

The 2011 Census of Population, Households and Dwellings in the Republic of Serbia

THE HOMELESS

Prof. Mirjana Bobić, PhD





Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia



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FOREWORD

The Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia is publishing a study entitled "The Homeless" by the author Prof. Mirjana Bobić, PhD, dedicated to a particularly vulnerable and marginalized segment of the population of the Republic of Serbia.

The purpose of the study is to use the analysis of demographic, socio-economic, ethnic, migratory and other characteristics of the primary and secondary homeless in order to both contribute to a better overview of the living conditions of this social group and to point at their social position.

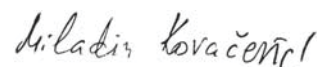
The study is predominantly based on the results of the 2011 Census of Population, Households and Dwellings. In the municipalities Preševo and Bujanovac, there was undercoverage of the census units on account of the boycott by the majority of the members of the Albanian national community.

The censuses of 2002 and 2011 do not contain data for the AP Kosovo and Metohija since there were no conditions on the territory of the south Serbian province for the censuses to be conducted.

The results of the 2011 Census are available both in the books of the final census results and in other census publications, and in the electronic form on the internet pages: www.stat.gov.rs and www.popis2011.stat.rs.

Belgrade, 2016

Director
Miladin Kovačević, PhD



THE HOMELESS



Photo: From the archive of the NGO Housing Center



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Introduction

The 2011 Census of Population, Households and Dwellings in the Republic of Serbia collected for the first time the data on the so-called *primary homeless*. In addition to the data on the primary homeless, during the regular action of field collection of the data on the population, households and dwellings, like in the previous enumeration rounds, the Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia also collected the data on the so-called *secondary homeless*².

The basic goal of this separate study on the homeless is a detailed analysis of the demographic, socio-economic, ethnic and migratory characteristics, as well as of the households and families of this existentially most vulnerable social group³. Taking into consideration that it provides a broader social context of the phenomenon of homelessness, as well as an overview of practical and political measures, strategies and actions, this study, as well as the related empirical researches and analysis, aspires towards a double effect: to draw the attention of the public to the phenomenon of homelessness (visibilization and validation), as well as to sensitize important social players: broader public, media, non-governmental organizations, private sector, and especially the decision-makers and creators of public policies in order for all of them together to be activated both for the purpose of solving their problems and even more for the purpose of preventing the problem of homelessness, that is, the even more complex problem of social exclusion.

The census provides a solid foundation not only for a detailed analysis of this sub-population in the given time frame, but also for additional, more in-depth empirical researches and surveys, both statistical and qualitative and even possibly longitudinal. In other words, a foundation for further study and monitoring of this phenomenon, not only for the purpose of social inclusion and social cohesion, but also for the purpose of preventing new “falls” into homelessness, as the most extreme form of multiple poverty and social isolation, that is, for bringing individuals back from this status, since this is a circular and dynamic phenomenon.

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² The author owes much gratitude for the assistance in the generating of tables and graphs to the demography PhD candidate at the Faculty of Geography, University of Belgrade, Marija Mucić, Master of Demography.

³ The study is the result of the author's work on the project “Challenges of the new social integration – concepts and players” of the Institute for Sociological Study of the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade (2011–2014) supported by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development (ref. no. 179035).



The homeless are the people who are (or who come to be) with no roof over their heads, with no job or source of income on account of poor adaptation to the life's challenges, turning points in their lives, or biographical events linked to the so-called individualization of family. Homelessness is often a result of the diminishing of the protective role of the primary groups, the family, i.e., the decline of the universality of the marriage. Dissolution of the family often leads to an increase in the number of single persons, divorced, widows/widowers, one-parent families, etc. However, it often happens that entire families find themselves on the social margin, as was the case with refugees, immigrants, families of army personnel, killed soldiers and handicapped persons from the former Yugoslav republics, foreigners, asylum-seekers, etc., while the status of the homeless is, by the rule, used for the users of homeless shelters, drop-in centres, safe houses, etc., both in Serbia and in the world. In the Anglo-Saxon literature, the homeless are classified under the notion of underclass and it is created under the conditions of spatial and industrial reconstruction of capitalism, new processes of urbanization and reorganization of space, which often displaces parts of the population, not infrequently creating the "poverty ghettos" (Wilson, 1989, according to: Tomanović, S. et al., 2014).

Other than providing a detailed description and understanding of the social position of the homeless, this study puts a special accent on the policies, i.e., on individual and collective action and "pulling" of this sub-population out of defensive, from the edges of the global society and local communities and the neighbourhoods. That should lead not only to a decline in the numbers of the current population of the homeless, but also to their individual empowerment, especially when observing the ways for preventing the proliferation of this phenomenon in the period to come, both at the global (state) level and at the local level, in compliance with the standards and experiences of more developed regions, nations and of the European Union itself. In connection with the last, i.e., the preventive character, this study has another two separate goals: to provide a comparative analysis of the situation in the EU countries and to suggest practical and political measures (in the domain of housing, social protection, education, labour market, employment, integration into the local community, etc.).

The basic methods are statistical and sociological, while the secondary analysis and the analytical and synthetic method were used as complementary. As a result, this socio-demographic and socio-anthropological study attempts to shed light on the phenomenon of homelessness in the Republic of Serbia, in a multi-disciplinary manner. It also accentuates the processes by which the homeless are becoming "population surpluses", that is, victims of expelling out of society whole generations, strata and social groups. Latter are so-called "transition losers" under the conditions of the dominant, neo-liberal capitalism of the globalizing scope which inflict the countries of the "centre", i.e., the West, upon the less developed or the "periphery" (Wallerstein, 1979). Within this classification, Serbia falls under the category of semi-peripheral societies of the medium level of development. During the 1990's, Serbia experienced decelerated processes of post-socialist transformation and from the 2000's to date the unfinished economic restructuring, which has created a specific social context of the problematic or the so-called 'de-development' as a consequence of the break-down of socialism, dissolution of the common state and destruction of the society. This was also accompanied by armed conflicts in the region, then the socio-economic devastation in the country, the decline of the production and the overall economic activity, de-industrialization, rise in poverty and huge social inequalities, social insecurity and general social anomy, strong feeling of powerless among ordinary people, decrease in solidarity and social cohesion, institutional destruction and institutional vacuum, especially in the domain of social protection, as well as in health care, education, labour market, housing, etc. In demographic terms, since the beginning of the 1990's Serbia has also been hit by the population crisis (depopulation, aging, emigration, emptying of entire regions, especially in the south and east), ecological degradation, etc. (compare: Blagojević-Huson, 2012:44).

Although the social setting is very complex, the basic cause for the demise of the private and social support networks in the case of the homeless can be found in the destruction of the social protection system from the previous social system – socialism, as well as in the increasingly more dynamic individual events (divorce, loss of job, income, property, migration, etc.), without any possibility for alleviating the unfavourable consequences using the informal, family and institutional support networks.

On the other hand, although they are extremely socially excluded and devastated, the homeless should also be looked at proactively and hence it is our intention to treat them in that manner in this study, thus as individuals, with certain action potential who can get included (again) into the everyday life through the synergy of social care and solidarity in the important spheres. Or, perhaps, this might be possible for the demographically most vital part of the homeless, that is, for the younger or middle-aged men and women, especially those with higher cultural capital, those who used to be employed.

The study has been conceived in a way that after the introductory part the clarification of the census methodology for the homeless applied in 2011 is introduced, followed by the consideration of conceptual problems in defining and registering this complex social phenomenon in the EU. Then comes the view at the social context of homelessness in Serbia today, followed by the very analysis of the census material which examines all important dimensions of this sub-population – the size and basic demographic structures: age and sex composition, economic characteristics, marital structures, education, migratory characteristics, households and families, separately for the primary and for the secondary homeless. This is followed by a brief consideration of the practical and political measures, laws and strategies, and finally by the conclusion which wraps together their demographic and social position, that is, which sums up the living situation of this sub-population in contemporary Serbia.

Methodology for the enumeration of the homeless

The *primary homeless* in the 2011 Census denote individuals without permanent or temporary home address, who live out in the streets, parks, under the bridges, etc. The collection of data on the primary homeless was done during the pre-enumeration phase (from 1 to 30 September 2011) in cooperation with the Republic Institute for Social Protection, Province Institute for Social Protection and non-governmental organizations. Any person who looked for placement or some other type of service at the relevant social protection institutions during September 2011 was enumerated. Therefore, the primary homeless were enumerated solely through the relevant social institutions and not at the place where they usually dwell (in the street, park, etc.). Furthermore, the enumerators had to separate primary homeless from other persons who come to reception centres, drop-in centres and homeless shelters only for brief care, taking food and clothes, after which they return to their households (SORS, 2011).

Even the very method of (indirect) collection of data on the primary homeless and the weather circumstances related to Indian summer in September 2011 contributed to the fact that the number of registered primary homeless was probably underestimated. On the other hand, as we will see later, the primary homeless are anyway an exceptionally active, predominantly male, resourceful, urban population, with developed strategies for getting their way around and with social networks within their marginalized group and that fact also contributes to their lower visibility (compare: Žarković, Petrović and Timotijević, 2012), that is, it reduces the possibility of registering individuals in the above-described manner, through social protection institutions, reception centres, etc.⁴

⁴ The survey of the homeless, in the field, at the places where they most often dwell, has shown that they in fact opt least for a homeless shelter as a facility in the most critical part of the year, during winter months, and that they are more focused on finding informal shelters in public spaces, wagons, cellars, abandoned buses, etc. (Žarković, Petrović, Timotijević, 2012).



During the regular Census action from 1 to 15 October 2011, data were also collected on the *secondary homeless* defined in the census as individuals who live in facilities occupied from necessity, such as sheds, barracks, trailers, wagons, cellars, tents, barges, and cardboard and informal settlements (SORS, 2013).

The differentiation of primary and secondary homeless in the 2011 Census has been created in connection with international recommendations⁵ stipulating that each country is to define which categories of persons belong to the homeless, with an obligation to enumerate both of their sub-groups. So far no international, unique order of these notions has been established, since the notions of homelessness vary from one country to the next and are linked with the degree of social wellbeing, normative frameworks of each country and concrete political practices, which we are going to tackle in more details in the following chapter.

Problems of defining and estimating the scope of homelessness in the European Union

The public is predominantly negative towards this particular population, prone to its stigmatization, avoidance and labelling, and not infrequently to physical assaults on its members. The homeless are usually associated with city tramps and vagabonds, beggars, thieves, alcoholics, mentally ill and drug-addicts⁶.

They live some reality which is theirs, separate and in fact parallel, away from the eyes of the so-called ordinary or homed residents who, in fact, do not have any clear idea of the true scope of homelessness that surrounds them. That also refers to the political elite which usually links the problem only with rough sleepers or with residents of informal settlements that actually constitute only a fragment or a minority of this population.

For this reason, the European experts and the civil society put in a significant effort at the beginning of the 1990's to shed the light on homelessness from various perspectives and to explore it comprehensively in order to register and estimate its true volume, to put it on the political agenda of their countries and governments, and to critically assess the best national practices, that is, the most effective measures and services (Avramov, 2006, 2002, 1995).

In order to overcome numerous and not insignificant differences in the understanding of the phenomenon of homelessness that represent the real reflection of the social development of the European countries and regions, the legal treatment of these persons, their social rights, as well as of a myriad of offered protection and support measures, the international organization FEANTSA (European Federation of National Organisations Working with the Homeless) set up in 1991 the European Observatory for the collection of data and enhancement of knowledge on the homeless in the EU member states. A unique typology of homelessness and social exclusion has been established – European Typology of Homelessness (ETHOS) (www.feantsa.org). It starts from the housing dimension as the basic one, but furthers with

⁵ Conference of European Statisticians Recommendations for the 2010 Census of Population and Housing UN, New York and Geneva, 2006

⁶ In those terms, the following statements of the homeless temporarily placed at a drop-in centre are illustrative: *"People treat us, which is really a disgrace, as if we are the worst sort of people, who do not have a roof over our head...". "These people here (the persons from the drop-in centre – note by M.B.) cannot be thieves or something, or those who are already out in the street, without anything. That person will not, I don't know, attack or assault a woman with a bag of food in the street. No. Precisely because he is in that park, he is not very crafty. That one who steals, he lives well. He needs nothing. That is the end of the story. If one of these persons stole or was capable, born for such a thing, he would never be here"*(Zarkovic, Petrovic and Timotijevic, 2012:31).

observing it as a multi-dimensional phenomenon with its physical, legal and social meaning (Avramov, D., 1995, 1996, 1999, 2002, Jovičić, 2011, Žarković, Petrović, Timotijević, 2012):

- ◆ without a roof (the primary homeless, persons who dwell in the public space);
- ◆ without a home (persons with temporary placement, such as: women victims of violence, the elderly, immigrants, etc.);
- ◆ insecure habitation (short-term stay with friends, relatives, illegal housing or under the threat of eviction);
- ◆ inadequate habitation (living in facilities that are not in compliance with the standards of quality housing, illegal settlements, over-crowded facilities, etc.).

The listed criteria show a noticeable insisting on a broad coverage of the notion of the homeless, i.e., on the “umbrella notion” which includes different groups of people who are not able to provide access to private, permanent and good-quality housing for themselves using their personal resources, both on account of financial limitations and on account of other social barriers, or are not able to lead a complete and independent life and consequently need care and assistance, but not institutionalization (compare: Avramov, 1995:72, Avramov, 1996:71).

Homelessness, however, cannot be observed as an isolated problem of (inadequate) housing, but rather it is linked with a broad mixture of dimensions of the so-called social exclusion and must be analyzed and interpreted as such, which is the intention of this publication, as well as that of other studies dedicated to this topic (Hutson and Clapham, 1999, Jacobs, Kemeny and Manzi, 1999, Harvey, 1999, Žarković, Petrović, Timotijević, 2012, Razpotnik and Dekleva, 2012).

Homelessness is a very complex problem of extreme social deprivation. It is linked most closely with poverty as a basic dimension of social marginalization, that is, with the absence of numerous and diverse resources, social services and human capital of an individual and his immediate and wider social group (partner, family, children, household, such as: income, stable employment, property, monetary savings, knowledge and skills, education, cultural capital, social position and respect). The homeless do not have an adequate and developed social capital or developed social networks (marital and family ones, those with relatives, neighbours, friends, professional ones, ethnic ones, etc.); finally, they lack effective strategies for survival and finding their way around in the risky, global economy. This is most apparent, for instance, in the case of single-parent families, especially mothers with small children, immigrants, refugees, and the young adults in the European countries who have left their parents’ families, but are not able to live independently on their own resources, etc. For this reason homelessness is, in the opinion of numerous, afore-mentioned authors, the way of (passive) adaptation to a mixture of unfavourable events and the course of life, that is, it is more a consequence of a coincidence of a higher number of unfavourable outcomes and less a result of wrong, personal choices.

Homelessness is more present in the countries of south Europe and less in Scandinavia, that is, it is functionally linked with the regime of social welfare (which includes legal solutions in connection with the redistribution of in cash and in kind resources). Today, the access to measures from the corpus of social welfare (to adequate housing, education, health treatment, labour market, employment, social protection) is the decisive factor in reducing social inequalities, alleviating the consequences of unfavourable events during the life course, narrowing generational differences in work biographies, etc. (Avramov, 2006).



Homelessness is therefore an obviously socially created phenomenon, in terms that the way in which a society determines this problem influences the policy of control and prevention, funds that are allocated, methods and measures for assistance in the process of integration, etc. (Jovičić, 2010). The phenomenon is not static, but rather it is more dynamic, with different probabilities of entering and exiting this status, as well as the length of remaining in such situation depending on the country in which the individual lives, his/her individual social biography, events and strategies/actions at his/her disposal.

Among the contemporary social and theoretic viewpoints, there is a predominant position that these people need to be understood and then supported, empowered and returned into the community. The researches show that although there are different ways for legal and political, and the national and local treatment of these persons, what they all essentially have in common, irrespective of the country in which they live, the street and the public space in which they dwell, is that they all have the same experience of homelessness, so that their daily life is impoverished and brought down to a balancing act between meeting their existential needs (hygiene, shelter food, clothing, footwear, etc.) and the return into the society (Jovičić, 2010:36). As it has been emphasized, in the contemporary societies there is a predominance of the idea of proactive action, i.e., an attitude that people from the street ought to be transformed, within a process of adequate integration, from victims into actors, they need to be supported and included into a broader community, as much as possible, without eliminating the necessary, continuous social support and assistance from the local setting. Consequently, the main direction of political and civil sector actions is to reduce their dependence and relying on social protection, i.e., on the state and services, along with the activation of individual resources and creation of new social networks (Jovičić, 2010, Timotijević, 2012).

In the EU, that is, in some member states, homelessness results from a recombination of factors leading to social isolation of individuals and social groups (Avramov, 2006): unemployment, undocumented or unresolved nationality or citizenship status (immigrants, asylum-seekers, illegal aliens, persons without residence papers), states of illness, disturbances in everyday functioning, poor education, lack of qualifications, life in single-parent or complex households with only one income or without any income, with predominantly young or elderly members, etc.

Both in the EU and in Serbia, the homeless are recruited from the growing population of the elderly, as well as from among the persons from collective centers, institutions, psychiatric hospitals, in-patient clinics, prisons and penal institutions who have been discharged, but at the same time rejected by the family and relatives, and who are often forced to move in a vicious circle – in-patient clinic (hospital) – prison – homeless shelter, that is, they go from one institution of the enclosed type to another in the absence of traditional family support, with the decline of the social protection system, financial restrictions in social protection, etc. (Žarković, Petrović and Timotijević, 2012, Ljubičić, 2013). As we can see, this concerns a very heterogeneous population and, in line with that, the appropriate policies and measures need to be envisaged in such a way as to be specific, earmarked for certain groups and/or individual clients and accommodated to their needs.

There is no accurate and complete statistics of the persons without a roof in the EU, which makes international comparisons as well as solid monitoring of the trends more difficult. Some countries are putting in efforts into building statistical instruments fast, which is a way to establish an adequate supervision over the problem and activate policies (www.feantsa.org). For this reason, the reference scientific papers rely on estimates carried out on the basis of censuses, surveys, registers of the users of public and voluntary homeless shelters, centres for the provision of social services, civil sector, expert opinions and the network of trained correspondents who have been engaged by the European Observatory and whose reports were

regularly collected and standardized, at the annual level, during the 1990's (Avramov, 1995, 1996, 2002, 1999). It can be concluded from them that the number of the homeless in the EU countries went significantly up at the end of the 1980's and the beginning of the 1990's, with a mild growth registered also at the beginning of the 2000's. According to the expert estimates, approximately around three million residents of the EU-12⁷ belong to this sub-population today, with an addition that their number has not increased more significantly over time thanks to the key successes of different countries combating this issue. Thus the bleak forecasts on expected doubling of the number of the homeless at the onset of 21st century have not come true (from around 2.7 million in the 1990's to 6.6 million at the beginning of the 2000's)⁸. At the beginning of the 1990's, the European Observatory registered the most numerous population of the homeless in Germany, France and the United Kingdom (Avramov, D, 1995, 1996). However, there are many things that have still not been done in the EU, just as there is a need for a unique European standard and political solution to the problem and its uprooting, that is, for achieving full assistance to these people and groups, which requires a broad consensus among the European countries which seems to be a long road yet to be travelled and therefore difficult to achieve as a global social objective (Avramov, 2002).

Even today, the basic problem continues to be the fact that the different numbers of the homeless, that is, of the users of social welfare, actually reflect the housing situation of different EU countries. Therefore the differences in the normative acts related to adequate habitation, as well as provisions of services related to urgent admission, placement and temporary care do not correspond to the real needs of this population. This particularly refers to the countries whose constitutions and laws inadequately recognize and consequently do not monitor this phenomenon, that is, they do not have a network of homeless shelters, safe houses, etc., which is the case with, for instance, Spain, Greece and Portugal (Avramov, 2005, Jovičić, 2010)⁹. In comparison to them, the north European countries, such as Denmark and Sweden, have very developed mechanisms that are used for successful removal of the social and/or structural causes of this problem and for narrowing it to the individual ones, the result of which is that the number of the homeless is relatively small.

Although very differentiated population, in the developed European countries, the homeless are recruited the fastest from two basic sources: the youth who leave their parents' homes too early, yet not having acquired the appropriate resources and human capital (*young adults*), and the women with small children (Avramov, 2002). In addition to them, this marginalized sub-population is filled up with victims of poverty, family violence, sexual abuse, family conflicts and similar traumatic life events. As a result the homeless often have places to reside, in other words, they have a "roof", but not a proper "home" (Avramov, 1995:71).

⁷ The United Kingdom, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Denmark, Spain, Portugal, Germany, France, Ireland, Italy and Greece.

⁸ According to the data of the European Observatory, in 1999, on the territory of the EU, 15 million people lived in inadequate housing conditions, that is, in sub-standard and inadequate dwellings; 1.6 million were exposed each year to the procedures related to eviction, that is, they were under the threat of entering homelessness, while 400 000 of them ended up in the street in that way; 1,8 million were users of public services or services on a voluntary basis; and around 2.7 million moved from friends and relatives to subtenant rooms and reception stations, and back (Harvey, B., 1999). The European authors also underline that homelessness is a very dynamic phenomenon in connection with the changes of the social and economic setting at the end of 20th century.

⁹ The Census in Portugal, for instance, does not recognize a homeless person as a person living in a gutter, lift box or container, but as a person with unconventional placement, which in Sweden is qualified as inadequate habitation (Avramov, 2002).

Social context of homelessness in the Republic of Serbia

When it comes to Serbia, like in the other countries of post-socialist transformation, we first need to say that homelessness is not a new phenomenon. It did exist even in the previous socialist system, but it was invisible under the influence, on the one hand, of the powerful communistic ideology of the so-called full social equality and solidarity. On the other hand, it was also hidden owing to the lack of housing space for all and especially under the conditions of mass migration towards cities and towns, that is, of permanent discord in the dynamics of the accelerated industrialization following WWII and the slow urbanization. As a consequence of the speeded up modernization after the war, there was a proliferation of the so-called mixed settlements and households, illegal urban construction, as well as the practice of joint living of several families under the same roof (compare: Timotijević, 2012:42, Petrović, 2004, Milić et al., 1981).

