	hoda		Tip naselja	elja	g St	standard svog domaćinstva?		Da Da B	Da li ste članica neke političke partije?	sa neke rtije?
		69-99	92-02	08-97	+08	əzin i snvoneO	Srednja	Visa ili Visoka	Penzionerka	socijanle pomoci, rente, alimenatcije	Domaćica, bez prihoda	Starosna penzija	Invalidska penzija	Porodična penzija	Ostali prihodi Bez ličnih	erimania Grad	oləS	Prigradsko	naselie Loše	əĮnbərsO	Dobro	БД	ЭИ	Ranije bila članica
	601	274	191	80	,	191	308	102 5	553	17	31	422 2	28 9	97 32	2 22	426	134	41	115	331	149	63	448	06
			0.64	4			00.0		0	0.37			9.0	09.0									00.00	
J potpunosti podržava učešće žena javnom i političkom životu	73.7	77	11	75	89	61	62	82 7	92	29	61	77	71 72	72 38	89	76	78	41	09	22	77	95	89	88
Misli da žene nisu za politiku i učešće u javnom životu	7.2	7	6	က	o	6	80	2	7	9	13	7	4	ω	9 14	7	-	27	8	7	7		6	2
Misli da je za žene korisnije da se posvete porodici i deci	8.3	7	6	80	=	13	9	7	7	29	13	9	14	10 25	5	9	7	20	15	9	80	က	10	က
Neopredeljena	10.8	6	1	15	13	17	7	` 6	10	35	13	10	-	9 28	8	1	10	12	17	10	80	2	13	7
Total													-	100%										

Tabela 34: Da li je neophodno obezbeđivanje određenog broja mesta na izbornim listama za manje zastupljen pol - žene (kvota)?

Baza: Ukupna ciljna populacija

neke je?	Ranije bila članica	06		29	4	27									
Da li ste članica neke političke partije?	θN	448		38	20	42									
Da li si polit	вQ	63		65	21	14									
tandard ra?	Dobro	149		20	21	78									
Kako biste procenili standard svog domaćinstva?	ə[nbəraO	331	0.02	46	18	36									
Kako biste svog	ešoJ	115		33	19	48									
· ·	Prigradsko naselje	41		37	28	4									
Tip naselja	olə2	134		39	12	49									
Tip	Grad	426		46	21	32									
B	Bez ličnih primanja	72		36	6	22									
orihod	Ostali prihodi	32		78	19	23	%								
zvor	Porodična penzija	26		33	10	22	100%								
ovni i	Invalidska penzija	28		43	1	46									
Osn	Starosna penzija	422		48	22	30									
ipo	Domaćica, bez prihoda	31		26	10	65									
Aktivnost i prihodi Osnovni izvor prihoda	Ima prihode od socijanle pomoci, rente, alimenatcije	17	0.00 0.00	24	18	29									
Aktivr	Penzionerka	553		46	20	32									
	Visa ili Visoka	102		99	21	15									
Obrazovanje	Srednja	308			00.00	00.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	46	23	31		
ਰ	əzin i snvonaO	191				30	12	29							
	+08	26		39	18	43									
rost	08-94	8	6	43	4	4									
Stare	97-07	191	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	38	22	40	
	69-99	274		20	19	31									
Total		601		1.4	19.0	36.9									
		z	sig	Misli da je uvođenje kvota neophodno	Misli da je uvođenje kvota nepotrebno	Neopredeljena	Total								

Tabela 35: Da li je neophodna kvota za žene 65+ u okviru kvote za učešće žena?

			_			
političke	Ranije bila članica	23		79	21	
Da li ste članica neke političke partije?	θИ	171		09	40	
Da li ste	БQ	14		89	32	
ard svog	Dobro	75		72	28	
Cako biste procenili standard svog domaćinstva?	əĮnbəraO	151	0.07	99	34	
Kako bis	əšoJ	38		20	20	
<u>a</u>	Prigradsko naselje	15	Г	09	40	
Tip naselja	Selo	25		46	54	
ij	Grad	198		71	59	% %
a	Bez ličnih primanja	8		88	63	100
orihod	ibodinq ilsteO	6		78	22	
zvor	Porodična penzija	32	0.21	20	20	
ovni	Invalidska penzija	12		95	∞	
Osnovni izvor prihoda	Starosna penzija	504		29	33	
_	Domaćica, bez prihoda	8	Г	88	83	
Aktivnost i prihodi	Ima prihode od socijanle pomoci, rente, alimenatcije	4	0.61	75	25	
Aktiv	Penzionerka	253		99	34	
e je	Visa ili Visoka	99		82	18	
zovanje	Srednja	142		92	35	
Obra	əzin i snvonzO	22		47	23	
	+08	72	Г	89	32	
st	08-97	34	6	92	35	
Starost	97-07	72	0.99	92	32	
	69-99	137		92	32	
Total		265		65.3	34.7	
		z	sig	Da	Ne	Total