Such a heritage, since the beginning of the 1990's along with the demise of state socialism, was supplemented by the "new" or transition-related homelessness (Timotijević, 2012). This was taking place in the setting of the social de-development which is generated from several social, structural, as well as personal or family causes: housing transformation, housing privatization, decline in the levels of construction of residential buildings, reduction and even disappearance of the system of social housing inherited from socialism, increase in the prices of flats, that is, establishing of high, market prices for the flats in the period of post-socialism, introduction of mortgages and repossession of flats on account of outstanding credit borrowings and outstanding housing costs, then high unemployment, frequent job losses, especially in the case of women, owing to the economic restructuring of enterprises and companies, increase of family instability, divorce rates, family violence, etc. (Žarković, Petrović and Timotijević, 2012, Timotijević, 2012, Petrović, 2004, 2009).

Comparatively speaking, in relation to the developed EU countries, there is a relatively low share of young homeless in Serbia, since the process of transition into adulthood is slow and protracted, so that the young remain to live with their parents and relatives. At the same time, the so-called primary or parental family is very permissive and protective towards (even grown-up) children whose inclusion into the labour market is very difficult and whose processes of establishing marriages and families, their housing and overall psychological separation are postponed (compare: Tomanović, S. et al., 2012).

So far in Serbia there has been no complex, systematic, coordinated and strategic dealing with the issue of homelessness, that is, there has been no effective political response to this issue, as well as to even more increasingly categories of persons under risk. In other words, there is no solid programme for social and individual prevention. The fact that this social problem is very serious, deeply imbedded and threatening for the stability of the entire community is backed up by the alarming piece of data which says that if we were to rigorously apply the afore-mentioned typology (ETHOS), then almost 10% of the Serbia's population would fall under this group of the homeless or persons under permanent risk of homelessness (around 800-900 000 residents of the country, compare: Žarković, Petrović and Timotijević, 2012:14).

The phenomenon of homelessness is still marginalized, no standards have been established that define the minimal housing conditions and only relatively broad and insufficiently discriminatory notions of the primary and the secondary homeless are used (Žarković, Petrović and Timotijević, 2012). Contrary to that, the empirical reality shows that there are at least three very broad and heterogeneous groups of residents who are either the real homeless, in compliance with the stated European definition, or are under major risk to get there:

- ♦ the poor, then numerous groups of households and persons with no access to the flats' market, especially to social housing, the broad category of the so-called deprived persons and social groups;
- ♦ very heterogeneous immigrant population from the beginning of the 1990's to date (military homeless, families of army personnel from the former Yugoslav republics, families of killed soldiers from the wars in the region during the 1990's), then refugees (from Croatia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina), internally displaced population (from Kosovo and Metohija), as well as the most recent inflows of returnees from the EU under the Readmission Agreement;
- ♦ Roma ethnic group.

According to the "Survey on Income and Living Conditions" from 2013 (SORS), the risk of poverty rate for the general population is 24.6%¹⁰ and with this rate Serbia is in the European top (SORS, 2013), with a note that persons under 18 are particularly endangered. According to the work status, among the adults of age, the most vulnerable are the unemployed (48.7%) and single parents (36.2%). The latest census of population, households and dwellings (2011) shows that 68 042 households in the Republic have no source of income (2.73%), which is still half in comparison to the 2002 Census when 136 275 (5.40%) were registered. According to the said survey, the rate of material deprivation of the households in Serbia amounts to 44.3%¹¹. Individually observed, almost two thirds, i.e., 67.2% of the households of the Republic of Serbia, cannot afford a week of vacation outside home for its members, a third cannot provide a meat or fish meal every second day and every fifth household is not able to provide adequate heating of the dwelling (18.3%).

The group of inhabitants of illegally constructed facilities in urban areas are particularly at risk and it is estimated that there are around a million of such dwellings in Serbia. Their owners either do not have money for the legalization or have no legal conditions for carrying it out either because of the quality of the construction itself or because of the location not intended for such constructions (Petrović, 2004).

The next risky group, that is, the group of the real homeless, are the residents of informal and illegal settlements. In Belgrade itself, there are 29 slums and 64 settlements of this type registered, i.e., with no hygienic standards (Urban Planning Bureau, 2003, according to: Žarković, Petrović and Timotijević, 2012). Finally, in the inadequate housing category there are also over 15% of permanently occupied dwellings that are over-crowded (less than 10 m² per household member), 12% of dwellings are not made of solid material, out of which 25% do not have sewerage and the same amount of dwellings do not have utility infrastructure (Žarković, Petrović and Timotijević, 2012).

In the category of the secondary homeless the most numerous are the Roma¹², who live in around 700 sub-standard and informal settlements in Serbia (out of which 137 are in Belgrade) (compare: Jaksić and

¹⁰ This rate includes the share of persons whose equivalent income is less than the relative poverty line. These persons are not necessarily poor, but are under an increased risk (SORS, 2013).

¹¹ It includes at least three items out of the following nine: 1) incapability of a household to afford adequate heating; 2) to afford washing machine; 3) a car; 4) to afford a week of vacation outside home for all members at least once a year; 5) to afford an unexpected cost in the amount of 10 000 dinars that would be paid from the household's budget; 6) to afford a telephone; 7) a colour TV; 8) a meat or fish meal (or their vegetarian replacement) every second day; 9) being late with the payment of lease, mortgage instalment or some other credit or utility services for the flat in which the household resides (SORS, 2013a).

¹² In the censuses they most often declare themselves as Serbs, but in surveys, interviews and anthropological studies, they frequently identify themselves as Romas, which can also be seen on the basis of observing the residents of these settlements. The Roma are, by the way, a very flexible ethno-national and ethno-demographic group, prone to changes over time in their declarations on the national, religious and linguistic bases. As for the flexibility of the Roma ethnic group, from one census to the next, using the example of Belgrade, see more details in the monograph by Aleksandar Knežević (2010).



Bašić, 2005, according to: Žarković, Petrović and Timotijević, 2012:10). Out of the total number of the Roma settlements, over 70% are illegal and 50% are sub-standard. Two thirds of the Roma settlements in Serbia are over-crowded, with no electricity, water, sewerage, and the residents have no access to health care and social services. Most of the returnees on the basis of readmission are also Roma who often join their co-nationals in these settlements.

A vulnerable social group are also refugees (66 408), internally displaced persons (209 112), as well as a growing population of returnees on the basis of readmission (CRRS – Commissariat for Refugees of the Republic of Serbia, 2012, Bobić and Babović, 2013). The biggest risk is faced by the families (11 500) that have continued to live informally in collective centres which have been closing by plan ever since the 2000's, and their housing status is prominently vulnerable, which also applies to these immigrants with private accommodation. This broad category of the homeless also includes around 5 000 military personnel with families who used to do their service in the former Yugoslav republics. Among them, there are around 3 500 who live in army barracks in completely inadequate conditions. For them, as well as for the families of killed soldiers and handicapped from the recent wars in ex Yugoslav republics, there are 315 social flats constructed for lease in 17 municipalities throughout Serbia (Žarković, Petrović and Timotijević, 2012). Nevertheless, for a significant segment of the refugee population, still numerous though¹³, some solutions have been found for social inclusion, since many aid programmes have been carried out in the past two decades, through the joint forces of the state, international organizations, non-governmental sector, local self-governments, foreign donors, as well as the members and organizations from the diaspora. This has led to 10 492 housing solutions: from social housing under protected conditions, acquisition of abandoned rural households, granting for use rural houses with land, construction of pre-fabricated facilities or provision of building material for completing houses and dwellings and through numerous forms of assistance with employment and instigating economic activity, education, etc. (Žarković, Petrović and Timotijević, 2012).

The only pioneer empirical research of homelessness in Serbia to date is from 2012.¹⁴ It included three sub-groups of these persons using the ETHOS typology: the primary homeless (rough sleepers were surveyed), the secondary homeless (from homeless shelters and reception stations), as well as the persons in the so-called unsafe and inadequate accommodation (the Roma in the settlements Belvil and Ledine)¹⁵.

In the text below, we move on to the analysis of the data from the 2011 Census, while the picture of the primary and secondary homeless will be occasionally supplemented by the findings of the upper domestic survey, as well as the findings of the reference foreign researches.

¹³ The first census of refugees, organized by the UNHCR and carried out in 1996, registered around 650 000 such persons in Serbia, while at the time of the fiercest armed conflicts in the region of the former SFRY, in 1993, around 2 million were registered, which accounted for one of the larger world refugee populations in 1993 (Bobić, 2005).

¹⁴ The research was carried out in 2012 within the scope of the project financed by the EU, as a part of the programme "Support to the civil society in Serbia", and it was conducted by the Housing Centre (Centre for the enhancement of housing of the socially vulnerable groups from Belgrade) and the NGO DISC from the UK, with support from the Social Inclusion and Poverty Reduction Unit of the Government of the Republic of Serbia.

¹⁵ The combined quantitative and qualitative methodology has mostly confirmed the afore-stated general causes/routes to homelessness: structural (lack of dwelling, job, money and migration) and individual (divorce, addictions, gambling, chronic diseases, criminal past, family violence, absence of family networks and contacts), (Žarković, Petrović and Timotijević, 2012).

Analysis of the 2011 Census data

The data from the latest census will be, as we have already mentioned, analyzed separately for the primary and separately for the secondary homeless, except in certain cases when they will be considered summarily due to a very small number of the observed cases, as in the case of some economic characteristics (occupation, sources of income), and ethnic and migration structures.

The 2011 Census registered 445 primary homeless on the territory of Serbia, out of which 442 in urban and only three in other settlements. Out of this number, most of them were registered in the north of the country, in the Beogradski region and in the Region Vojvodine, a total of 324 persons, that is, 164 in the Beogradski region and 160 in the Region Vojvodine. It is obvious that this concerns urban zones in which there are most of the homeless shelters and institutions for social protection¹⁶ (map 1).

The population of the secondary homeless is, however, much larger. According to the 2011 Census, 17 842 persons in this status were registered, the majority of which is also in urban settlements (63.1%). If observed by the regions, most of them were enumerated on the territory of the City of Belgrade – a total of 39.0%, then in the Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije (25.5%), and fewest in the south and east of the country (21.8%).

The number of registered secondary homeless is by 17.54% less in comparison to 2002, when 21 636 of these persons were enumerated, which is linked to depopulation tendencies present in this sub-population just as in the case of the population of the Republic and which is probably a consequence of a striking emigration of this population, just as in the case of the general population of Serbia, in the direction of the countries of the West, i.e., Europe, related to the introduction of the no-visa regime and the process of the Serbia's accession to the European Union. It is certain that the decline in their numbers, unfortunately, can least be linked to an improvement of their socio-economic position or social cohesion and increased inclusion, which are still far-away and difficult to attain social goals for this population in Serbia.

The territorial distribution of both groups of the homeless in Serbia, according to the 2011 Census, shows that the homeless are most numerous in the cities: Belgrade, Novi Sad and Niš (map 1).

At the level of the whole Republic, the primary homeless are most numerous in the Belgrade municipality Voždovac (142 out of 445) and then in the City of Novi Sad (102 out of 445).

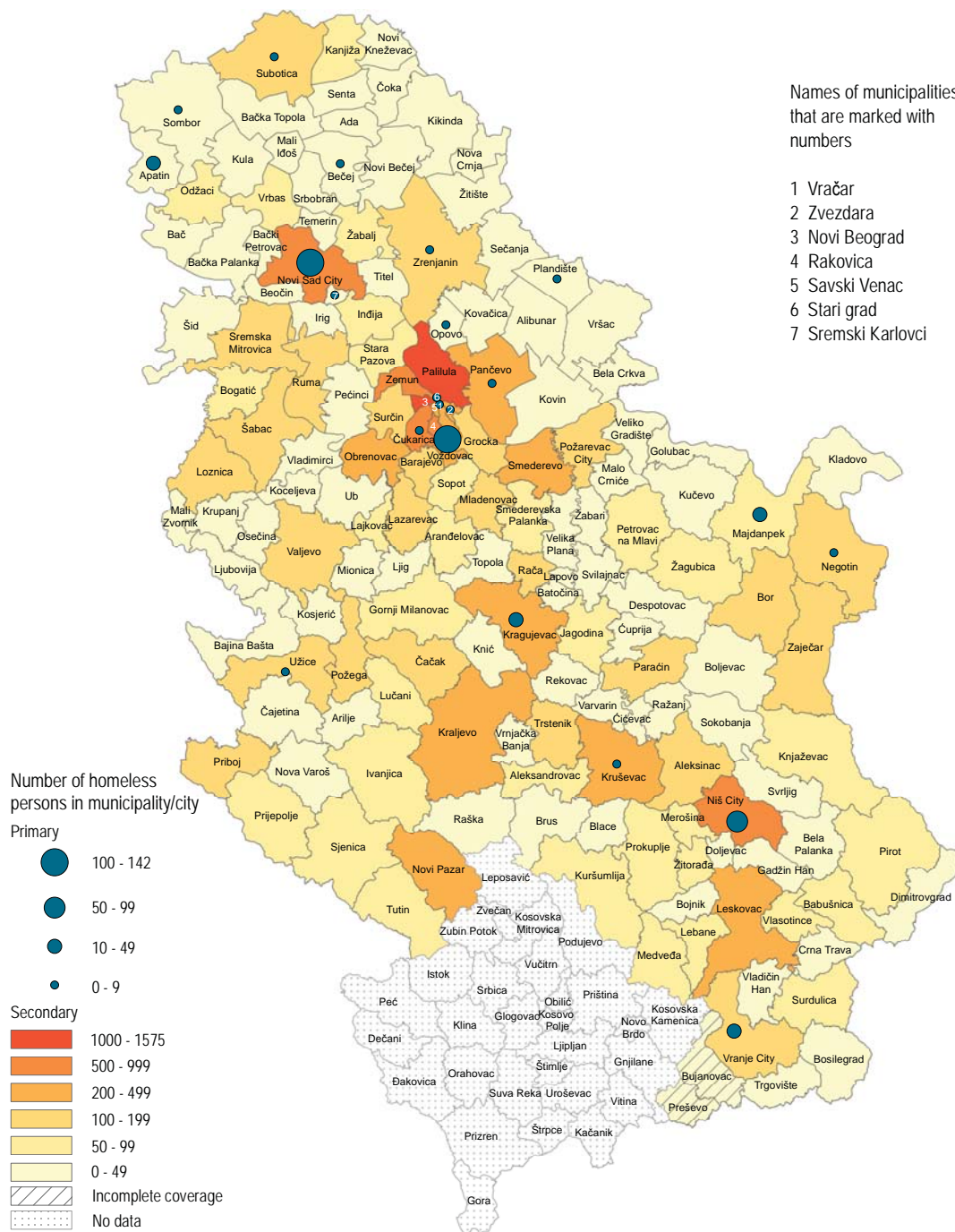
The secondary homeless are most numerous in Belgrade municipalities: Novi Beograd (1 575 persons), Palilula (1 025), Čukarica (754) and Zemun (607). A total of 3 961 of the homeless is registered in these Belgrade municipalities, i.e., a fifth of all secondary homeless (22.2%), which is quite in line with the concentration of the institutions for social protection in the capital, as well as with immigration and greater chances of finding at least occasional and temporary work, which is what these homeless mostly rely on, as we shall see from the data on economic characteristics.

In the rest of the Republic, the cities with a larger number of the secondary homeless are: Kragujevac (493), Kraljevo (413) and Kruševac (395). In five municipalities of the City of Niš there is a total of 699 registered secondary homeless (3.9%), while even fewer (521) of these persons were registered in the City of Novi Sad.

¹⁶ On the basis of the registered visits to the homeless shelters, the number of the primary homeless in the Republic of Serbia in 2011 was estimated at 788 persons at least, out of which almost half (346) in Belgrade. It is realistic to assume that there are more of them than that number, since it could be concluded from the talks with these persons that many of them never use social services, that is, they avoid homeless shelters (Žarković, Petrović and Timotijević, 2012).



Map 1: Primary and secondary homeless persons, by municipalities and cities in the Republic of Serbia, the 2011 Census



Age and sex structure of the homeless

The age and sex structure is a basic demographic structure of the population, which is formed by the natural (reflected in birth and mortality rates) and mechanical dynamics (reflected in immigration and emigration rates) from the previous period and which thus determines the future processes of the socio-biological reproduction of the given population. This structure is, however, influenced by other demographic structures as well: marital one, closely linked with the childbearing and socio-economic, for instance through participation in work activity, with a tendency to postpone childbirth if the employment rate is low, especially under the circumstances of evident socio-economic stagnation in the society. Then, there are also cultural and anthropological structures which cause that members of certain ethno-national and religious corpuses will have higher levels of childbirths (earlier entry into reproduction, longer lasting of reproductive period, its later completion as well as delayed exit from this period, with consequently larger numbers of childbirths), which furthermore leads to higher population growth rates (for instance in the case of Novi Pazar with low fertility rates among the Serbs and, comparatively, higher ones in the case of Muslims and Bosniaks, etc.).

On the basis of the age and sex structure of the population, the so-called age and sex functional contingents get separated and they are linked with natural potentials of individuals and social groups, their social rights, obligations and possibilities related to participation in a society (in reproduction, entry into civil marriage, education, work force, social protection, military force, etc.). For instance, the contingent of preschool children (aged 0–6), mandatory-school contingent (7–14), contingent of the persons of age (over 17), marital (from 15 on), fertile (women 15–49), male working (15–64), female working (15–60), male for military drafting (16–24), and the elderly (over 64).

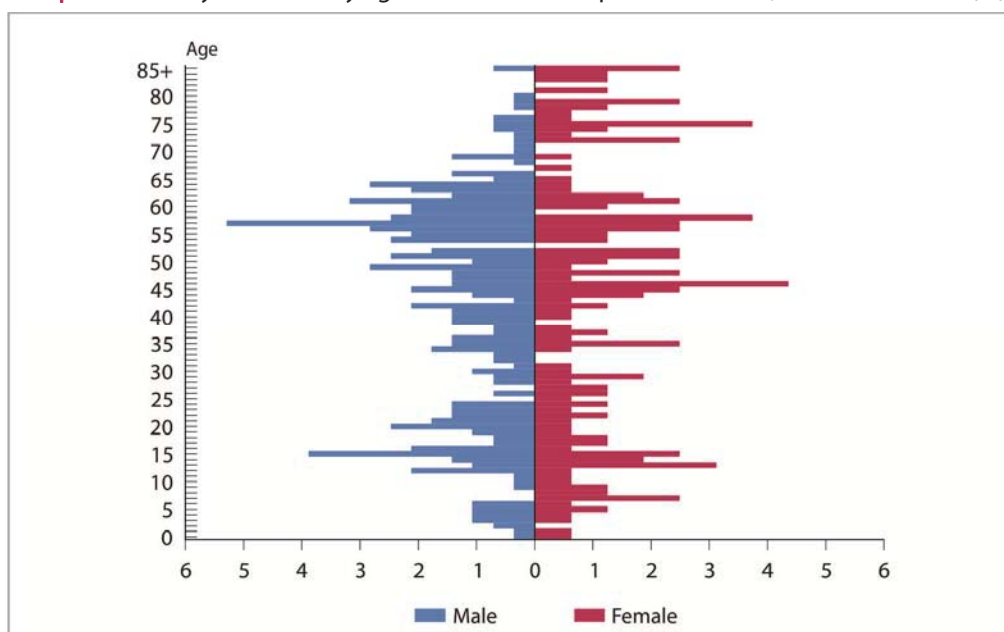
Contemporary populations are characterized by the so-called regressive age and sex structure (pyramid), created through a combination of a negative natural rate of growth (more deceased than born) and a negative migration balance (more emigrated than immigrated). Such structure is, therefore, a consequence of a prominent aging from the bottom and from the top of the age pyramid, narrowing of its base (on account of insufficient number of childbirths) and extended top (on account of lowered mortality rates and extended life expectancy, especially evident on the female side). The most numerous are the generations of the middle ages that originate in the earlier period of higher fertility (the period after WWII), the so-called “baby boom” generations (born from 1947 to 1957)¹⁷. However, today a large part of these generations withdraws from the labour market (they retire), which creates an additional pressure on the anyway limited public resources (budget burdening, health care, social protection) especially in the case of Serbia, the country of uncompleted socio-economic transformation, of the so-called “de-development”, with low economic activity and employment, with low average earnings and quality of life, whose population is impoverished and devastated in multiple ways, with all of these unfavourable processes lasting for more than two decades up to date (Bobić, 2007, Bobić and Blagojević, 2012).

The contemporary population of Serbia also belongs to the regressive type of the age and sex pyramid with the depopulation tendencies becoming most evident at the beginning of the 1990's and especially since the 2000's, with an addition that the latest demographic development is marked by a dominant determinant in the form of a negative migration balance (Penev, 2007). The depopulation tendencies,

¹⁷ While the American literature makes a difference between the “baby boom” generation born from 1946 to 1954, the early baby boomers, and those born between 1955 and 1964, the late baby boomers, the Serbian literature does not have a consensus when talking about the beginning and ending of the boom period. On the basis of the trends in the birth rates and the number of the liveborn, it would not be wrong to say that those born between 1947 and 1957 are a part of the baby boom generation, since after 1957 we have had a more stable trend of the said indicators (Stojilković, 2010).

together with the aging of the population and continuous emigration of the young, most vital parts of the population, are particularly apparent in the south and east of the country. A great population challenge for Serbia is not only emigration, but also the internal migration, focused on large urban centres (Belgrade, Novi Sad, Niš), which causes their accelerated growth and consequently unequal concentration of the population of the Republic. The fast emptying of entire areas leads to a situation in which the gradually turn into real “demographic deserts” (Nikitović, 2007). The inadequate network of settlements, along with such an unfavourable territorial concentration, spatial distribution and diminishing of the population, has a very adverse impact on the development of the local communities and their inclusion into social and economic flows, and especially into possible future re-industrialization and continuation of the interrupted modernization of the country. Although the insufficient childbirths, depopulation and aging are also characteristics of much more developed countries in Europe and in the world, their two basic comparative advantages in contrast to Serbia are controlled immigration, and the high productivity and economic activity rates, which significantly alleviate the adverse demographic tendencies (Nikitović, 2012).

Graph 1: Primary homeless by age and sex in the Republic of Serbia, the 2011 Census (%)



The age and sex pyramid of the primary homeless is exceptionally regressive, that is, it is more significantly deformed on account of a very narrow base and expanded top, particularly on the female side (Graph 1). The share of the middle-aged persons at their optimal age (work, marital and reproductive age) is relatively small, which represents a particular biological challenge for their members and significantly limits their action potential.

In the age and sex composition of the primary homeless, the most numerous is the older middle-aged population, in the case of men of the 55–59 cohort and then of the 60–64 cohort. In the case of women, the most numerous is the 45–49 cohort and then the 55–59 cohort. The elderly population (over 64) of both sexes accounts for over 10% of all primary homeless (60 out of 445), out of which the women are the majority (34).

Table 1: Number of the primary homeless by age groups and the type of settlement, by regions, the 2011 Census

Region	Total	0–14	15–19	20–64	65 and over
REPUBLIC OF SERBIA	445	58	34	293	60
Urban	442	58	34	291	59
Other	3	0	0	2	1
Beogradski region	164	14	0	112	38
Urban	164	14	0	112	38
Other	0	0	0	0	0
Region Vojvodine	160	5	6	130	19
Urban	157	5	6	128	18
Other	3	0	0	2	1
Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije	21	7	3	10	1
Urban	21	7	3	10	1
Other	0	0	0	0	0
Region Južne i Istočne Srbije	100	32	25	41	2
Urban	100	32	25	41	2
Other	0	0	0	0	0
Region Kosovo i Metohija	...	...	...	...	...

On the basis of the data from Table 1, we can see that two thirds (65.8%) of the primary homeless consist of persons from 20 to 64 years of age, that is, persons of the working age, which is particularly prominent in Vojvodina and Belgrade. The share of persons of this age significantly declines as we go from the north to the south. In the Region Južne i Istočne Srbije every third homeless person is aged from 0 to 14 and every fourth from 15 to 19. In comparison to the Region Južne i Istočne Srbije, the share of the young (0–14) is twice as low in the Beogradski region, where also no person aged 15 to 19 was registered. Both age groups are rarely present in Vojvodina, too, as well as in the Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije.

Overall, the census data correspond to the empirical profile of those most vulnerable “persons from the street” (Žarković, Petrović and Timotijević, 2012). According to the results of the empirical research conducted on the population of the primary homeless in three cities in Serbia: Belgrade, Novi Sad and Niš, through a survey with users of a homeless shelters for adults (a total of 173) and 25 interviews with rough sleepers, it comes out that an average (primary) homeless is – a man, aged 51 to 65, single (unmarried). There is almost an equal number of the divorced (44%) and of persons who have never been married (40%), and 16% of them are widowers. Out of the persons who have children, every tenth individual has juvenile children and every third individual has adult offspring (33.7%), which is linked to their own older ages. Most of them are from Belgrade and every fifth (19.7%) was born in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina or in Kosovo and Metohija, but there is a small number (7.4%) that has a status of a refugee or internally displaced person, i.e., a small number of these persons came to Serbia during the wars in the 1990’s and in 1999. Quite contrary, most of those who have arrived have come with their families and have managed to integrate to a higher or a lesser degree, or to return or emigrate (Bobic, 2010). Among the rough sleepers, every fourth one has been living in open spaces for more than 10 years while most of them for less than three years (Žarković, Petrović and Timotijević, 2012).

On the basis of the census data, it can be seen that what is very unfavourable is that there are numerous young generations of both sexes among these persons, especially of the age 15 to 24 in the case of men and from 5 to 9, from 10 to 14 and from 15 to 19 in the case of women, which is probably linked to tramping, begging, prostitution and addictions which put these persons frequently under the radar of the law on account of violating public order and peace, abuse of the public space and indecent conduct, etc. (Timotijević, 2014). Thus, they become victims of offence proceedings which leads to their even deeper stigmatization and social marginalization. Also, it is unfavourable that among the primary homeless there are high shares of women of the oldest generations (75 and over 80 years of age)¹⁸.

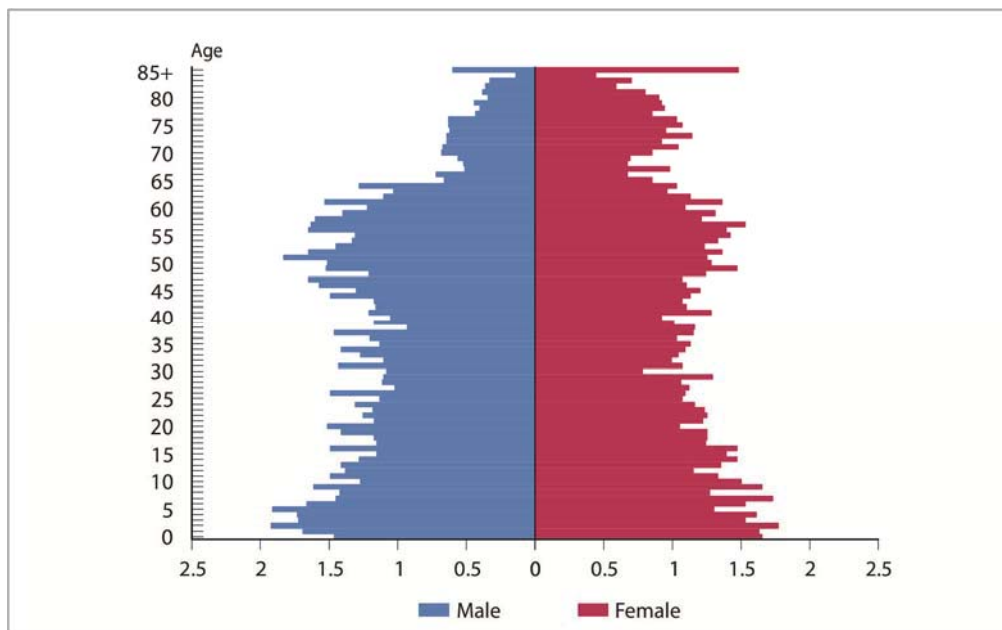
Among women and the young there is a frequent case that the cultures of the so-called “hidden homelessness” are developed on account of the need to avoid identification with homelessness, as a predominantly “male” phenomenon, and in those terms these two sub-populations report less often at homeless shelters and try more often to find their own way around, to stay with friends, relatives or in squats, sheltered spaces, at railway and bus stations, airports, etc. The young homeless often avoid to be seen in order to be in the proximity of their families, that is, of their primary support networks, which is especially the case with those who ran away or were kicked out of their parents’ family. These persons often come from the so-called dysfunctional families or families that have become such owing to the acts of their young members, either drug-addicts or persons with mental disorders and deviant behaviour. Women often face dangers that lurk out on the street and in public spaces: sexual abuse, physical assaults of the majority, male population and some, unfortunately, need to start selling sexual services in order to provide roof over their heads and provisions for their pure existence (Jovičić, 2010).

With regards to the cause of (primary) homelessness, the in-depth empirical research has established that the first reason is housing (30%) and then lack of funds (15%), which prevents them from having access to adequate housing. The next reasons/routes are: health issues (21%) and lack of support from close persons (12%), while the remaining reasons (23%) include: addictions, divorce and family violence (Žarković, Petrović and Timotijević, 2012:22).

In comparison to the primary homeless, the age and sex pyramid of the secondary homeless is of a more stationary type, with a broader base and a narrower top (Graph 2). The most numerous are the youngest cohorts and thus every fourth enumerated person is of the age from 0 to 14 (a total of 23%). Every fifth person is between 45 and 59 (21% in total), while every tenth person is over 70 (11.3%). The sex composition is relatively even, with an addition that the share of women goes up with the age and therefore women have the biggest share among the eldest (over 70, 14.6% versus 8% of men). This well-balanced sex composition is linked with higher connubiality and sedentary way of life of these persons, that is, more frequent family life style of the secondary homeless.

¹⁸ Here is another life story of a homeless person (Žarković, Petrović, Timotijević, 2012:30): “...pharmaceutical technician, used to have a private company and a flat, but has lost everything on account of gambling (jackpots). After selling the flat for the gambling (when he had no more money to pay the bills and they cut his electricity), he managed for a while to rent a flat, but then soon he faced a situation he had nowhere to live. He is divorced and has a son with whom he has no contact (the son lives with his mother and, according to the statement of the respondent, does not have enough himself). This respondent has 12.5 registered years of employment, is aged 65 and has no pension. He has attempted a suicide, on account of which he was on psychiatric treatment (for three months), after which the Centre for Social Work sent him to a homeless shelter until a place at a facility for the elderly has been provided for him”.

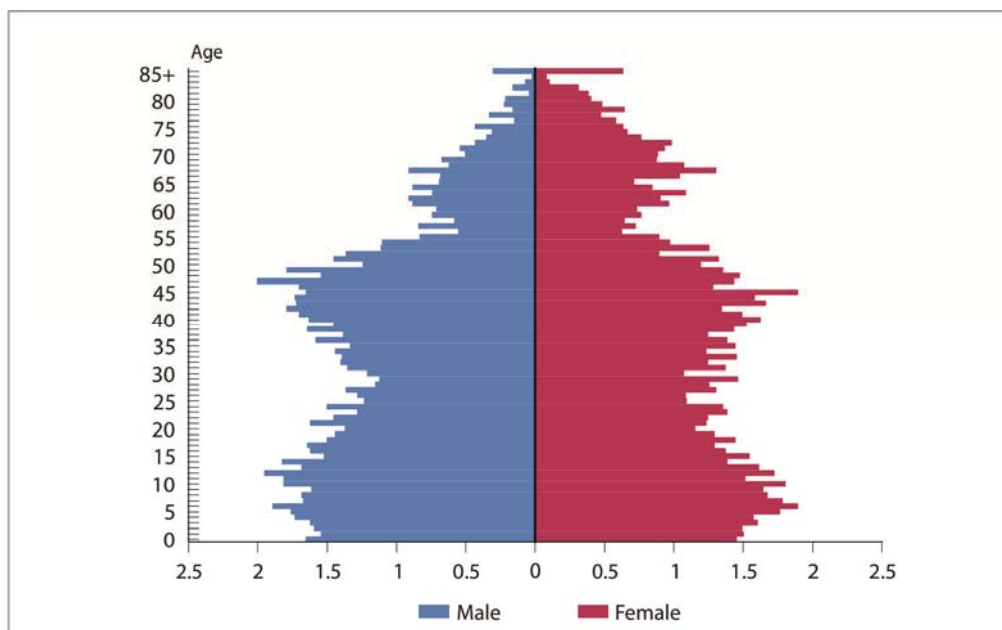
Graph 2: Secondary homeless by age and sex in the Republic of Serbia, the 2011 Census (%)



The comparison of the age and sex pyramids of the primary and the secondary homeless shows that there is half the children and young persons up to 14 among the primary homeless (12.6% versus 23% in the case of the secondary homeless). However, both categories of the homeless are dominated by women in the oldest generations, over 70, which shows overlapping of effects of advanced age, gender and multiple social marginalization (compare: graphs 1 and 2)¹⁹.

¹⁹ In the stated research, the secondary homeless were interviewed in the informal Belgrade settlements Belvil and Ledine, among the Roma population (Žarković, Petrović and Timotijević, 2012). Most of the available persons for the interviews were women (23 in total), who were on an average either less than 35 or over 50, while their families have mostly moved from Kosovo and Metohia. Most of these women were married, with only a few grades of primary school completed. They reported that more than a half of the residents of these settlements did not work (52.2%), that is, they had never worked, while the other half was occasionally engaged for work that was not permanent, that was poorly paid, for physical work at private employers', or they worked on collection and resale of secondary raw materials. A half of the respondents had problems with health and relatively few were registered by the National Employment Service. No alcoholism and other addictions have been mentioned. Then, these persons do not claim major problems with personal documentation (personal ID card, etc.), which is otherwise a frequent challenge with rough sleepers. They regularly visit a doctor and the strongest networks of social support come from their spouses and parents while the weakest come from their adult children who often do not live with them either. The data on the housing conditions confirm that this concerns insecure and inadequate housing, with houses made of weak material, and with no utility installations. This also concerns high over-population, with two persons per room, that is, with less than 8 m² per household member (Žarković, Petrović and Timotijević, 2012:44).

Graph 3: Secondary homeless by age and sex in the Republic of Serbia, the 2002 Census (%)



When it comes to the secondary homeless (Graph 2, Table 2), the share of persons of the working age is also predominant (55.9%), but to a lesser degree in comparison to the primary one. The share is a little higher in urban settlements (58.4%) in comparison to the other settlements in the Republic (51.6%). At the level of the Republic, as a whole, every fourth persons in urban settlements belongs to young population (0–14), (24.4%), and in the case of other settlements it is every fifth person (20.4%). The share of the persons over 65 at the republic level is 14.7%, with an addition that it is double in other settlements (22.6%) in comparison to urban settlements (10.0%).

Table 2: Secondary homeless by age groups and the type of settlement, by regions, the 2011 Census (%)

Region	Total	0–14	15–19	20–64	65 and over
REPUBLIC OF SERBIA	100	22.9	6.5	55.9	14.7
Urban	100	24.4	7.1	58.4	10.0
Other	100	20.4	5.4	51.6	22.6
Beogradski region	100	26.2	7.0	58.3	8.5
Urban	100	26.7	7.2	58.5	7.6
Other	100	22.4	5.9	57.1	14.5
Region Vojvodine	100	22.8	5.8	57.4	13.9
Urban	100	22.2	5.8	57.9	14.1
Other	100	23.5	5.8	56.9	13.8
Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije	100	19.7	5.9	53.8	20.5
Urban	100	21.4	7.9	59.4	11.4
Other	100	18.3	4.2	48.9	28.5
Region Južne i Istočne Srbije	100	20.9	6.6	53.0	19.4
Urban	100	21.9	7.2	57.2	13.8
Other	100	20.1	6.2	49.4	24.2
Region Kosovo i Metohija	...	...	...	...	...

If observed by the regions, going from the north of the country to the south, the share of the elderly population is on the rise, especially in other settlements. Thus, for instance, in the Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije, in other settlements, almost every third person is older than 65 (28.5%) and in the Region Južne i Istočne Srbije it is every fourth person (24.2%).

This especially refers to the population of women over 70 which is also increasingly bigger as we go from the north to the south of the country and it is twice as big as the population of men of the same age almost everywhere. Thus, in the Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije there are 21.9% of homeless women registered who are over 70 versus 11.0% of men, while in Belgrade there 7.6% of women of the same age registered versus 4.3% of men.

In urban settlements of the Republic, among the homeless aged over 70 there are almost twice as many women as men (of the age 70–74, 38.3% are men and 61.7% are women, and of the age 75–79 there are 33.5% of men and 66.5% of women, etc.). The similar picture can also be found in the case of other settlements, with an addition that the differences among sexes double in the case of women, starting from the age of 75 up. Taking into account that these are also the most impoverished areas, hit not only by the economic stagnation but also by the emigration of the young, i.e., by depopulation tendencies, such territorial distribution and concentration of the elderly in the state of need and social dependence is certainly very unfavourable and represents a very complex social challenge.



Table 3: Secondary homeless by age groups and sex, Republic of Serbia, the 2002 Census

	Total	0–14	15–19	20–64	65 and over
Republic of Serbia	21215	5321	1554	12038	2302
Male	10585	2732	817	6213	823
Female	10630	2589	737	5825	1479
			%		
Republic of Serbia	100	25.1	7.3	56.7	10.9
Male	100	25.8	7.7	58.7	7.8
Female	100	24.4	6.9	54.8	13.9
			%		
Republic of Serbia	100	100	100	100	100
Male	49.9	51.3	52.6	51.6	35.8
Female	50.1	48.7	47.4	48.4	64.2

As it can be seen from tables 2 and 3, during the latest inter-census period, 2002–2011, there was depopulation in the case of the secondary homeless, i.e., a decline in the numbers of the population, as well as a deformation of the age and sex pyramid (compare: graphs 2 and 3), that is, it experienced transformation from the stationary towards the regressive type. This is certainly a consequence of the joint effect of several processes with unfavourable outcomes such as reduced birth rates, increased death rates, and aging of all generations, as well as emigrations especially among the generations between 20 and 40 years of age. There are solid grounds to assume that a large population of asylum-seekers in the European countries is recruited from among these persons and according to their numbers Serbia is in the high fourth place today (Marić, Petijević and Stojanović, 2013, Bobić, M, 2013)²⁰.

The aging of the secondary homeless is reflected in the decline of the younger population (0–14), from 25.1% to 22.9%, and (15–19) from 7.3% to 6.5%. The share of persons at the working age from 20 to 64 is going down a little, from 56.7% to 55.9%, but there has been a significant increase in the share of the older population (65 and over), from 10.9% to 14.7%. The aging of women is particularly evident, from 13.9% to 18.5%, while the share of older men is lower, albeit on the rise, from 7.8% to 11.0%.

²⁰ Moreover, by the number of the asylum seekers (over 60 000) in the EU countries and in Switzerland for the period from January 2010 to December 2012, the Republic of Serbia is immediately after Afghanistan, Syria and the Russian Federation, and prior to Somalia, Eritrea, Iraq and Iran (Marić, Petijević and Stojanović, 2013). Although the minimal number of those requests from Serbia is approved, i.e., only 1.1% (2012), according to the Eurostat data, the number of requests is not decreasing, quite the contrary. Most of the asylum-seekers (90%) are Roma and the biggest destination country is Germany in which 6 990 requests were submitted in 2011, while in 2012 the number almost doubled reaching 12 810 requests.

Marital status of the homeless

With regards to the marital status of the primary homeless, at the level of the Republic of Serbia, there is dominance of the persons who have never been married (51.2%), while every third person is divorced (29.5%) (Table 4, Graph 4). The share of persons who are married and widows/widowers is lowest, with an addition that among women there is dominance of widows (31 women versus 7 men), while among the divorced there is a contrary tendency (80 men versus 34 women). Men also significantly dominate among the never married (71.2% versus 28.8% never married women) and all of these findings correspond to the data of the empirical study of homelessness in Serbia (Žarković, Petrović and Timotijević, 2012).

If observed by the regions, the number of never married men among the primary homeless is going up significantly in less developed regions and thus, for instance, in the Region Južne i Istočne Srbije, out of 38 men, as much as 31 are never married. More than a half of the men in the Beogradski region are never married (53 out of 102), followed by the divorced (41 out of 102).

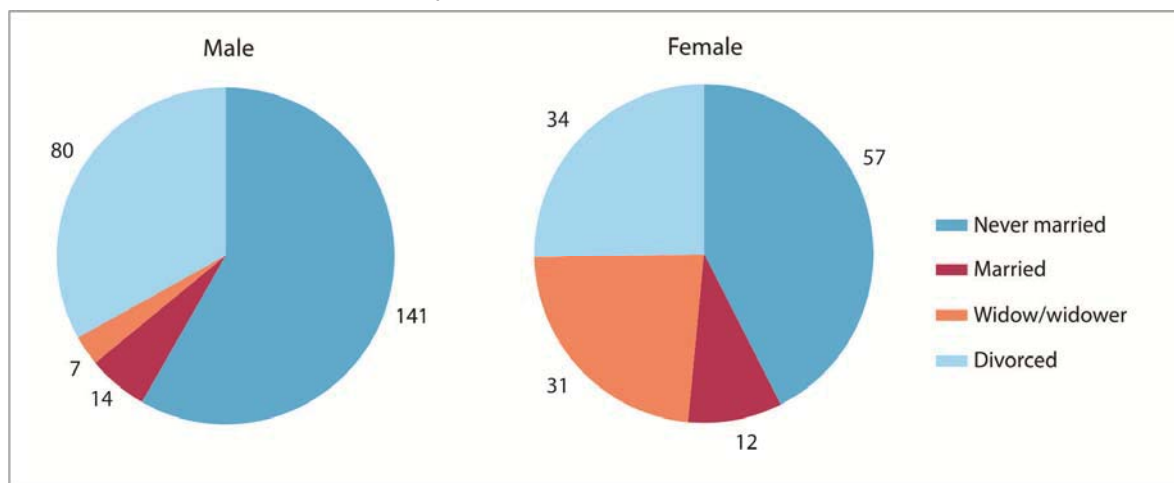
Table 4: Primary homeless by legal marital status and sex, by regions, the 2011 Census

Region	Total	Never married	Married	Widow/ widower	Divorced	Unknown
REPUBLIC OF SERBIA	387	198	26	38	114	11
Male	252	141	14	7	80	10
Female	135	57	12	31	34	1
Beogradski region	150	75	10	17	48	0
Male	102	53	4	4	41	0
Female	48	22	6	13	7	0
Region Vojvodine	155	73	4	15	53	10
Male	106	51	3	3	39	10
Female	49	22	1	12	14	0
Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije	14	7	1	1	5	0
Male	6	6	0	0	0	0
Female	8	1	1	1	5	0
Region Južne i Istočne Srbije	68	43	11	5	8	1
Male	38	31	7	0	0	0
Female	30	12	4	5	8	1
Region Kosovo i Metohija	...	...	...	...	...	...

Among the female population in all regions, in addition to the never married women who are dominant in terms of numbers, there are also relatively higher shares of widows and divorced registered. In the Beogradski region almost a half of the registered women are never married (22 out of 48), while out of the remainder, there are 13 widows and seven are divorced.