Tabela 36: Ko Vam je pružao pomoć u vezi sa nabavkom hrane i lekova tokom perioda kada nije bilo dozvoljeno kretanje osobama starijim od 65/70 godina? Višestruki odgovori; Baza: Ukupna ciljna populacija

Da li ste članica neke političke partije?	Da Ne Ranije bila članica	63 448 90	46 47 46	38 42 39	24 25 24	25 14 12	10 5 7
ənili ćinstva?	Dobro	149	45	42	21	18	7
Kako biste procenil dard svog domaćins	əĮnbərsO	331	48	42	23	13	2
Kako biste standard svog	əşoŢ	115	47	35	36	17	7
<u>e</u>	Prigradsko naselje	41	49	44	24	20	7
ip naselja	olə2	134	4	51	19	13	4
를	Grad	426	47	37	27	15	9
<u>a</u>	Bez ličnih sinsmina	22	55	36	6	D.	2
prihoc	iboding ilsteO	32	38	63	9	13	9
Osnovni izvor prihoda	Porodična penzija	26	14	48	23	တ	4
ovnii	linvalidska penzija	28	43	46	7	18	4
Osu	Starosna penzija	422	48	37	28	16	9
i	Domaćica, bez prihoda	31	52	42	9	9	က
Aktivnost i prihodi	Ima prihode od socijanle pomoci, rente, alimenatcije	17	35	53	24	12	12
Aktiv	Penzionerka	553	47	40	56	12	9
je	Visa ili Visoka	102	22	78	56	71	4
zovar	Srednja	308	47	40	28	16	7
Obra	əzin i snvonzO	191	14	49	18	6	4
	+08	99	43	30	32	_	7
st	08-94	80	49	35	28	19	10
Staros	91-01	191	46	40	27	4	9
	69-99	274	47	45	20	16	2
Total		601	46.6	40.8	24.6	14.6	2.8
			Mlađi članovi porodice sa kojima ne Živim u domaćinstvu	Mlađi članovi porodice sa kojima Živim u domaćinstvu	Komšije i komšinice	Prijateljice i prijatelji	Volonteri i volonterke

Tabela 37: Šta Vam je predstavljalo problem tokom perioda izolacije (zabrane kretanja)? Višestruki odgovori; Baza: Ukupna ciljna populacija

i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i	0	į		, cr	o i		Aktivnost i		2					i F	<u>:</u>	~	Kako biste procenili	procenili		Da li ste članica	članica
Starost	JS.			Obrazovanje	anje		prihodi		ůso Osuč	Osnovni izvor prinoda	vor p	001	m.	IIp naseija	selja		standard svog domaćinstva?	svog stva?		neke politicke partije?	je? je?
08-97		108	+08	ezin i snvonsO	Visa ili Visoka	Penzionerka	Ima prihode od socijanle pomoci, rente, alimenatcije	Domaćica, bez prihoda	Starosna penzija	Invalidska penzija	Porodična penzija	iborling illateO	Bez ličnih primanja	Grad	Selo	Prigradsko naselje Loše	Osrednje	Dobro		6Ū aN	Me Ranije bila članica
191 80 56		56		191 308	102	553	17	31	422	28	26	32	22 4	426 1	134 41	1115	5 331	149	63	3 448	8
65 61 68	_	89	<u>'`</u>	71 63	09	65	26	61	2	22	72	29	29	2 09	78 71	09	99	99	09	0 65	10
51 43 39	_	39		36 51	64	48	35	25	21	22	34	88	50	56 2	26 39	_	45	25	26		<u></u>
46 51 46		46	7	43 46	40	43	47	28	4	46	41	88	64	43 4	44 52	49	47	发	4	1 43	3 51
35 35 57		22		35 37	31	8	35	55	36	36	32	8		36	37 24	4 43	88	27	29	9 35	10
26 21 36	36			29 19	24	22	35	32	19	25	36	16	41 2	23 2	22 22	35	23	13	22	2 23	_
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THE POSITION AND PARTICIPATION OF OLDER WOMEN IN POLITICAL AND PUBLIC LIFE IN SERBIA

REVIEW HIGHLIGHT

"The position and participation of older women in political life in Serbia" by prof. Nevena Petrušić, PhD, Nadežda Satarić, MA, and Kosana Beker, PhD, points out important aspects of human rights and their exercising in practice, from the angle and aspects that have not been considered in our country so far. Gender, age, and participation are three extremely complex categories in modern times in Serbia. The authors researched and explained these categories competently, comprehensively and with empathy, thus contributing to the improvement of the understanding of the position of older women in our country. They shed light on this issue, both by facts and legally, through the prism of the participation of older women in the political and public life of Serbia. The results of the research represent an extremely valuable resource when creating policy, but also for advocating and promoting the inclusion of the older women in a national context. The concluding recommendations made by the authors based on the analysis and experience derived from the work in this area would ensure the inclusion of older women in a way that would be much more equitable and more equal than is the case today. Therefore, I wholeheartedly recommend the publication of the study, believing that it will have an outstanding reception among decision makers, but also among professionals in the both public sector and civil sector, as well as researchers in the field.



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