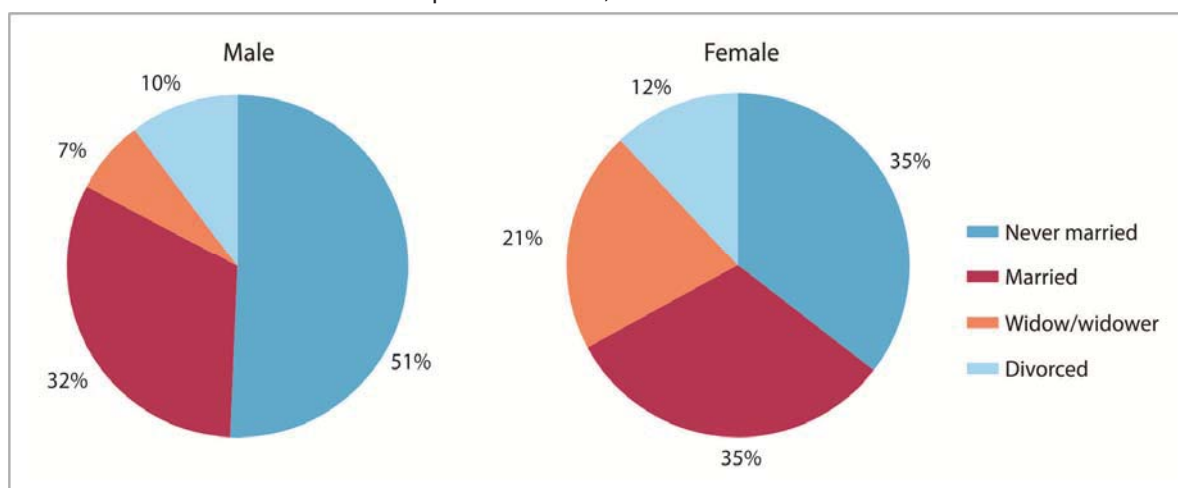


Graph 4: Primary homeless aged 15 and over by legal marital status and sex, Republic of Serbia, the 2011 Census



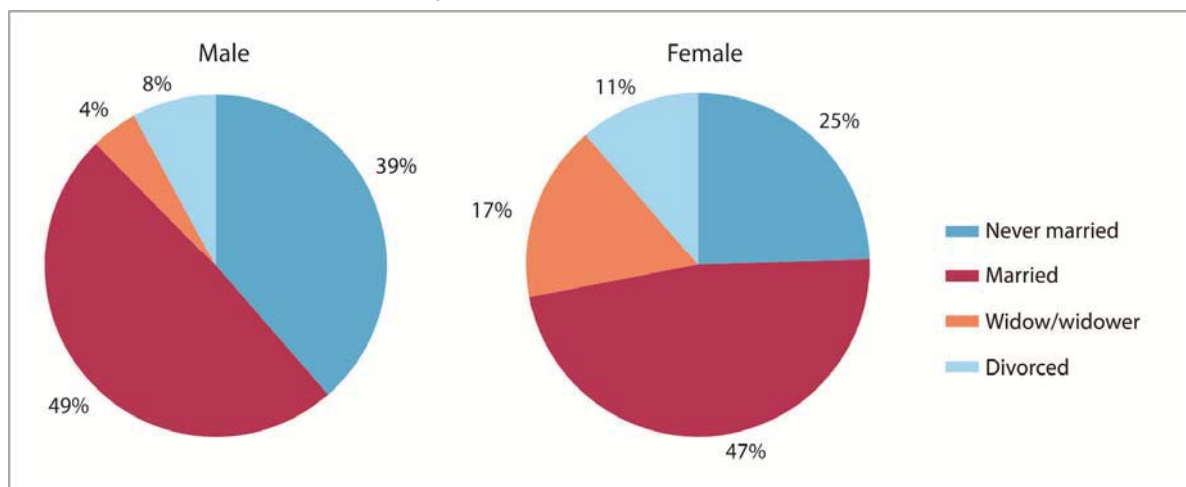
In the case of the secondary homeless, at the level of the Republic of Serbia in 2011, there is also dominance of persons who have never been married, but to a somewhat lesser degree in comparison to the primary homeless (42.4%). Contrary to that, every third secondary homeless person is married (31.3%) (Table 5).

Graph 5: Secondary homeless aged 15 and over by legal marital status and sex, Republic of Serbia, the 2011 Census



As it can be seen from Graph 5, there are more persons that never married among men (51% versus 35% of women), while among women there are three times more widows (21% versus 7% of men in that status). The shares of the divorced are lower, with a mild advantage on the side of women (12% of women versus 10% of men).

Graph 6: Secondary homeless aged 15 and over by legal marital status and sex, Republic of Serbia, the 2002 Census



In 2002, according to the census data, the share of married persons of both sexes was significantly higher and almost equal between men and women, reaching almost a half of all the persons, i.e., 49% of men and 47% of women (Graph 6). A quarter of women were never married (25%) and so were 39% of men. However, there were as much as four times more widows than widowers (17% versus 4% of men), while the sex difference between the divorced was a little lower, but again in favour of women (11% of women versus 8% of men).

Over time the share of married persons of both sexes has decreased more significantly, but also got completely equal in between males and females (32% each). The sexes have also become equal as regards divorce, but with a more significant increase in the share of never married male population (51%), as well as the female one (35%). The share of widows and widowers has also increased, but the relative difference has remained higher in favour of women (21% of women versus 7% of men).



Table 5: Secondary homeless aged 15 and over by legal marital status and sex, by regions, the 2011 Census (%)

Region	Total	Never married	Married	Widow/widower	Divorced	Unknown
REPUBLIC OF SERBIA	100	42.4	31.3	13.7	11.0	1.5
Male	100	49.9	31.5	6.8	10.2	1.6
Female	100	35.0	31.1	20.6	11.9	1.4
Beogradski region	100	46.7	31.2	8.8	10.9	2.5
Male	100	52.6	31.4	4.0	9.3	2.6
Female	100	40.7	31.0	13.5	12.5	2.3
Region Vojvodine	100	46.3	25.0	14.9	12.9	0.9
Male	100	53.4	23.6	7.5	14.9	0.7
Female	100	38.3	26.7	23.3	10.6	1.1
Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije	100	38.5	33.0	16.9	10.8	0.7
Male	100	47.1	34.0	8.4	9.9	0.6
Female	100	30.0	32.1	25.4	11.8	0.7
Region Južne i Istočne Srbije	100	37.7	33.3	17.5	10.3	1.2
Male	100	46.2	34.0	9.4	8.9	1.5
Female	100	29.5	32.7	25.2	11.6	1.0
Region Kosovo i Metohija	...	...	...	...	...	...

The share of persons who have never been married is somewhat higher compared to the general average in the north of the Republic of Serbia (Beogradski region and the Region Vojvodine), especially in the case of men (Table 5). The share of the never married persons declines from the north to the south and east, and from the north to the west of the country, while at the same time the share of married persons increases, which testifies to the existence of advanced processes of individualization of marriage and other demographic transitions in the north region, i.e., in the capital and the urban centres. Most of the widows, every fourth woman, are registered in the Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije and then in the Region Vojvodine (23.3%). In Vojvodina, however, the divorced have the biggest share and this is among men (14.9%), followed by the female population of the Beogradski region (12.5%).

The somewhat higher incidence of marriages among the secondary homeless in the Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije, as well as in the Region Južne i Istočne Srbije, can seem protective with respect to the insufficient coverage by the social welfare system. In other words, the social welfare system is currently being transformed, but this is unfortunately followed by a reduction in social services and allocations for different forms of public support. What is unfavourable, however, is the high relative share of widows in the less developed regions of the Republic. Namely, in the Region Južne i Istočne Srbije, as well as in the Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije, every fourth woman is a widow, while in Belgrade it is, for instance, every seventh.

Table 6: Secondary homeless aged 15 and over by legal marital status and sex, by regions, the 2002 Census (%)

Region	Total	Never married	Married	Widow/ widower	Divorced	Unknown
REPUBLIC OF SERBIA	100	31.2	47.8	10.5	9.6	0.9
Male	100	38.3	48.6	4.4	7.9	0.9
Female	100	24.3	47.0	16.6	11.3	0.9
Beogradski region	100	32.2	50.8	7.1	9.0	0.9
Male	100	37.9	51.7	2.9	6.6	0.9
Female	100	26.6	49.9	11.1	11.5	0.9
Region Vojvodine	100	36.1	42.1	10.6	10.2	1.0
Male	100	44.4	39.1	5.6	10.2	0.7
Female	100	26.2	45.7	16.4	10.2	1.4
Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije	100	30.6	45.5	13.9	9.3	0.7
Male	100	38.2	47.6	5.4	7.9	0.8
Female	100	23.5	43.6	21.8	10.6	0.6
Region Južne i Istočne Srbije	100	26.8	48.4	13.0	10.9	0.9
Male	100	34.7	49.9	5.4	9.1	0.9
Female	100	19.6	47.0	20.0	12.6	0.9
Region Kosovo i Metohija	...	...	...	...	...	...

A comparative analysis of the data shows that during the 2002–2011 inter-census period, the biggest changes occurred in the population of married persons, as well as among persons who have never been married (compare: tables 4 and 6). Namely, the share of the married was more significantly reduced (from 47.8% to 31.3%), while the share of persons who have never been married went significantly up (from 31.2% to 42.4%). The shares of widowers and the divorced were increased to a lesser degree.

These tendencies related to the change in the marital structure over time are unfavourable, taking into consideration that there is a noticeable increase in the number of persons without a partner and family and it is well known that the strongest support networks for these persons are precisely their partners and the informal setting. Of course, it is realistic to suppose that there is cohabitation present among these persons that is characteristic of pre-transitional and pre-modern societies (Bobić, 2003), which has not been covered here. Clearly, this mostly concerns cohabitations and consensual unions of marginal social strata and not a post-modern phenomenon of the proliferation of the so-called alternative unions. Be as it may, cohabitations always have an inherent fragility and they frequently involve men and women of socially deviant behaviour (alcoholism and mental diseases, begging, prostitution, etc.), which is also testified by the accounts of the homeless. Consequently, such unions are not a favourable setting that will provide protection, feeling of belonging and home.

The decline of the number of married persons over time in the case of the secondary homeless, as well as the rise of the number of widowers, can be explained by the decrease of the population and aging of the contingent of married persons, then by the mortality of married persons, and probably also by emigration which takes place at the optimal marital ages (20–40), when entire families go abroad searching for asylum, as illegal migrants, etc. The rise in the number of single persons and the divorced is probably linked with the



processes of individualization, as well as the marginalization of this population whose chances in the so-called “marriage market” are poor.

During the inter-census interval, among women, the share that went down the most was that of married women (from 47.0% to 31.1%), but almost the same occurred in the case of men. The share of women outside marriage in 2011 reached 35%, but this is still significantly lower in comparison to the male population in which in 2011 almost a half men were (49.9%). The share of divorced women did not change much over the observed period.

If observed by regions and sex, in 2002, the biggest number of men in Vojvodina belonged to the category of never married men (444 men, i.e., 44.4%), only for this number to go even higher in 2011 (to 535 men), which is more than a half of all men (53.4%). The share of divorced men also went significantly up, from 10.2% to 14.9%. The share of married men went down more significantly, from 39.1% to 25.0%, while the share of widowers changed least. Among women in the Region Vojvodine, the share of the never married women went up more significantly (from 26.2% to 38.3%), as well as the share of widows from 16.4% to 23.3%, while the share of divorced women has been stagnating over time.

Contrary to this, in 2002, the Region Južne i Istočne Srbije marked a comparatively lower share of never married women (19.6%), high share of married among women (47.0%), as well as a significantly high share of widows (20.0%). Until the next census, in 2011, the shares of never married women (29.5%) and widows (25.2%) went up, while the distribution of the divorced did not change more significantly. The share of married women is going down (32.7%) and is getting closer to the share of married men (34%, 2011). In the case of men of this Region, over time, other than the decrease in the share of married men, there is also a mild decline in the number of the divorced. Both of these changes are probably under the influence of the aging of the population and emigration. The aging is probably also the cause for the rise in the share of never married men (from 34.7% to 46.2%), as well as the doubling of the number of widowers (from 5.4% to 9.4%), which is all also linked with the marginalization and stigmatization of these individuals.

On the basis of these comparisons of the regions over time, it seems that certain differences can be observed in the marital models, which are reflected in a greater modernization, that is, in the changes in the behaviour of the population of the Region Vojvodine and the dominance of the demographic factors for change in the Region Južne i Istočne Srbije.

Table 7: Secondary homeless aged 15 and over, by legal marital status, sex and type of settlement, by regions, the 2011 Census (%)

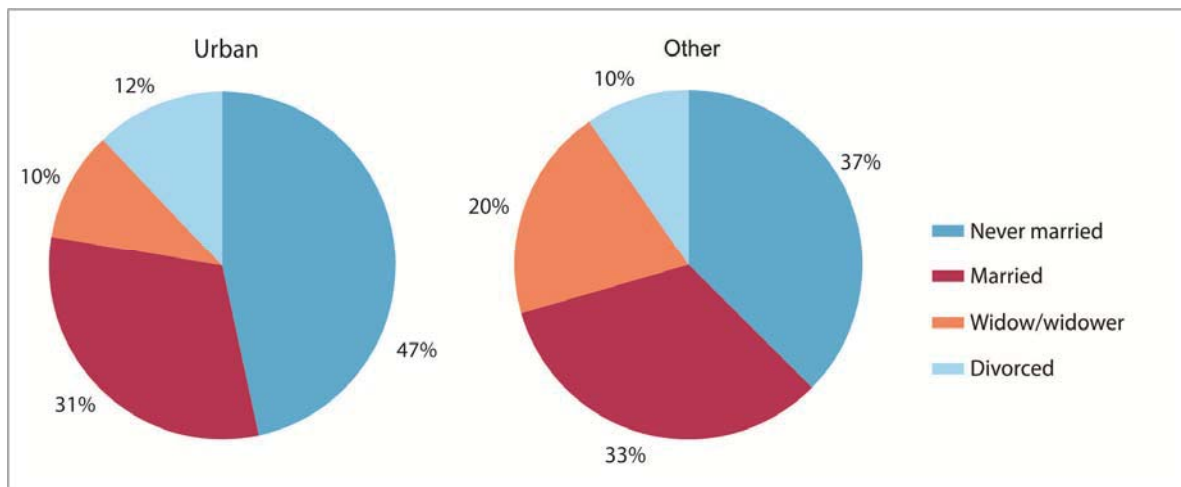
Region	Total	Never married	Married	Widow/ widower	Divorced	Unknown
REPUBLIC OF SERBIA	100	42.4	31.3	13.7	11.0	1.5
Male	100	49.9	31.5	6.8	10.2	1.6
Female	100	35.0	31.1	20.6	11.9	1.4
Urban	100	45.8	30.5	10.1	11.9	1.7
Male	100	51.9	31.0	4.9	10.5	1.7
Female	100	39.8	30.0	15.2	13.3	1.6
Other	100	37.0	32.7	19.6	9.6	1.2
Male	100	46.8	32.4	9.9	9.6	1.3
Female	100	26.9	32.9	29.6	9.5	1.1
Beogradski region	100	46.7	31.2	8.8	10.9	2.5
Urban	100	48.6	30.1	7.9	11.0	2.4
Other	100	34.1	38.8	14.5	9.9	2.8
Region Vojvodine	100	46.3	25.0	14.9	12.9	0.9
Urban	100	47.0	22.6	14.2	15.6	0.6
Other	100	45.7	27.5	15.6	10.0	1.2
Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije	100	38.5	33.0	16.9	10.8	0.7
Urban	100	42.2	33.6	11.2	12.5	0.5
Other	100	35.4	32.6	21.8	9.5	0.8
Region Južne i Istočne Srbije	100	37.7	33.3	17.5	10.3	1.2
Urban	100	40.6	33.5	13.0	11.5	1.4
Other	100	35.2	33.2	21.3	9.3	1.1
Region Kosovo i Metohija	...	...	...	...	...	...

If observed by the type of settlement and sex (Table 7, Graph 7), among male population in urban settlements there are significantly more never married men (51.9% versus 39.8% never married women). In urban settlements, generally speaking, there are fewer married persons, more divorced, but also fewer widows/widowers, which is probably a consequence of a younger age structure of the urban homeless, as well as of a more prominent fall of the universality of marriage, that is, the accumulation of events with unfavourable outcome which is testified by the accounts from the lives of these persons quoted in this study (dissolution of marriage and family, loss of homes and/or employment, entering into the circle of addictions and general health deterioration, etc.).

Although overall there are fewer persons in other settlements who have never been married, there is also dominance of men here (46.8%), with twice as low a number of women (26.9%). In other settlements, every third woman is a widow and every tenth man is a widower (29.6% versus 9.9% of men in that status). The prevalence of widows in other settlements points at unfavourable trends of uniting two social processes with a socially negative prefix when it comes to social exclusion of the homeless, feminization and senilization of poverty in urban zones.



Graph 7: Secondary homeless aged 15 and over by legal marital status and type of settlement, Republic of Serbia, the 2011 Census



THE HOMELESS



Photo: From the archive of the NGO Housing Center



Education of the homeless

In the contemporary society, education is one of the basic resources of an individual and social groups, in addition to the biological (age, sex, health, etc.), socio-cultural, etc., and therefore every strategy for pulling people out of social exclusion and promotion of their social status is based on investing into the education and the human capital. Education is today taking part longer and strives to be life-long (earning qualifications, expertise, skills, knowledge, crafts, work portfolio, etc.). Another important resource, in addition to education or the so-called cultural capital, are social networks (family, friends, colleagues, professional networks), which, together with personal resources, intentions, values, perception of the surroundings and planned objectives, and through an action, lead to the realization of desirable outcomes or, more concretely, to the social promotion of an individual or a group.

Unfortunately, those advantages are missing with the population of the homeless (Table 8, Graph 8). The primary homeless are dominated by lower educational levels (persons with completed primary school and with incomplete primary school), a total of 178 persons (46%). A similar finding with regards to school attainment was obtained in the survey of the primary homeless in the Republic of Serbia (Žarković, Petrović, Timotijević, 2012:21) where on an average most of the persons were with primary or lower education.

Every third person is with secondary education and every seventh is with no formal education. In the Beogradski region most of the persons have secondary (59 out of a total of 125), as well as high (college-level)²¹ and higher (university-level)²² education (13 out of a total of 20), while in Vojvodina there is an equal number of persons with primary and secondary education (46 each or a third of the total number). The better educational structure in the north of the country, in the zone of the capital, is a consequence of a higher number of these persons in that region and probably also of more prominent structural changes during the post-socialist transformation which has led a significant number of persons to the position of a “loser”, i.e., a person with no job and career.

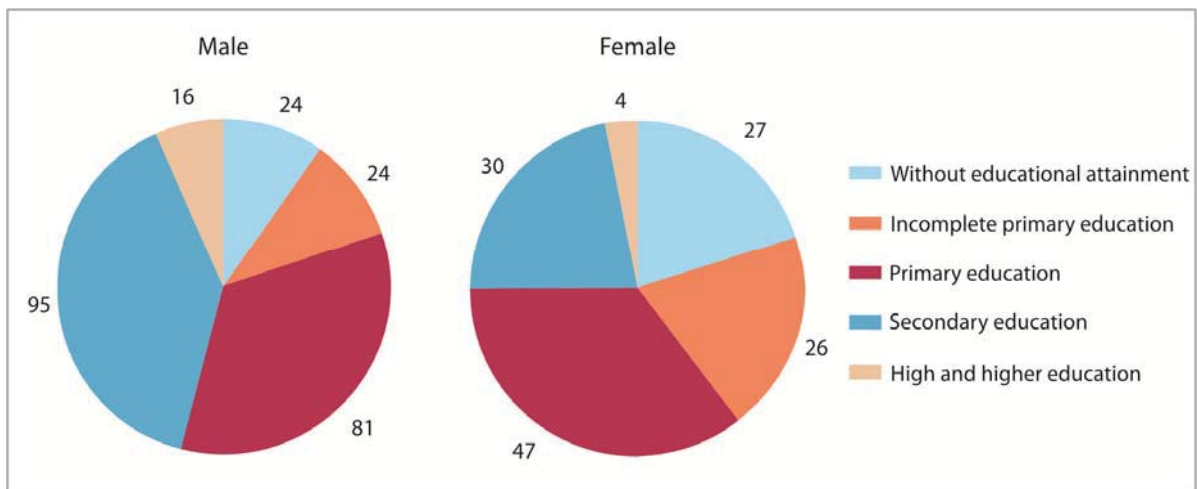
Table 8: Primary homeless aged 15 and over by educational attainment and sex, by regions, the 2011 Census

Region	Total	Without educational attainment	Incomplete primary education	Primary education	Secondary education	High and higher education	Unknown
REPUBLIC OF SERBIA	387	51	50	128	125	20	13
Male	252	24	24	81	95	16	12
Female	135	27	26	47	30	4	1
Beogradski region	150	12	15	51	59	13	0
Male	102	4	8	33	47	10	0
Female	48	8	7	18	12	3	0
Region Vojvodine	155	22	23	46	46	7	11
Male	106	6	15	31	37	6	11
Female	49	16	8	15	9	1	0
Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije	14	0	2	6	6	0	0
Male	6	0	0	3	3	0	0
Female	8	0	2	3	3	0	0
Region Južne i Istočne Srbije	68	17	10	25	14	0	2
Male	38	14	1	14	8	0	1
Female	30	3	9	11	6	0	1
Region Kosovo i Metohija	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

²¹ Comprising all non-university colleges, 1st level of faculty and professional studies lasting less than 3 years.

²² Comprising education lasting at least 3 years, all faculties, art academies, all university studies in accordance with the Bologna Process as well as master scientific, professional and art degree programmes.

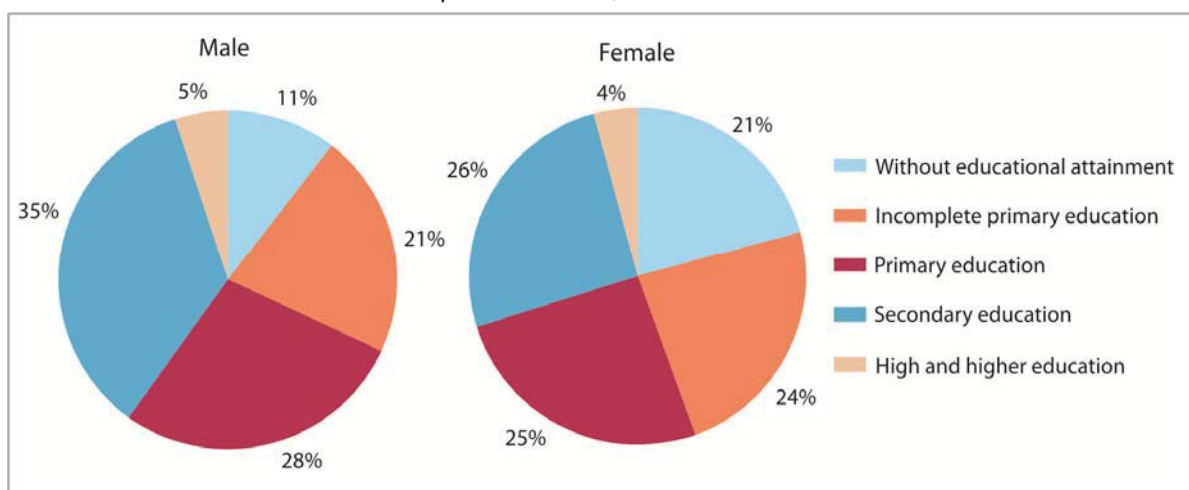
Graph 8: Primary homeless aged 15 and over by educational attainment and sex, Republic of Serbia, the 2011 Census



When it comes to sex differences among the primary homeless (Table 8 and Graph 8), men have a more favourable educational structure. They have dominance of persons with secondary education (95 out of a total of 252), followed by persons with primary school education (81 out of a total of 252). There are four times more men with college- and university-level education and fewer men are without educational attainment.

If observed by the regions, these differences are even more prominent. Thus, for instance, in the Beogradski region almost a half of the men have secondary education, while every fourth woman has that level of education. Every 10th men and every 12th woman have college- and university-level education.

Graph 9: Secondary homeless aged 15 and over by educational attainment and sex, Republic of Serbia, the 2011 Census

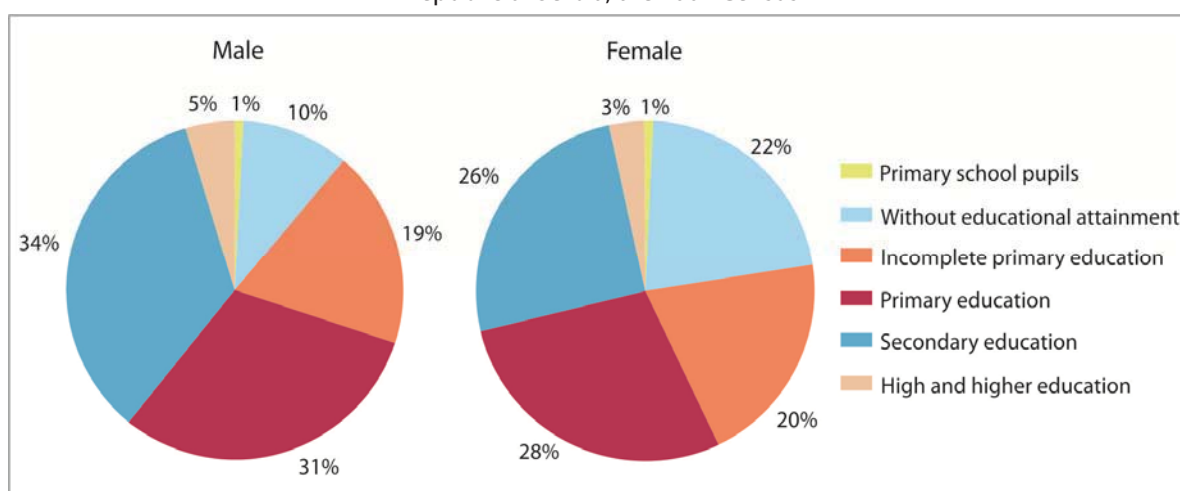




As for the secondary homeless in 2011, the share of persons without educational attainment is twice as big in the case of women (21%) as in the case of men (11%) (Graph 9), which is, as we will see below, a tendency evident in all regions of the Republic, both in urban and in other settlements (compare: tables 9 and 11).

There are also differences in the case of persons with incomplete primary school, with a bigger share in the case of women, as well as in the case of persons with no primary education (24% versus 21% of men). The smallest differences are in the case of primary education, as well as in the case of college- and university-level education, where the sex differences fade. In the case of completed secondary school, there is dominance of men (35% versus 26% of women). It can be said that the general trend is – the higher the level of education, the more there are men or the fewer there are women, while in the highest levels the sex structure gets more even.

Graph 10: Secondary homeless aged 15 and over by educational attainment and sex, Republic of Serbia, the 2002 Census



According to the 2002 Census, the educational profile of men was overall more favourable than in the case of women (Graph 10). When it came to incomplete primary school, the share of men and women in the category of the secondary homeless was even, while women had a lead among persons with no formal education. Almost a third of men had finished primary school (31%) versus 28% of women with those qualifications, while men also had comparatively more secondary school diplomas (34% versus 26% of women). Although, generally speaking, fewest persons had college- and university-level education completed, the gender differences were again in favour of men.

Over time, there has been certain improvement of the situation as far as the comparatively lower cultural capital of women is concerned, but the differences still persevere in favour of men, especially at the secondary levels of education.

Table 9: Secondary homeless aged 15 and over, by educational attainment and sex, by regions, the 2011 Census (%)

Region	Total	Without educational attainment	Incomplete primary education	Primary education	Secondary education	High and higher education	Unknown
REPUBLIC OF SERBIA	100	15.4	22.0	26.5	29.8	4.6	1.8
Male	100	10.3	20.9	27.8	34.2	4.9	1.8
Female	100	20.5	23.1	25.1	25.3	4.2	1.8
Beogradski region	100	13.7	14.9	25.3	36.0	7.1	3.0
Male	100	10.2	14.0	25.5	39.8	7.5	3.0
Female	100	17.1	15.8	25.1	32.2	6.6	3.1
Region Vojvodine	100	16.3	26.1	25.3	28.2	3.3	0.6
Male	100	12.2	24.6	27.4	31.6	3.5	0.7
Female	100	21.0	28.0	23.0	24.3	3.2	0.6
Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije	100	17.6	24.6	28.6	25.4	2.8	1.0
Male	100	10.4	23.3	31.3	30.5	3.4	1.2
Female	100	24.7	25.8	25.9	20.4	2.3	0.8
Region Južne i Istočne Srbije	100	15.1	28.4	26.5	25.4	3.1	1.4
Male	100	9.1	27.5	27.8	31.1	3.3	1.3
Female	100	20.9	29.4	25.3	20.0	2.9	1.5
Region Kosovo i Metohija	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

As we could see from the previous analyses of the 2011 Census, the educational structure of the secondary homeless overall is also unfavourable (Table 9), just like in the case of the primary homeless. Almost in the same scope as in the case of the primary homeless, here there is also dominance of persons of lower levels of education (primary and incomplete primary school, 48.5%), while 15.4% of them have no formal education. One third of the secondary homeless have graduated from secondary school and fewest of them possess college- and university-level education (4.6%).

If observed by the regions, the share of persons with no formal education is lowest in the Beogradski region (13.7%), but it is significantly higher among women (17.1%), while the share of persons with no formal education is highest in the Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije (17.6%), where women are also in the lead (every fourth, 24.7%). In the Region Južne i Istočne Srbije, persons with incomplete primary education have the highest share, every third person, with an addition that there are no major sex-related differences. An interesting data is that the share of persons with primary school education is almost evenly represented in the regions of Serbia, in terms of sex, with a note that here too there is a slight advantage on the side of men, especially in the Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije and in the Region Južne i Istočne Srbije.

If the data from the 2011 Census, for all the regions, are observed summarily, the Beogradski region still stands out by the relatively better educational structure, both in the urban core and in its outskirts (other settlements), with almost twice as big a population with the highest educational levels, the above-average share of secondary school education and smaller shares of persons with only primary school education (Table 9). However, sex differences in the Belgrade Region are evident in the case of persons with no formal education, where there is above-average representation of women (17.1%) in relation to men (10.2%), and in the case of persons with secondary education, where there is dominance of men (39.8%) in comparison to women (32.2%).



Contrary to that, in south and east Serbia, where the educational structure is weaker anyway, considering that most of the persons have incomplete primary school education, women are again more represented among the less educated. Namely, they are twice as dominant among persons with no formal education (20.9% of women versus 9.1% of men), while men are more present among persons with secondary education (31.1% of men versus 20% of women).

Therefore, the higher the level of education, the bigger the concentration of the homeless in the Beogradski region and in the Region Vojvodine, but again in favour of men. In the Beogradski region more than a third of men have secondary school education completed (39.8% versus 32.2% of women), while in the Region Južne i Istočne Srbije, 31.1% of men and significantly fewer women (20%) have secondary school education. Generally speaking, college- and university-level education is the least represented, but twice as much in the Beogradski region (7.1%) in comparison to the other regions. Although the sex differences are less prominent, they are again in favour of men. It can be assumed that these persons, therefore, the highest educated homeless, are transition losers, that is, that they remained more often without a job in the processes of restructuring and privatization of enterprises and companies.

Table 10: Secondary homeless aged 15 and over, by educational attainment and sex, by regions, the 2002 Census (%)

Region	Total	Primary school pupils	Without educational attainment	Incomplete primary school	Primary school	Secondary school	High and higher education	Unknown
REPUBLIC OF SERBIA	100	0.8	16.0	19.7	29.4	29.9	4.0	0.2
Male	100	0.9	10.2	19.0	30.7	34.4	4.6	0.3
Female	100	0.7	21.7	20.4	28.1	25.5	3.4	0.2
Beogradski region	100	0.8	11.9	12.7	29.5	38.7	6.1	0.3
Male	100	0.9	8.0	11.6	28.9	43.2	7.0	0.3
Female	100	0.7	15.6	13.8	30.1	34.3	5.2	0.2
Region Vojvodine	100	0.7	25.7	32.6	24.3	15.3	1.4	0.1
Male	100	0.7	19.6	31.4	27.5	19.3	1.4	0.1
Female	100	0.6	33.0	34.0	20.4	10.6	1.3	0.0
Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije	100	0.7	16.0	21.7	31.4	27.6	2.5	0.2
Male	100	0.5	8.4	21.3	33.9	32.7	3.0	0.3
Female	100	0.8	23.0	22.2	29.1	22.8	2.0	0.2
Region Južne i Istočne Srbije	100	1.0	19.4	24.4	28.8	22.8	3.4	0.2
Male	100	1.5	11.4	24.1	31.7	27.2	3.8	0.2
Female	100	0.5	26.8	24.7	26.1	18.7	3.1	0.1
Region Kosovo i Metohija	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

According to the 2002 Census, the educational structure of the secondary homeless was more favourable than a decade later. Every third person had completed primary or secondary school education (Table 10), a fifth had incomplete primary education and close to 1% was in the process of acquiring of primary school education. Every sixth person was with no formal education, while the share of college- and university-level graduates was the lowest (4%). The sex differences in favour of men were prominent,

especially in the case of persons with no formal education, where twice as many women were registered (21.7% versus 10.2% of men), and in the case of persons with secondary school education, with more than a third of men (34.4%) versus 25.5% of women.

If observed by the regions, in 2002, most of the women with no formal education – every third were registered in the Region Vojvodine (33%) and fewest were in the region of the capital (15.6%). The fewest men with no formal education were registered in the Beogradski region, as well as in the Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije (8% and 8.4%, respectively). Most of the persons with incomplete primary school were registered in Vojvodina, both among men and among women. More than a third of men with finished primary school were registered in the Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije (33.9%) and fewest were enumerated among women in Vojvodina (20.4%). A dozen years ago, most of the homeless with secondary school education were in the capital, in the case of men 43.2%, and fewest were among women in Vojvodina (10.6%). College- and university-level education was dominant among the residents of the capital with a mild advantage on the side of men (7% versus 5.2% of women).

The comparison of the data from the years 2002 and 2011 has enabled us to monitor the changes during the previous decade (tables 9 and 10). In the case of persons with no formal education there are no significant changes. There is a mild increase in the share of persons with incomplete primary school and reduced share of persons with completed primary school. The numbers of the population with secondary, college- or university-level education are at the same level. Therefore, overall over time the educational profile of the secondary homeless has mildly deteriorated, which is probably a consequence of dropping out of (primary) education, a phenomenon that has become more frequent in the Republic as of lately, especially among socially excluded strata, that is, in the case of children coming from marginalized populations. A fraction of persons with primary school education has possibly emigrated searching for occasional, physical, seasonal and other insecure work in the so-called dual labour market of the developed countries of Europe and the West.

If observed by the regions, during the previous decade in Belgrade there has been a mild increase in the share of persons with no formal education (from 11.9% to 13.7% in the case of the total population and especially in the case of women, from 15.6% to 17.1%), as well as persons with incomplete primary school (in the case of total population from 12.7% to 14.9% and in the case of women from 13.8% to 15.8%), as well as an increase at the other end of the educational scale, in the case of persons with college- and university-level education (from 6.1% to 7.1%). At the same time, there has been a decrease in the share of persons with primary education (from 29.5% to 25.3%, and in the case of women from 30.1% to 25.1%) and a somewhat moderate decline in the case of secondary education (from 38.7% to 36.0%, and in the case of women from 34.3% to 32.2%). These changes are probably a consequence of the aging and migratory tendencies (towards urban centres and to foreign destinations), as well as of differential mortality by education, that is, the aforementioned processes related to the drop out.

In Vojvodina, however, the educational structure of the secondary homeless has improved more significantly: the share of persons with no formal education has almost halved (in the case of the total population of the homeless from 25.7% to 16.3%) and especially in the case of women from 33% to 21%. The share of persons with incomplete primary school has also gone down (from 32.6% to 26.1% in the case of all homeless) and in the case of women from 34% to 28%. The share of secondary education has almost doubled in the case of all homeless (from 15.3% to 28.2%) and in the case of women from 10.6% to 24.3%, with doubly increased share of persons with college and university-level education (from 1.4% to 3.3%). Considering the evident depopulation of the north province, we assume that these tendencies are a



consequence of the economic transition and restructuring, that is, of the above-mentioned processes of de-development and creation of surpluses of population under the conditions of economic downfall and partially of immigration. In other words, the “improvement” of the educational profile of the secondary homeless is a reflection of their social and economic devastation and not of any advancement, as in the case of the majority population. At the same time, the higher cultural capital of the person who found him/herself in the situation of homelessness can represent a possible future developmental and action potential for exiting such a situation.

In the Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije there is an increased share of persons with incomplete primary school (from 21.7% to 24.6% in the case of the total population) and in the case of women from 22.2% to 25.8%. There is a mild decrease in the share of persons with primary school education, especially in the case of women, from 29.1% to 25.9%, a somewhat reduced share of persons with secondary education and insignificantly improved shared of college- and university-level education (from 2.5% to 2.8%, and in the case of women from 2.0% to 2.3%). The situation is similar in the Region Južne i Istočne Srbije, with a note that there is a decreased share of persons with no formal education (from 19.1% to 15.1%, and in the case of women from 26.8% to 20.9%), but an increased share of incomplete primary education, from 24.4% to 28.4% (in the case of women from 24.7% to 29.4%), mildly decreased share of persons with primary education and increased share of secondary school education, from 22.8% to 25.4% (in the case of women from 18.7% to 20.0%), while the highest levels of education have remained the same. These changes in the education of the homeless are probably a consequence of the above-mentioned socio-economic transformations and demographic processes.

Table 11: Secondary homeless aged 15 and over by educational attainment and type of settlement, by regions, the 2011 Census (%)

Region	Total	Without educational attainment	Incomplete primary education	Primary education	Secondary education	High and higher education	Unknown
REPUBLIC OF SERBIA	100	15.4	22.0	26.5	29.8	4.6	1.8
Urban	100	13.4	17.0	26.0	35.4	6.0	2.2
Other	100	18.6	30.3	27.3	20.6	2.2	1.1
Belgradski region	100	13.7	14.9	25.3	36.0	7.1	3.0
Urban	100	13.7	14.9	24.3	36.2	7.6	3.3
Other	100	13.9	14.9	32.0	34.5	3.4	1.3
Region Vojvodine	100	16.3	26.1	25.3	28.2	3.3	0.6
Urban	100	13.5	22.5	25.8	33.8	3.8	0.6
Other	100	19.2	29.9	24.8	22.5	2.9	0.7
Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije	100	17.6	24.6	28.6	25.4	2.8	1.0
Urban	100	14.1	16.2	30.6	34.7	3.6	0.8
Other	100	20.6	31.6	26.9	17.6	2.2	1.1
Region Južne i Istočne Srbije	100	15.1	28.4	26.5	25.4	3.1	1.4
Urban	100	12.0	20.7	25.8	34.7	5.2	1.6
Other	100	17.8	35.0	27.1	17.5	1.3	1.2
Region Kosovo i Metohia	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

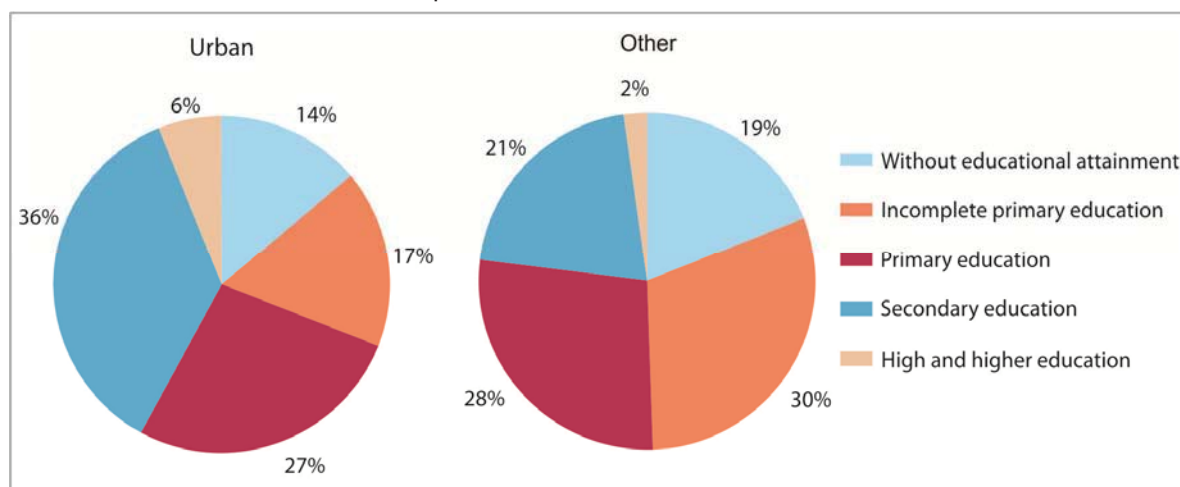
The analysis of the data on the education of the homeless, by the type of settlement, according to the 2011 Census, shows lower levels of education of the homeless in other settlements in comparison to the urban ones (Table 11, Graph 11). More persons with no formal education, as well as with incomplete primary school, and fewer with completed secondary, college- and university-level education are encountered in other settlements. The smallest territorial differences can be observed in the case of persons with completed primary school education.

If observed by the regions, the lowest level of education can be found among the residents of other settlements in Šumadija and west Serbia, where every fifth person is with no formal education (20.6%). Every third person from other settlements of south and east Serbia (35%), and from Šumadija and west Serbia (31.6%), and even from Vojvodina (29.9%) has incomplete primary education. The fewest persons with incomplete primary school education are in the Belgrade Region (14.9%) and in this regard there is no difference between urban and other settlements in Belgrade (14.9% each).

Although primary education is almost evenly distributed throughout the country, there are certain differences. In the Belgrade Region, every fourth person in its urban settlements has primary school education, while every third person has this level of education in its outskirts (so called other settlements). The fewest persons with primary school education were registered in the urban part of the Belgrade Region (25.8%). As for completed secondary education, after the Belgrade Region come urban areas of west and south and east Serbia, while the fewest persons in this status can be found in other settlements of Šumadija and west, south and east Serbia (17.6% and 17.5%, respectively).

As for the highest levels of education, after the Belgrade Region, the second highest level was registered in urban settlements of south and east Serbia (5.2%).

Graph 11: Secondary homeless aged 15 and over by educational attainment and type of settlement, Republic of Serbia, the 2011 Census



Therefore, if observed by the type of settlement, the population residing in other settlements has a weaker educational structure, which is also linked to their age and sex composition, inherited centralization of the system of education in urban zones, characteristics of the local community and its de-development, infrastructural equipment, network of communications between rural and urban areas, etc. The share of

persons with college- and university-level education in so called other settlements is three times lower compared to the urban ones (2% versus 6%), while the share of persons with secondary school education is significantly, comparatively smaller (21% versus 36% in urban settlements). Contrary to that, the share of persons with incomplete education in other settlements is almost twice as high in comparison to the one in urban settlements (30% versus 17% in urban settlements) and the share of persons with no formal education is also higher (19% in rural versus 14% in urban settlements), (Graph 11).

Economic characteristics of the homeless

Among the primary homeless there is dominance of economically inactive persons (a total of 359 out of 445), with only 86 active ones, only 36 of which perform occupation (Table 12 and Graph 12)²³. Among the inactive persons most of them are from the category “other” which includes persons unable to work, persons for whom the data are missing, etc., a total of 220, which is in fact a half of the total number of registered primary homeless²⁴.

Among the economically inactive, there are only 60 pensioners and 75 children, pupils and students. There are 22.5% of economically active men, while the activity of women is significantly lower (13.7%). Both in the case of women and in the case of men, especially in the north region, there is dominance of economically inactive persons from the category unable to work, etc. (“other”), while this category decreases in the other regions²⁵.

²³ When analyzing economic activity and employment, it is important to bear in mind that the census starts from a very broad and flexible definition of the notion. Namely, it is enough that in the week preceding the census the person carried out any paid job (paid in money or in kind) for at least one hour or that the person worked as unpaid family worker (SORS, 2011). Therefore, the real scope of (un)employment and of paid work can be much lower than the registered one, especially in the case of the population of the homeless.

²⁴ It is possible that there is imprecision in the collection of data since this concerns very vulnerable social groups and the information were also collected with an assistance and mediation of the republic and province institutes for social protection (compare: <http://media.popis2011.stat.rs/2011/obraci/Metodolosko-uputstvo.pdf>). The suspicion regarding the validity and complete precision of the data indirectly obtained from the social protection institutions is also voiced out by the complementary empirical research from 2011 (Zarkovic, Petrovic and Timotijevic, 2012).

²⁵ Yet another story on the entering into the homelessness recorded within a focus-group survey (Žarković, Petrović, Timotijević, 2012:34): “...Worked for 22 years as a transportation worker at a socially-owned enterprise and was dismissed as a technological surplus. Then he worked only for daily wages. He is not married, used to live with his brother in their parents’ flat, the brother bought off the flat and then gave him a three-month deadline to leave the flat, after which he lived in the street for 7 to 8 years”. This case of a homeless person illustrates that these are often persons who have been deprived of their housing ownership status enjoyed by one of the closer relatives. This respondent further says that he himself suggested that the brother should buy off the flat, since the brother has a family and he has nobody. The respondent has two brothers and a sister, but does not expect any assistance from them (particularly from the brother). While he lived out on the street, working for daily wages, he was left without personal documents on account of which he has been locked up in Padinska Skela prison on various occasions. He has a problem with getting new documents. The case is indicative also for the weak social networks of these persons.

Table 12: Primary homeless by economic activity and sex, by regions, the 2011 Census

Region	Total	Economically active		Economically inactive				
		perform occupation	un-employed	children under 15, pupils and students	pensioners	persons with income from property	persons who perform only the housework at their own household	other
REPUBLIC OF SERBIA	445	36	50	75	60	0	4	220
Male	284	29	35	44	35	0	0	141
Female	161	7	15	31	25	0	4	79
Beogradski region	164	8	6	14	40	0	0	96
Male	110	4	6	8	22	0	0	70
Female	54	4	0	6	18	0	0	26
Region Vojvodine	160	9	28	8	15	0	3	97
Male	109	9	21	5	13	0	0	61
Female	51	0	7	3	2	0	3	36
Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije	21	4	0	8	3	0	0	6
Male	10	3	0	4	0	0	0	3
Female	11	1	0	4	3	0	0	3
Region Južne i Istočne Srbije	100	15	16	45	2	0	1	21
Male	55	13	8	27	0	0	0	7
Female	45	2	8	18	2	0	1	14
Region Kosovo i Metohija	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

The work activity of the primary homeless is at a low level, with a high share of inactive population. No person has income from property and there is a small share of pensioners and persons with personal income, which overall testifies to the low economic status, poor social support of the surroundings and generally high level of deprivation of this population²⁶.

Similar to that, it can be seen on the basis of the survey that, on an average, most of the primary homeless have been unemployed for more than five years (and every fourth one for more than 10 years), with a note that most of them are not even looking for a job and are not registered with the National Employment Service, since they do not expect any real assistance with finding a job. If they do register with the NES, they mostly do it on account of a health-insurance booklet, since most of them are ill.

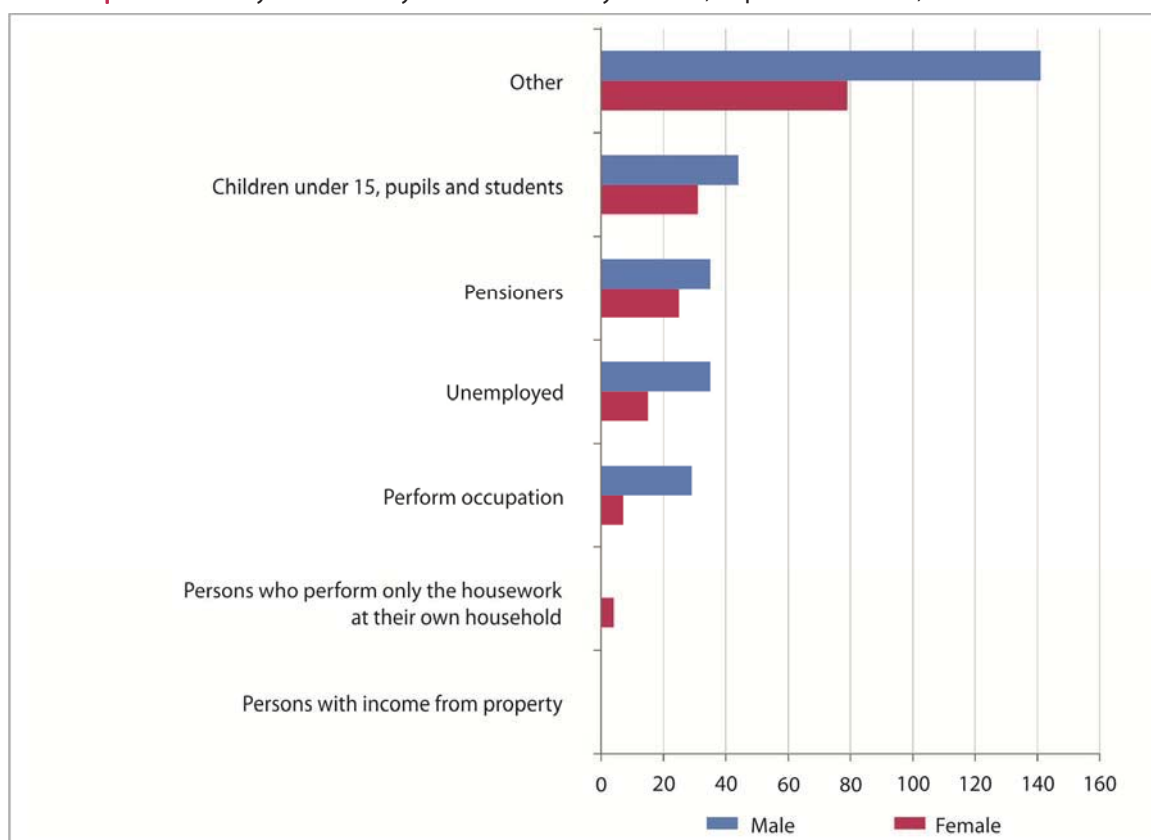
Previously, while they used to work, most of them carried out work that required lower qualifications (physical work) at state- and socially-owned enterprises and now do not have any income, either on the basis of some current work or on the basis of the former work. A large number of these persons grew up with

²⁶ We are also giving an account of a homeless woman who believes that it was illness that led her to her status. She used to work as a cleaning lady, has 22 years of registered work, but is now unable to work any longer and has no pension. She was also left without a flat which she had bought off with her husband, but later got divorced from him and afterwards her ex- husband died. She continued to live in the flat with her daughter, but the daughter kicked her out of the flat and later sold the flat. While she could, this woman worked for a while on the black market and now is expecting assistance from the Centre for Social Work. She has relatives (brothers and elderly mother), but cannot count on them: *"...I cannot drag myself along the street, I came to the homeless shelter so that the Ambulance or police would not bring me here, as they bring other people, since that is a shame"* (Žarković, Petrović, Timotijević, 2012:34).



parents who have died in the meantime and so today they are alone, with no family or partner, with no children, relatives or friends, that is, with no social networks whatsoever. This population has very prominent health, physical (46%) and mental problems (44%), and a third suffers from addictions (27%), combined with other forms of morbidity. The needs for medical treatment are very pronounced and a third is treated as in-patients of psychiatric institutions (Žarković, Petrović, Timotijević, 2012:21, 39).

Graph 12: Primary homeless by economic activity and sex, Republic of Serbia, the 2011 Census



In the case of the secondary homeless (Table 13 and Graph 13), there is also dominance of inactive persons (68.4%). However, every third person is economically active (31.6%) and consequently the status of these persons is a little more favourable in comparison to the one of the primary homeless. There is a high share of children and the young who are getting schooled (26.8%) and every seventh person has a pensioner status (15.1%).

Among men, the share of persons who perform occupation (24%) is twice as big as in the case of women (13%) and the share is also bigger when observing unemployed persons (16.3% versus 9.8% in the case of women). However, pensioners are significantly more represented among female (18.4%) than among male population (11.8%) and every fifth woman performs only housework at her own household (19.3%). In the case of the secondary homeless there are significantly fewer inactive persons from the category "other" in comparison to the primary homeless and they are more represented among men.

If observed by regions, in the case of both sexes, the share of the employed is highest in the Beogradski region, with the prevalence in the case of men. In all other regions, too, the shares of the employed are higher in the case of male than in the case of female population. In the Beogradski region, however, there is the highest share of children and the young who are getting schooled (30%), as well as the smallest share of pensioners in comparison to the other parts of the country (11.9%), which is probably a consequence of a more favourable age structure, concentration of educational institutions, more diverse chances in the labour market, possibilities for making an earning from occasional and temporary work, and the consequently later withdrawal and retirement.

Table 13: Secondary homeless by economic activity and sex, by regions, the 2011 Census (%)

Region	Total	Economically active		Economically inactive				
		perform occupation	unemployed	children under 15, pupils and students	pensioners	persons with income from property	persons who perform only the housework at their own household	other
REPUBLIC OF SERBIA	100	18.5	13.1	26.8	15.1	0.2	11.0	15.3
Male	100	24.0	16.3	27.0	11.8	0.3	2.9	17.7
Female	100	13.0	9.8	26.5	18.4	0.1	19.3	12.9
Urban	100	19.2	14.3	28.8	13.5	0.0	10.2	13.9
Male	100	23.6	17.7	29.3	10.5	0.1	2.5	16.3
Female	100	14.7	11.0	28.2	16.6	0.0	18.0	11.5
Other	100	17.4	11.0	23.3	17.7	0.5	12.4	17.7
Male	100	24.6	14.0	23.1	14.0	0.6	3.6	20.0
Female	100	10.0	7.9	23.5	21.6	0.3	21.5	15.2
Beogradski region	100	21.2	12.5	30.2	11.9	0.1	10.5	13.6
Male	100	26.0	15.5	30.8	9.3	0.2	2.3	15.9
Female	100	16.3	9.4	29.6	14.6	0.0	18.8	11.3
Region Vojvodine	100	18.6	13.2	25.7	13.2	0.2	11.1	18.0
Male	100	23.1	18.1	23.4	10.2	0.3	3.7	21.2
Female	100	13.6	7.8	28.3	16.4	0.1	19.2	14.6
Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije	100	17.6	12.8	23.6	18.9	0.3	11.0	15.8
Male	100	24.7	15.3	24.2	14.0	0.4	3.5	17.8
Female	100	10.3	10.3	22.9	23.8	0.2	18.7	13.8
Region Južne i Istočne Srbije	100	14.9	14.6	24.9	17.6	0.2	11.8	16.0
Male	100	20.0	18.0	25.9	14.8	0.3	2.7	18.4
Female	100	9.9	11.2	24.0	20.3	0.2	20.9	13.5
Region Kosovo i Metohija	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...



Graph 13: Secondary homeless by economic activity and sex, Republic of Serbia, the 2011 Census (%)

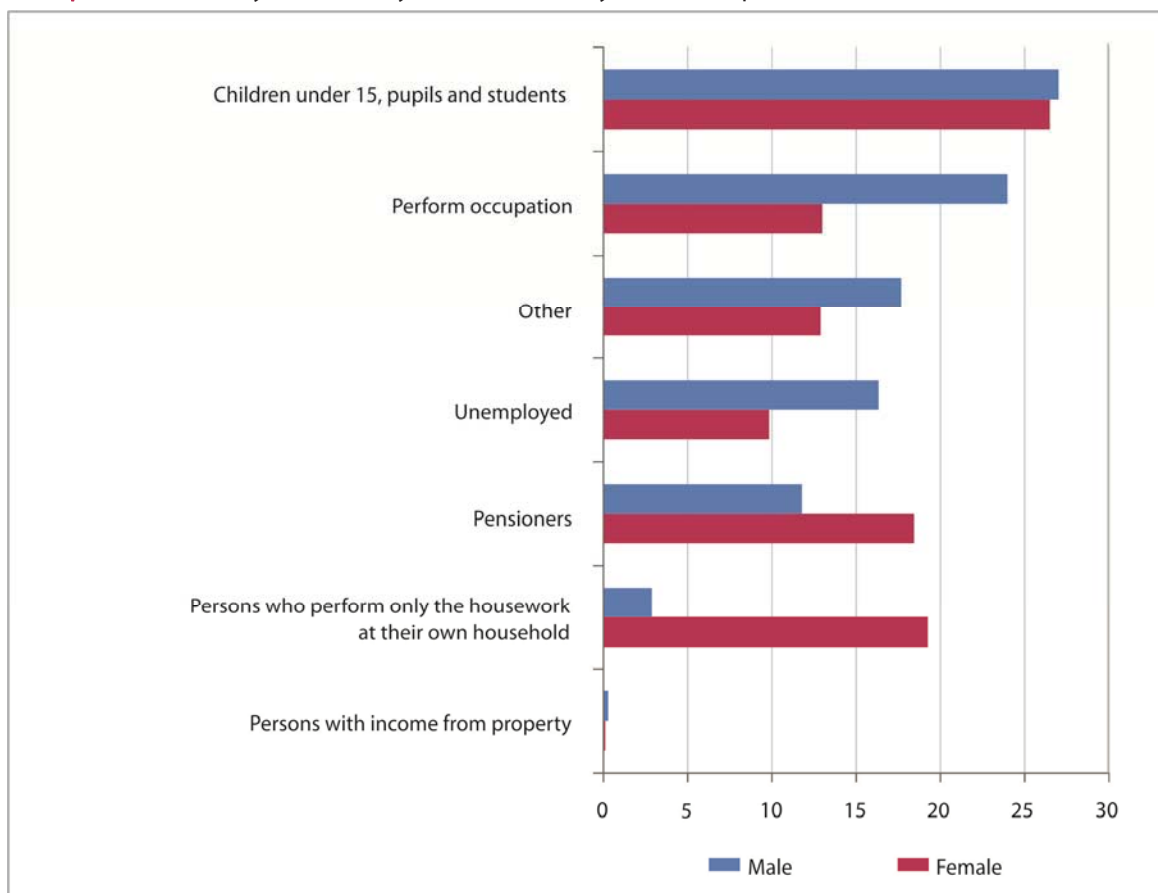




Photo: From the archive of the NGO Housing Center



Table 14: The homeless who perform occupation, by occupation and sex, by regions (%), the 2011 Census

Part 1

Region	Total	Occupation				
		managers	professionals	technicians and associate professionals	clerical support workers	service and sales workers
REPUBLIC OF SERBIA	100	0.5	4.7	8.7	5.1	15.6
Male	100	0.4	3.2	5.5	4.0	11.8
Female	100	0.6	7.5	14.8	7.0	22.8
Urban	100	0.6	6.1	11.3	6.2	19.2
Male	100	0.5	4.3	7.3	5.3	14.8
Female	100	0.8	9.1	17.8	7.8	26.4
Other	100	0.2	1.9	3.7	2.8	8.7
Male	100	0.2	1.3	2.4	1.9	6.8
Female	100	0.0	3.4	7.1	4.9	13.6
Beogradski region	100	0.7	6.7	10.8	6.8	20.7
Male	100	0.5	4.9	6.8	5.8	16.7
Female	100	0.9	9.7	17.2	8.4	27.1
Region Vojvodine	100	0.2	3.7	7.8	5.2	13.9
Male	100	0.3	2.6	4.3	4.0	8.6
Female	100	0.0	5.7	14.5	7.5	23.9
Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije	100	0.4	2.0	6.1	3.1	10.7
Male	100	0.4	1.2	3.7	2.6	8.1
Female	100	0.4	3.9	12.1	4.3	17.2
Region Južne i Istočne Srbije	100	0.3	3.9	7.7	3.2	10.9
Male	100	0.2	2.2	6.0	2.0	8.2
Female	100	0.5	7.1	11.2	5.6	16.3
Region Kosovo i Metohija	...	...	...	...	...	...

Part 2

Region	Occupation					
	skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers	craft and related trades workers	plant and machine operators, and assemblers	elementary occupations	armed forces occupations	unknown
REPUBLIC OF SERBIA	9.8	14.7	8.7	30.9	0.4	1.0
Male	10.7	19.7	11.8	31.5	0.6	0.9
Female	8.1	5.2	2.9	29.8	0.0	1.1
Urban	1.1	15.2	8.9	29.9	0.6	0.8
Male	1.3	21.7	12.5	30.6	1.0	0.7
Female	0.8	4.6	3.0	28.6	0.0	1.0
Other	26.4	13.6	8.4	32.9	0.1	1.3
Male	26.2	16.3	10.6	32.8	0.1	1.2
Female	26.9	6.8	2.8	33.0	0.0	1.5
Beogradski region	1.2	13.4	8.0	30.5	0.5	0.7
Male	1.2	19.7	11.8	31.1	0.9	0.5
Female	1.2	3.2	1.9	29.5	0.0	0.9
Region Vojvodine	7.4	13.6	8.2	39.2	0.2	0.6
Male	9.2	17.2	11.2	41.6	0.3	0.7
Female	3.8	6.9	2.5	34.6	0.0	0.6
Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije	19.4	17.7	10.5	28.5	0.4	1.2
Male	20.6	21.3	12.1	28.5	0.5	1.1
Female	16.4	9.1	6.5	28.4	0.0	1.7
Region Južne i Istočne Srbije	20.3	14.6	8.5	28.8	0.3	1.5
Male	19.5	19.2	11.7	28.9	0.5	1.5
Female	21.9	5.1	2.0	28.6	0.0	1.5
Region Kosovo i Metohija	...	...	...	...	...	...

Every third person from the group of the homeless follows elementary occupations (Table 14 and Graph 14) (30.9%). In those terms, there are no sex-related differences, but the share of these occupations is a little higher in other settlements in comparison to urban settlements of the Republic of Serbia (32.9% versus 29.9% in urban settlements). In the case of male population, the second most prevalent are craft and related trades workers (19.7%), followed by equal representation of service and sales workers (12%) and plant and machine operators, and assemblers (12%) and by skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers (10.7%). Therefore, this sub-population is dominated by simple occupations in the primary and secondary sectors, from the bottom of the social ladder, where the income and earnings are lower, more uncertain and more unstable, which also places these persons into the group of the social transformation “losers” and extremely pauperized population.

The situation is also similar in the case of women, where there is dominance of elementary occupations (29.8%) and trade and services (22.8%). However, by their numbers, the third place is taken by women whose occupations are in the domain of the middle strata, where the share in the case of women is as much as three times bigger than in the case of men (technicians and associate professionals), (14.8% in comparison to 5.5% in the case of men). The share of women is even higher in urban settlements (17.8% in comparison to 7.3%). In the Beogradski region and in the Region Vojvodine (Serbia – north), the share of professionals among women is twice as big as in the case of men (8.8% versus 4.4%), while the share of the group of technicians and associate professionals is three times bigger (16.6% versus 6.2% in the case of men). Women are also more numerous as members of professionals in all regions and in both types of settlements.

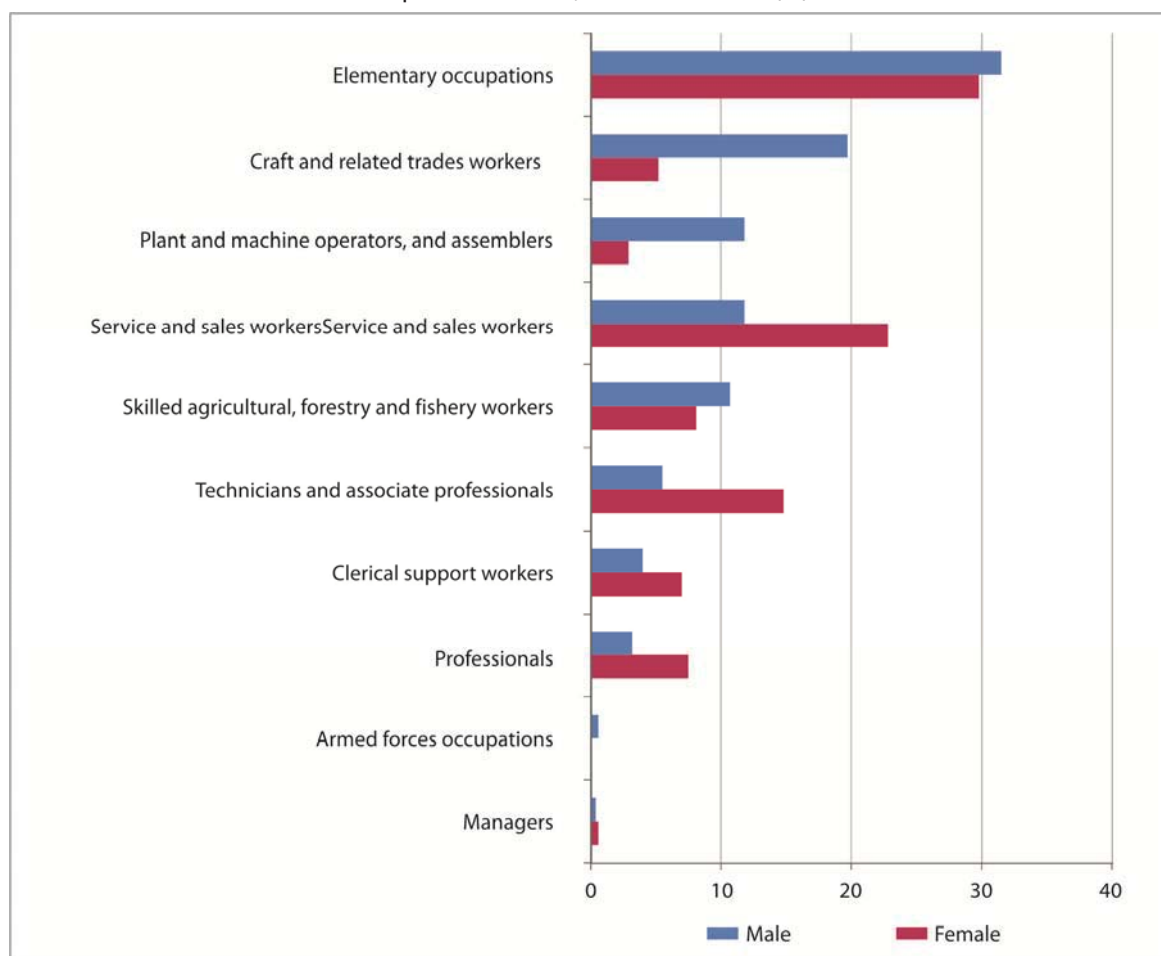
On the territory of the entire Republic it is very noticeable that these, *de facto*, occupations from the circle of medium social strata are notably feminized. This finding can be interpreted in the context of the economic collapse, recession and de-development, where a large number of active persons work in companies and enterprises with low earnings, sub-paid or with no income, in which their ownership transformation has not been completed yet. In addition, women were pronounced as “technological surpluses” on a massive scale, and more often than men, they were sent on temporary leave, etc., which together with divorce and processes of the family individualization represents a significant route to social exclusion, especially if the woman remains to live with children who go to school, but without sufficient income and if on top of that she is a victim of violence, without ownership of a dwelling, etc.

In the Region Južne i Istočne Srbije, especially in so called other settlements, there is an exceptionally high share of skilled agricultural workers among women (44.6%), followed by members of elementary occupations (25%). In the same region, every third man is engaged in agriculture and related occupations from the primary sector (32.4%), followed by elementary occupations (28.8%).

A special category of the homeless consists of military persons registered only among men on the entire territory of the Republic. The following occupations are masculinized particularly in the south, east and west, and in other settlements of the Republic: craft workers, and plant and machine operators, and assemblers.



Graph 14: The homeless who perform occupation, by occupation and sex, Republic of Serbia, the 2011 Census (%)



Quite expectedly, by the sources of livelihood, there is dominance of dependent persons (41.9%) among the homeless (Table 15) which can be linked to a high share of economically inactive persons (children, pupils and students, housewives and pensioners). Nevertheless, every fifth person has their own income on the basis of salary or other allowance based on work (19.4%), followed by pensions (15.2%) and social welfare (13%).

Almost a half of women are dependents (47.8%), which is probably a consequence of the high share of housewives. They are followed by female pensioners (18.4%), while income from work takes only the third place (13.3%). In the case of men these proportions are more favourable. A little over a third are dependents (36.3%), but every fourth man relies on his work (25.2%), while 12% of them rely on pensions.

The sex differences in the economic status and vulnerability that reflect bigger social dependence of women are confirmed again and they are exacerbated and joined together with the differences in the territorial capital. Namely, the status of both sexes is more favourable in urban settlements, while the gender-

related differences are bigger among the population of other settlements. In addition, there are more favourable economic circumstances of the homeless in the north in comparison to the south of the country.

Table 15: The homeless by sources of livelihood and sex, by regions, the 2011 Census (%)

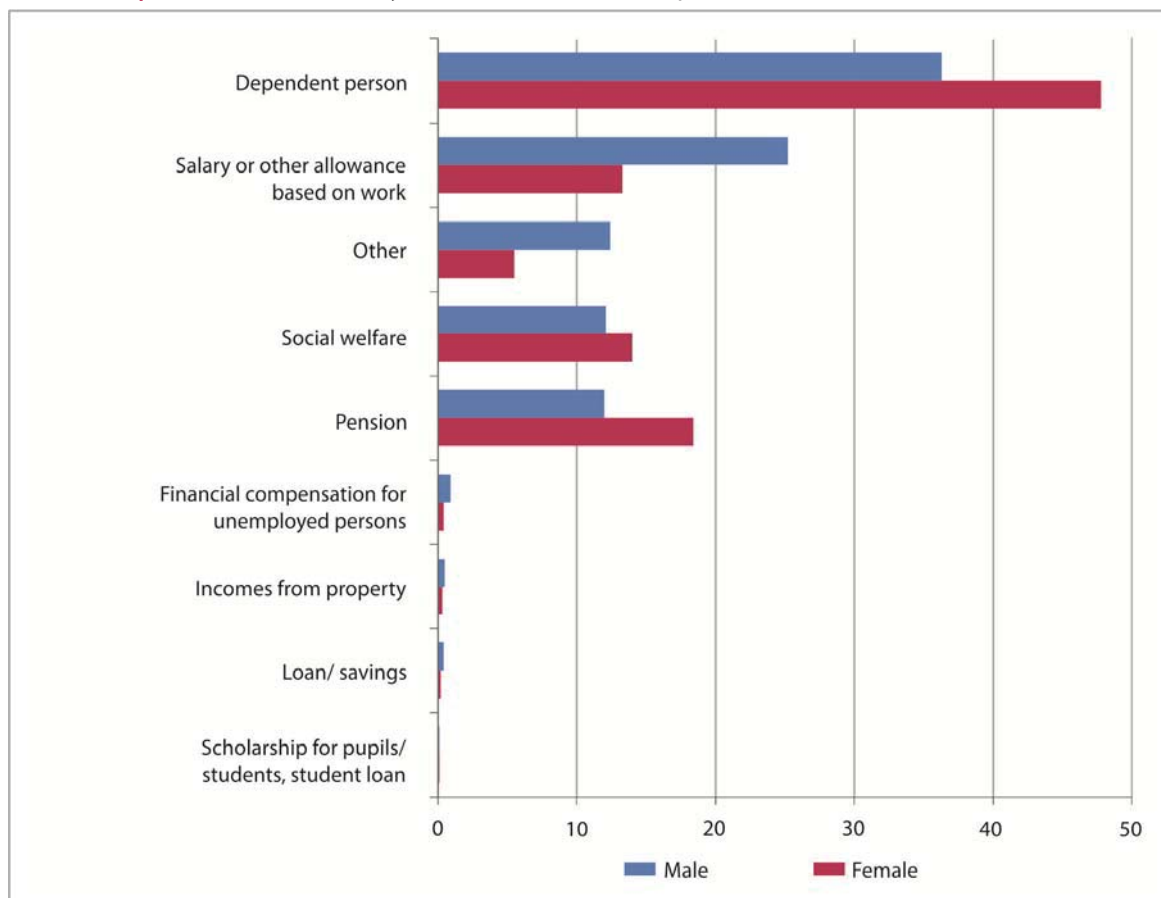
Region	Total	Salary or other allowance based on work	Pension	Incomes from property	Social welfare	Scholarship for pupils/ students, student loan	Loan/savings	Financial compensation for unemployed persons	Dependent person	Other
REPUBLIC OF SERBIA	100	19.4	15.2	0.4	13.0	0.1	0.3	0.7	41.9	9.0
Male	100	25.2	12.0	0.5	12.1	0.1	0.4	0.9	36.3	12.4
Female	100	13.3	18.4	0.3	14.0	0.1	0.2	0.4	47.8	5.5
Urban	100	20.3	13.5	0.1	11.0	0.1	0.3	0.8	44.3	9.6
Male	100	25.3	10.6	0.2	10.1	0.1	0.3	1.1	39.2	13.2
Female	100	15.2	16.5	0.1	11.8	0.1	0.3	0.5	49.5	6.0
Other	100	17.6	18.2	0.9	16.6	0.1	0.4	0.4	37.8	7.8
Male	100	25.1	14.6	1.3	15.6	0.1	0.6	0.6	31.1	11.0
Female	100	9.9	21.9	0.6	17.8	0.1	0.2	0.2	44.7	4.6
Beogradski region	100	22.9	12.1	0.2	7.9	0.0	0.3	0.6	46.1	9.9
Male	100	28.3	9.5	0.3	7.4	0.1	0.3	0.8	39.9	13.4
Female	100	17.2	14.7	0.1	8.5	0.0	0.4	0.5	52.4	6.2
Region Vojvodine	100	18.6	13.0	0.5	18.0	0.0	0.3	0.4	38.6	10.5
Male	100	23.5	10.4	0.8	16.8	0.0	0.6	0.6	32.1	15.3
Female	100	9.9	23.4	0.5	17.6	0.1	0.0	0.4	43.4	4.6
Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije	100	17.4	19.2	0.7	15.6	0.1	0.2	1.0	38.7	7.0
Male	100	24.6	14.7	0.8	14.3	0.1	0.4	1.6	33.8	9.6
Female	100	10.1	23.9	0.5	17.0	0.1	0.0	0.4	43.7	4.3
Region Južne i Istočne Srbije	100	15.8	17.5	0.5	15.9	0.2	0.4	0.5	40.4	8.8
Male	100	21.5	14.8	0.6	14.8	0.1	0.5	0.5	35.5	11.9
Female	100	10.1	20.3	0.4	16.9	0.3	0.4	0.4	45.3	5.7
Region Kosovo i Metohija	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

In the case of the homeless, salaries are in the second place as a source of income (Graph 15), particularly in the case of men, which certainly is positive from the aspect of individual strategies for finding one's own way around and surviving, that is, the possibility to rely on oneself. However, current salaries are, in fact, the only personal resource they can count on, since there is almost a negligible share of other income, such as income from property, savings, etc. Also, in the contrary case, when the source of paid work is missing, these persons immediately enter the group of vulnerable or much endangered social categories²⁷. This piece of information, as well as the afore-listed data on the fact that, taken overall, the population of the homeless is exceptionally deprived and socially dependent, clearly points at an absence of social integration of this marginalized population (especially in the case of women).

²⁷ The fourth story (Žarković, Petrović and Timotijević, 2012:34). It concerns a homeless person, participant of the focus group, who has secondary school education (technician for printing), with computer skills, with relatively successful work history and plenty of experience. However, since 2004 there has been an intertwining of negative events: he became a heroin addict at the age of 26 and then his father passed away. After the treatment for addiction, he got a job again at a good company, but did not stay there for long. He is jobless for more than three years. In the meantime, he got married, but then divorced his wife who had psychological problems and he left his child. He is mostly assisted in material terms by his mother and sister.



Graph 15: The homeless by sources of livelihood, Republic of Serbia, the 2011 Census (%)



THE HOMELESS



Photo: From the archive of the NGO Housing Center



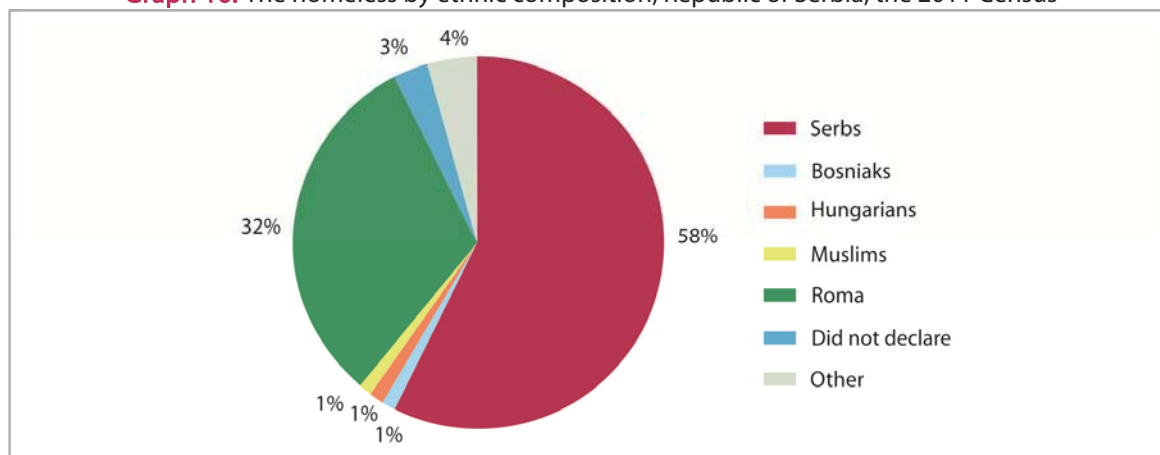
Ethnic composition of the homeless

In the 2011 Census of Population, most of the homeless declared themselves in terms of ethnicity as members of the Serbian ethnic corpus, i.e., over a half of all homeless of both sexes (Table 16 and Graph 16). A third of the homeless belong to the Roma ethnic corpus, while the other categories of ethnicity that are very dispersed in the census have very low representation²⁸.

Table 16: The homeless by ethnicity and sex, the 2011 Census (%)

	Total	Serbs	Bosniaks	Hungarians	Muslims	Roma	Other	Did not declare
Republic of Serbia	18287	10231	201	229	182	5719	730	564
Male	9279	5143	94	134	83	2925	378	297
Female	9008	5088	107	95	99	2794	352	267
				%				
Republic of Serbia	100	55.9	1.1	1.3	1.0	31.3	4.0	3.1
Male	100	55.4	1.0	1.4	0.9	31.5	4.1	3.2
Female	100	56.5	1.2	1.1	1.1	31.0	3.9	3.0

Graph 16: The homeless by ethnic composition, Republic of Serbia, the 2011 Census



Note: This shows the ethnicities that participate with at least 1% in the total number of the homeless. Also, in absolute terms, these are nationalities that have 100 or more persons that belong to the category of the homeless.

²⁸ This includes "others" (4%): Albanians, Bulgarians, Bunjevci, Vlachs, Goranci, Yugoslavs, Hungarians, Macedonians, Germans, Romanians, Russians, Rusinians, Slovaks, Slovenians, Ukrainians, Croats and Montenegrins. Then come the persons who made region-related declarations and those who did not declare themselves in terms of ethnicity (3.1%). Although most of the homeless in the 2011 Census declared themselves as the Serbs, during the surveying and direct observation, and in anthropological researches, i.e., in the most direct contact with the researcher, they identify themselves as the Roma. After all, the research of homelessness (Žarković, Petrović, Timotijević, 2012) takes them precisely for these reasons, and rightfully so, as one of the categories of persons with vulnerable housing status, as the population of informal, sub-standard, cardboard settlements and slums (see the photographs in the study).

Migratory characteristics of the homeless

Considering migrations that are analyzed here through immigration and the internal migrations within the Republic, a little less than a half of all (primary and secondary) homeless live in the place of their birth, i.e., they belong to the autochthon population or the so-called sedentary population. A little more than a half are of migratory origin, i.e., this concerns mobile population (Table 17, Graph 17). The differences by sex are more prominently evident. Generally observed, among men there are fewer migrants in comparison to women, which can probably be linked with more prominent migrations in connection with getting married and setting up of a family in the case of women.

This tendency is even more evident at the level of other settlement, where almost two thirds of the homeless men live in the same settlement since birth, 65.5%, versus 45.6% of women. Also, this tendency is more strongly pronounced when going from the north to the south of the Republic, so that there are most immigrants in the Beogradski Region, where less than a half of persons are autochthon (42.2% of all and 43.4% of men), then in Region Vojvodine (50.0% of all and 54.7% of men). These data confirm migratory tendencies in the direction of large urban agglomerations, particularly of the female population. There are relatively fewer migrants among the male population of the Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije (63.2%), but the fewest are, nonetheless, in the Region Južne i Istočne Srbije (67.2%).

Table 17: The homeless by migratory characteristics and sex, by regions, the 2011 Census (%)

Region	Total	Lives in the same settlement since birth	Migrant population			
			immigrated from another settlement of the same municipality	immigrated from another municipality	immigrated from the former SFRY republics	immigrated from other countries
REPUBLIC OF SERBIA	100	49.8	7.4	32.9	8.8	1.1
Male	100	55.1	5.2	29.9	8.7	1.1
Female	100	44.2	9.6	36.0	9.0	1.1
Urban	100	46.4	4.2	37.8	10.0	1.5
Male	100	49.3	3.5	36.0	9.9	1.4
Female	100	43.4	5.1	39.7	10.2	1.5
Other	100	55.7	13.0	24.1	6.7	0.4
Male	100	65.5	8.4	19.0	6.5	0.5
Female	100	45.6	17.8	29.4	6.9	0.3
Beogradski region	100	42.2	1.6	42.8	11.8	1.6
Male	100	43.4	1.2	42.5	11.2	1.6
Female	100	40.8	2.0	43.1	12.3	1.7
Region Vojvodine	100	50.0	8.0	25.6	15.3	1.0
Male	100	54.7	5.9	22.8	15.6	0.9
Female	100	44.7	10.4	28.8	14.9	1.1
Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije	100	53.7	12.4	28.0	5.2	0.6
Male	100	63.2	8.3	22.8	4.9	0.9
Female	100	44.1	16.7	33.3	5.5	0.4
Region Južne i Istočne Srbije	100	58.6	11.5	25.6	3.6	0.7
Male	100	67.2	8.4	20.1	3.6	0.7
Female	100	50.0	14.6	31.1	3.6	0.7
Region Kosovo i Metohija	...	...	...	...	...	...



The most frequent are internal immigrations from other municipalities within the Republic, which is the case with every third person from the category of the homeless (32.9%) (Table 17), and then from the former Yugoslav republics (8.8%), while the third place is taken by the moving from one settlement to another within the same municipality (7.4%). Fewest have immigrated from abroad (1.1%)²⁹.

In the case of women the share of the immigrated from other municipalities is a little bigger than in comparison to men (36.0%) and every tenth woman has arrived either from the former Yugoslav republics or from another settlement of the same municipality. In the case of urban population, the share of the immigrated from the former Yugoslav republics is as much as twice in comparison to those immigrated from the same municipality (10.0% versus 4.2%), while in the case of the population of other settlements the situation is reverse, there are twice as many migrants within the same municipality as from the region (13.0% versus 6.7%).

²⁹ This census data can also be imprecise. Namely, the figures for the returnees from abroad, on the basis of having their asylum request denied in the European countries or on the basis of different agreements with countries in Europe, such as the readmission agreement, are not entirely clear, although it is spoken publicly about a continuous, large-scale return of our citizens at an annual level. According to the only credible data of the MI and the CRRS, as much as 16 324 persons were returned on the basis of readmission from 2010 to 2012. However, even that official number is not complete, since some return on their own means, without any mediation on the part of the states, some change their identity, while the vast majority looks for ways to try their luck with emigration again, since some countries have very benevolent asylum-related procedures and the asylum-seekers enjoy great benefits (financial and housing assistance, medical treatment and care for children, etc.).

The profile of the asylum-seekers bears witness to the fact that these are most probably secondary homeless. This mostly concerns Roma population (90%), then Albanians and Serbs, in the situation of extreme poverty, low level of education and low employment rates. As the most frequent reason for leaving Serbia, 89% state poverty and discrimination and to a lesser degree cases of medical treatment for children or other family members (7%). Around 2/3 of these persons had proper personal documentation (passports) and occasionally received social welfare in Serbia, although insufficient. Then, in order to survive in Serbia, a third of them dealt with occasional, seasonal work, as well as with collection of secondary raw materials. Upon their arrival in Serbia, most of the returnees live in sub-standard settlements, over-crowded spaces, often with no electricity and heating. As the priorities, the returnees state the following problems that need to be solved urgently: finding work and housing, then social welfare to a lesser degree and finally tolerance of their surroundings and broader community (Marić, Petijević, Stojanović, 2013:35).

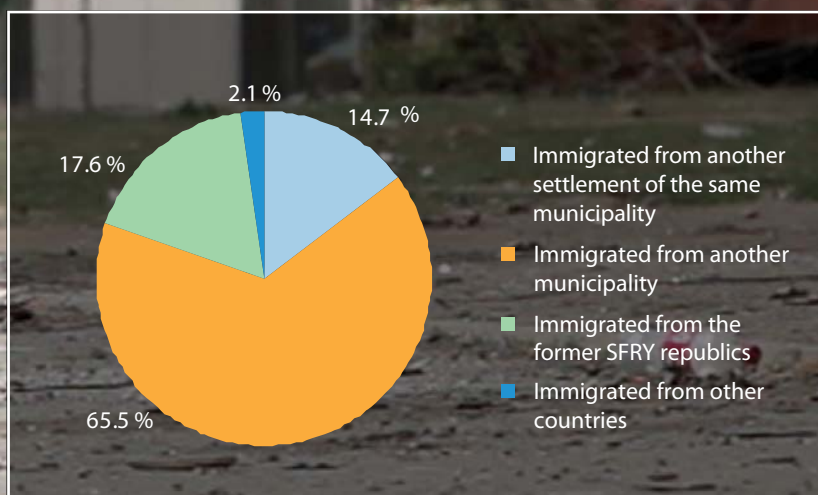
THE HOMELESS



Photo: From the archive of the NGO Housing Center



Graph 17.



If observed by the regions, it is possible to come to interesting data (Table 17 and Graph 18). In the Beogradski Region, there is a bigger share of immigrated than of autochthon residents (42.2% versus 57.8%). Among the immigrants, most of them by far came from other municipalities in Serbia (42.8%). Every ninth homeless person moved from the broader region (from the former Yugoslav Republics 11.8%), while fewest persons (1.6% each) came from other Belgrade settlements and from abroad.

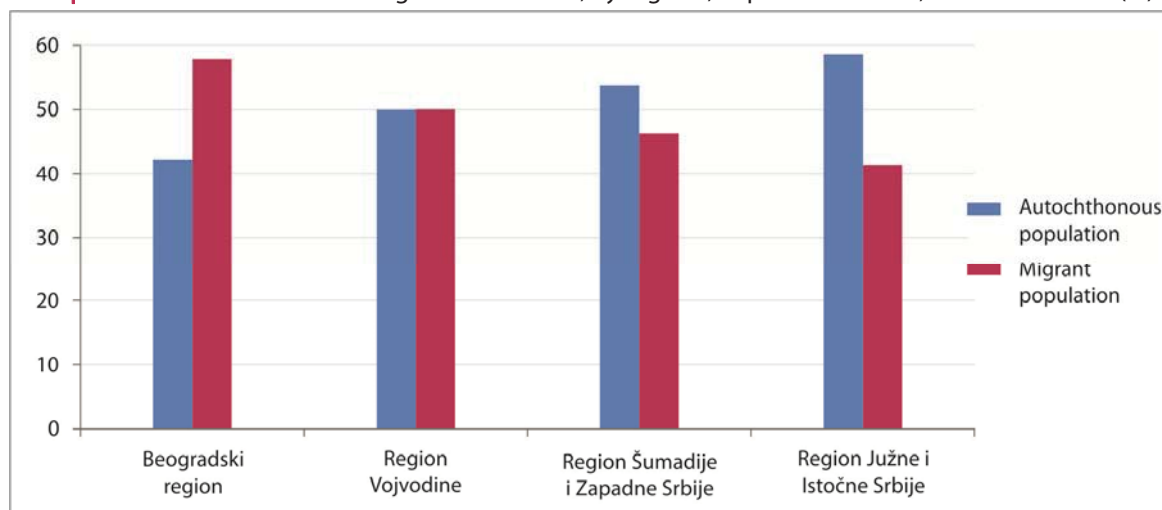
In the Region Vojvodine, the share of the autochthon and the immigrated is equal (50.0% each). Among the immigrated, there are somewhat more persons from the former Yugoslav republics (15.3%), which can be linked with the ethno-centric and plan-based directed immigrations, particularly during the 1990's. In the case of the female population of Vojvodina, there are twice as many migrations between the settlements of the same municipality (10.4% versus 5.9% in the case of men).

In the Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije and in the Region Južne i Istočne Srbije there is more autochthon than immigrated population (53.7% and 58.6%, respectively). Every third person in the Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije (28.0%) and every fourth person in the Region Južne i Istočne Srbije (25.6%) immigrated from another municipality. The share of the immigrated from the region, that is, from the former Yugoslav republics, is the smallest in these two regions (5.2% and 3.6%, respectively).

However, in comparison to the Beogradski Region and the Region Vojvodine, there are comparatively more visible sex-related differences in these two regions. Every third woman from the Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije arrived from another municipality (33.3% of women versus 22.8% of men), while twice as many women participated in intra-municipal migrations (16.7% of women versus 8.3% of men). In the Region Južne i Istočne Srbije women are more mobile both in the case of inter-municipal (31.0% of women versus 20.1% of men) and intra-municipal migrations (14.6% of women versus 8.4% of men).

The smaller scope of immigrations from the former Yugoslav republics and from abroad in the south, east and west regions of Serbia is owed to the lower socio-economic standard of these areas, more pronounced lagging behind the centre, i.e., Belgrade and Vojvodina, ethno-centric migrations from the former Yugoslav republics and greater attractiveness of the capital and urban agglomerations, as well as to emptied (rural) settlements of Vojvodina where the chances for settling and surviving are more evident.

Graph 18: Autochthon and immigrated homeless, by regions, Republic of Serbia, the 2011 Census (%)





Households and families of the secondary homeless

By the number of household members in the case of the secondary homeless³⁰, most of them are one-person households (46.4%), followed by two-member households (21%). The rest are multi-member households, out of which the most numerous are the households with three members (11.1%) and then with four members (9.6%), (Table 18, Graph 19). In other settlements more than a half of households are one-person households (52.1%), which is probably linked to senilization and feminization in the country-side, i.e., the dominance of one-person, elderly and female union households in a very difficult and socially isolated position.

The analysis by different regions shows some interesting data. The Beogradski region is characteristic by the fewest one-person households in the narrowest city core (39.6%), but this is also the place with the most of three-member unions (14%). In the other settlements of Belgrade, two-member households have the majority (25.3%).

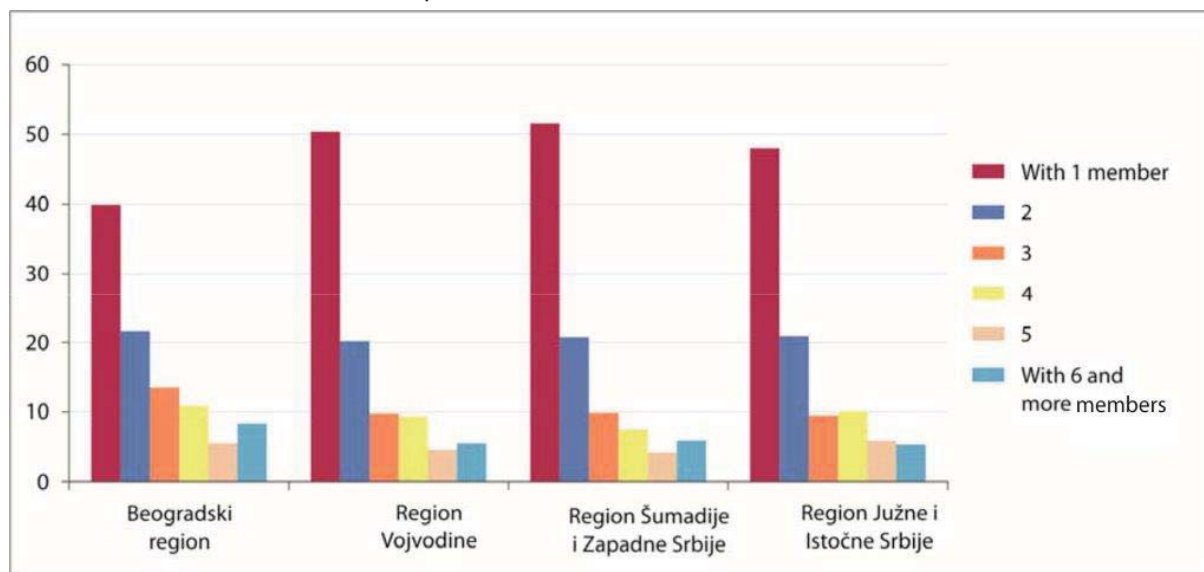
Table 18: Households of the secondary homeless by the number of members and type of settlement, by regions, the 2011 Census (%)

Region	Total	With 1 member	2	3	4	5	With 6 and more members
REPUBLIC OF SERBIA	100	46.4	21.0	11.1	9.6	5.2	6.7
Urban	100	42.6	20.8	12.5	11.1	5.6	7.3
Other	100	52.1	21.3	9.0	7.3	4.6	5.7
Beogradski region	100	39.9	21.7	13.5	10.9	5.6	8.4
Urban	100	39.6	21.1	14.0	11.2	5.7	8.4
Other	100	41.8	25.3	10.7	9.3	4.9	8.0
Region Vojvodine	100	50.4	20.2	9.8	9.4	4.6	5.6
Urban	100	53.2	18.8	10.4	9.2	4.1	4.3
Other	100	47.3	21.7	9.0	9.6	5.2	7.1
Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije	100	51.6	20.8	9.9	7.6	4.2	6.0
Urban	100	43.9	20.4	12.0	10.6	5.7	7.4
Other	100	57.0	21.0	8.3	5.4	3.2	5.0
Region Južne i Istočne Srbije	100	48.0	20.9	9.6	10.2	6.0	5.4
Urban	100	42.6	22.0	10.1	13.2	6.1	5.9
Other	100	52.2	20.1	9.1	7.8	5.8	5.0
Region Kosovo i Metohija	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

³⁰ In line with their life situation, i.e., life on the street in the case of the primary homeless, they were enumerated only as persons and not as household members, that is, without data on housing. For this reason, the information and analysis provided here refer only to the secondary homeless.

The smallest number of two-member households was registered in the towns of Vojvodina (18.8%) and the biggest in other settlements of Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije (57%). In the Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije, however, there is the smallest number of three-member (8.3%) and four-member (5.4%) households. Contrary to that, the biggest number of four-member households was registered in urban settlements of south and east Serbia (Region Južne i Istočne Srbije - 13.2%).

Graph 19: Households of the secondary homeless by number of members, by regions, Republic of Serbia, the 2011 Census (%)



In line with the above data on households by the number of members, most of the secondary homeless live in one-person households (46.9%), which can be linked to aging, as well as to the social marginalization of this population (Table 19, Graph 20).

Every fourth household is of nuclear family composition (a married couple with children) (23.4%). One eighth belongs to the category of single parents (12.7%), where there is a prevalence of single mothers with children (10.2%), and there is the same number of married couples with no children (12.5%). The aging of the population of other settlements is certainly a cause for the fact that they have a comparatively biggest share of one-person households (52.1%), as well as family forms of a married couple with no children (13.3%). Contrary to that, in urban settlements there is a higher share of nuclear families (26.6%), which is probably a consequence of the immigration of younger population to cities/towns and consequently their higher connubiality and fertility in comparison to other settlements.



Table 19: Households of the secondary homeless by family composition and type of settlement, by regions, the 2011 Census (%)

Region	Total	Family households					Non-family households	
		households with one family				households with two and more families	one-person	multi-member
		married/consensual couple with no children	married/consensual couple with children	mother with children	father with children			
REPUBLIC OF SERBIA	100	12.5	23.4	10.2	2.5	3.2	46.4	1.9
Urban	100	12.0	26.6	11.3	2.3	3.3	42.6	1.8
Other	100	13.3	18.5	8.4	2.8	3.0	52.1	2.1
Beogradski region	100	12.6	28.3	11.8	2.3	3.2	39.9	1.9
Urban	100	12.5	29.1	11.9	2.1	3.1	39.6	1.7
Other	100	13.2	23.6	11.5	3.6	3.6	41.8	2.7
Region Vojvodine	100	10.7	20.9	9.3	3.1	2.6	50.4	3.0
Urban	100	9.4	19.5	10.3	3.4	2.1	53.2	2.2
Other	100	12.1	22.5	8.3	2.7	3.3	47.3	3.8
Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije	100	12.0	19.1	9.4	2.7	3.3	51.6	1.9
Urban	100	11.2	25.6	11.2	2.3	3.7	43.9	2.1
Other	100	12.6	14.5	8.1	3.0	3.0	57.0	1.7
Region Južne i Istočne Srbije	100	14.1	22.2	8.9	2.2	3.3	48.0	1.3
Urban	100	13.2	25.8	10.7	2.1	4.3	42.6	1.3
Other	100	14.8	19.4	7.6	2.2	2.5	52.2	1.4
Region Kosovo i Metohija	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

The above tendency is also reflected at the regional level, with larger shares of urban, nuclear families in the north and increase in the number of one-person households and households of a married couple with no children in the south, particularly in other settlements.

Thus, in the urban part of the Beogradski region every third household is composed of a nuclear family (29.1%), while in the south of the Republic, overall, there is a quarter (25.7 %) of such households and 1/5 in other settlements of Region Južne i Istočne Srbije (19.4%). Contrary to the Beogradski region, in Region Vojvodine there is a significantly lower share of nuclear families (20.9%), in other words every fifth household, while one-person, probably the elderly households have the biggest share, i.e., as much as one half of all (a total of 50.4%), with a note that there are even more of them in the urban settlements of Vojvodina (53.2%).

One-person households are very frequent in the Region Južne i Istočne Srbije (52.2%), accounting there for more than a half of all households. Even more widespread are the one-person households in other settlements of Šumadija i Zapadna Srbija (57%), which is certainly linked with emigration tendencies, as well as with the long-lastingly low birth rates.

The share of single parents, where there is quite expectedly prevalence of mothers with children, is biggest in the urban parts of Belgrade (14.1%). The composite forms, consisting of two and more families are globally less represented (3.2%) and their incidence is biggest in the urban settlements of south and east Serbia (4.3%). The Census, however, does not provide an insight into the share of the so-called extended families (one parent with adult children and grandchildren), the incidence of which, according to sociological surveys among family households, has been significant from the 1990's to date and has reached a third of all family forms in contemporary Serbia (Milić, et al., 2004, 2010).

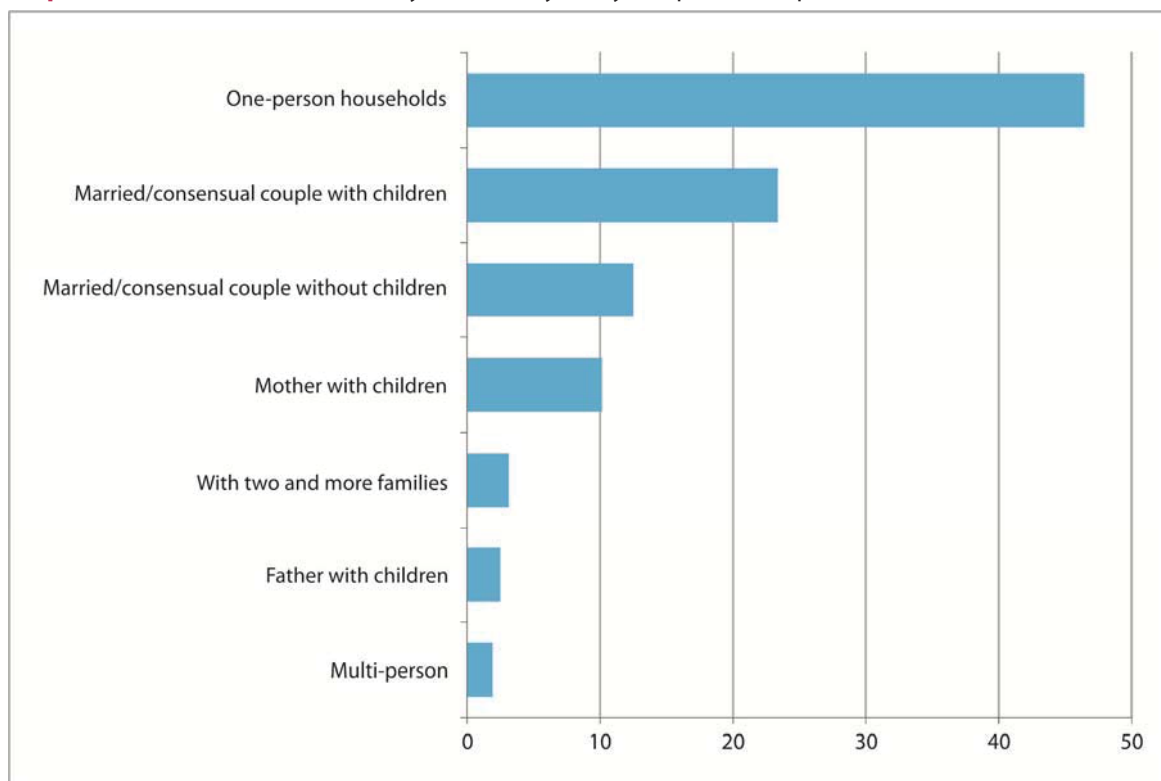
In connection with this family composition, it is interesting to see the data on the childbirth of homeless women on the basis of the analysis of the average number of children in different cohorts. Among the primary homeless, 135 women over 15 had given birth, until the moment of census, to a total of 78 children, while a third of them did not take part in reproduction (57). Observing the women who have exited the reproductive period, in other words who are over 50, out of a total of 73 of them, almost one half (33) did not give birth to a single child which is obviously a very prominent social sterility in this sub-population. Most of the children (17) were born by women aged from 45 to 49, then women from 55 to 59 (16) and from 75 to 79 (14). Out of the total number of children, most of them, 97 children were born in the north of the Republic, out of which 48 in the Beogradski region and 49 in the Region Vojvodine, which can be linked to their higher territorial concentration on these territories.

The secondary homeless women over 15, a total of 6 860 of them, had given birth by 15 October 2011 to a total of 5 027 children, out of which more than a third (34.2%) are children of the higher orders of births, i.e., of the third, fourth, fifth and higher orders (1 717). Observing the women who have completed the reproductive period, in other words those over 50 (3 304), the scope of their social sterility or lack of participation in reproduction is far smaller in comparison to the primary homeless (a total of 613 or 18.6%) and lower in comparison to the total female population over 15 at the level of the Republic (25.7%) (SORS, 2013).

When it comes to the differences in the level of completed fertility of the primary and secondary homeless women, several factors are involved there: difference in the sizes of these two sub-populations, then more favourable age and sex structures in the case of the secondary homeless, as well as, up to a point, smaller social vulnerability of the secondary homeless women. The average number of children per woman in the case of the secondary homeless women who have completed the reproductive period (50–54) amounts to 2.04 and in the case of the neighbouring cohort (55–59) it amounts to 1.85, and with its average moves around the level of the general population of the Republic (in the case of women aged 50–59, it amounts to 2.0) (SORS, 2013).

Just like in the case of the primary homeless, in the case of the secondary homeless most of the children have been born in the north (3 452), i.e., in the Beogradski region (2 572) and in the Region Vojvodine (880). Most of the children have been given birth to by the generation from 55 to 59 (607), while there is also high fertility among women from 15 to 19 (585) and from 50 to 54 (571). The high childbirth rates among women in this social status can be linked to a low birth control, low level of education and economic activity and high share of dependant women, as well as to low quality vs. quantity of children and to the action of specific anthropological and ethno-cultural and religious factors (high share of the Roma among the secondary homeless).

Graph 20: Households of the secondary homeless by family composition, Republic of Serbia, the 2011 Census (%)



As for the sources of income, every fourth household of the homeless relies on pensions (25.4%) and every fifth on some of the income from non-agriculture (20.7%) (Table 20, Graph 21). This is followed by receiving of social protection (15.8%) and almost the same percentage of the so-called mixed income (15.2%), and then by other types of income (13.6%).

When putting all the income outside the scope of earnings together, it comes out that more than a half (54.8%) of households relies on some form of social protection, which is certainly unfavourable from the point of view of dependence on social support under the conditions of high budget burdening of the state and the current reform of the social protection system, etc. If, however, the share of the households with no income (6.2%) is added to this figure, then we get to the point where as much as 61% of the households of the homeless, with anyway low incomes, are in the category of risky living and high dependence on assistance from others and from the state. In addition, it needs to be observed that there is a very low level of income from agriculture (3.1%), which is also unfavourable, considering that a large part of the secondary homeless are situated outside urbanized areas and that they have no possibility of production in kind, at least of food for their own needs, which is one of the significant survival strategies of the majority or the so-called settled population of Serbia.

Table 21: Households of the secondary homeless by the source of income and type of settlement, by regions, the 2011 Census (%)

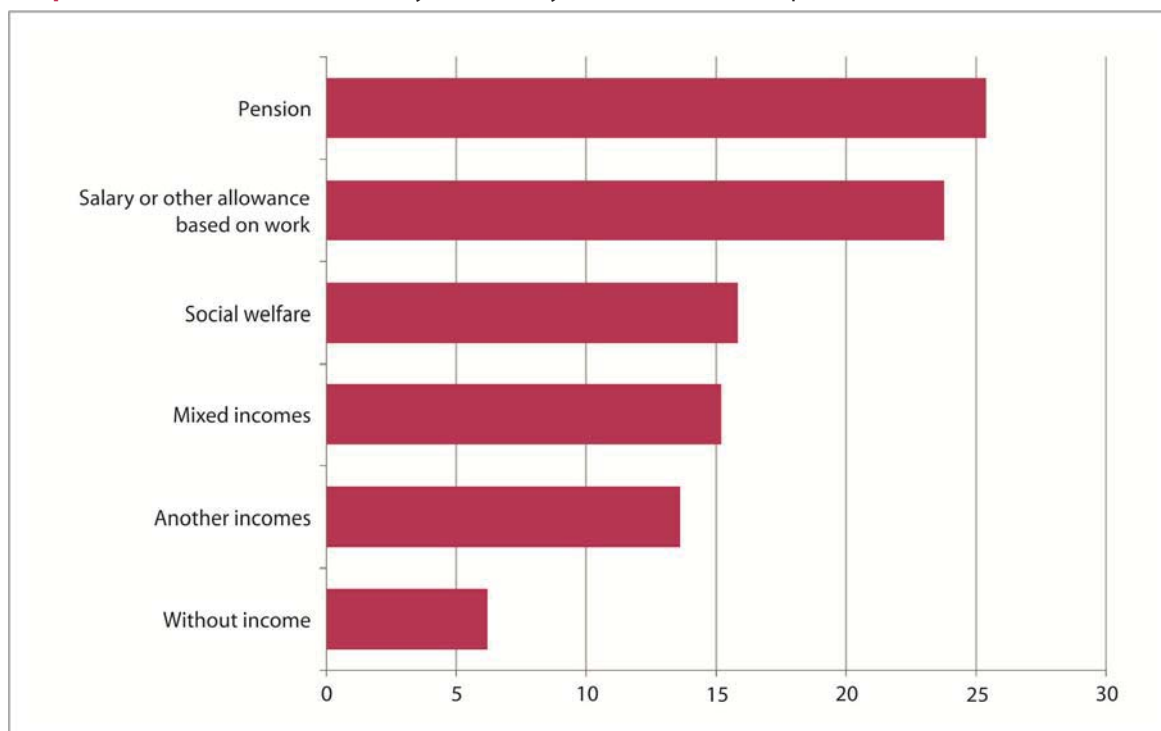
Region	Total	Sources of household incomes						
		salary or other allowance based on work		other incomes			mixed incomes	without income
		in agriculture	in non-agriculture	pension	social welfare	another incomes		
REPUBLIC OF SERBIA	100	3.1	20.7	25.4	15.8	13.6	15.2	6.2
Urban	100	0.7	27.5	22.9	12.9	14.3	15.4	6.4
Other	100	6.7	10.5	29.1	20.3	12.5	14.9	6.0
Beogradski region	100	0.6	32.8	20.4	8.3	15.0	15.8	7.1
Urban	100	0.3	34.1	19.4	7.5	15.4	15.8	7.5
Other	100	2.2	24.5	26.6	13.5	12.4	15.9	4.9
Region Vojvodine	100	5.1	16.1	21.7	22.6	14.1	14.9	5.4
Urban	100	1.7	19.5	25.8	21.5	12.3	14.4	4.8
Other	100	8.8	12.3	17.1	23.8	16.2	15.6	6.2
Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije	100	4.9	13.6	30.5	19.2	11.6	14.7	5.5
Urban	100	1.2	22.2	26.6	16.1	13.5	15.9	4.6
Other	100	7.6	7.6	33.2	21.4	10.2	13.8	6.1
Region Južne i Istočne Srbije	100	3.7	12.7	29.6	19.4	13.6	15.0	6.1
Urban	100	0.7	18.7	27.5	19.4	13.5	14.2	6.1
Other	100	6.0	8.0	31.2	19.4	13.6	15.6	6.1
Region Kosovo i Metohija	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

A third of households occupied in the urban core of the capital have an income from non-agriculture (34.1%), while this source of living is least used by the households of other settlements of south and east Serbia (8%), and Šumadija and west Serbia (7.6%) (compare: Table 21 and Graph 22). The households of other settlements in Vojvodina (8.8%) have most benefit from salaries in agriculture. Also, in other settlements in Vojvodina there is the least portion of those relying on pensions as a means of survival (17.1%), but then pensions are a very widespread source of livelihood in the Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije and in the Region Južne i Istočne Srbije, both in urban and in other settlements.

Social welfare is significantly prevalent in Vojvodina, in both types of settlements (22.6%), and the similar situation can be found in both types of settlements in Šumadija and west Serbia (Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije), and in south and east Serbia (Region Južne i Istočne Srbije), which is certainly linked to the population aging processes, particularly in the case of Vojvodina, and to the de-development, devastation of nature and unemployment in the case of the other parts of the country. It is also interesting that a share of the so-called mixed income is very even on the whole territory of the Republic, which is a solid survival strategy created through the combination of income on the basis of multiple work and earnings among members of a domestic group. The relatively small group of households with no income is also evenly distributed (around 5-6%), with a somewhat bigger share in Belgrade (7.5%), which is probably linked to the immigration of the homeless.



Graph 21: Households of the secondary homeless by sources of income, Republic of Serbia, the 2011 Census (%)



THE HOMELESS



Photo: From the archive of the NGO Housing Center

Towards action and prevention: practical policies

In the European Union, the right to housing has been established as one of the basic human rights and consequently homelessness is recognized as violation of basic human needs and as such has been put on the agenda of public policy, social action, numerous projects in the community, etc. The right to housing is an integral part of the corpus of the international rights to adequate standard of living³¹. The turning point for the inclusion of the problem of homelessness was the formulation of the European strategy for the uprooting of social exclusion at the Lisbon summit, which has instigated creation of national action plans for the annulment of poverty (Timotijević, 2012).

With regards to the practical solutions, there is a position prevalent in the EU that the basic role of the local self-government is to make the solutions operational and to organize services earmarked for the homeless and for persons under risk, while NGO's are in charge of providing direct services that ought to be financed from the local budgets, and private and voluntary funds and donations (Žarković, Petrović and Timotijević, 2012, Jovičić, 2010, Avramov, 2002, 2013, Razpotnik and Dekleva, 2012).

Housing certainly takes the first place, since for most of the homeless absence or loss of a house and/or home is the main reason/cause for living out on the street, but at the same time or immediately afterwards come the lack of money, poor health and absence of persons from the proximity (family, relatives and friends). That is why the overcoming of the position of homelessness requires activation of a cluster of measures in the domain of social inclusion and social cohesion: from (social) housing, through employment, adequate medical treatment, education, reducing of social distance and stigma, building of trust, activation of social networks, especially support networks for women and children, care for the young from the street, etc. The prevention, that is, the fight against the proliferation of this phenomenon with constantly "open door" are given particular attention, especially because of the growing share of women and children in this population.

The analysis of the social protection system in Serbia has shown that homelessness continues to be a neglected issue, insufficiently differentiated and insufficiently recognized and politically treated to the degree it deserves, which is a complex, multi-dimensional phenomenon requiring a synergy of legal rights, policies, players, actions, resources, social networks and strategies. Even if considered in its narrowest meaning, as the right to adequate residence, it has not been recognized as a basic human right that must be accessible to all (Žarković, Petrović and Timotijević, 2012, Timotijević, 2012, 2014).

Moreover, in the expert and academic discourses, homelessness is still treated as a socially pathological phenomenon and as a personal problem, while the relation towards it is patronizing and/or pacifying (Jugović and Luković, 2012, Timotijević, 2012). What is not seen is that today, both in Serbia, as well as in the European Union, it has become a result of social, structural transformations, (in)effectiveness of the social welfare systems, as well as it has established as a very dynamic phenomenon that can hit anyone at different biographical times and therefore must be resolved as a social problem and not only or solely as an individual one.

³¹ The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in its article 25, reads that everybody has the right to a standard of living that ensures good health and wellbeing, of that person and of that person's family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and the necessary social services, as well as the right to insurance in case of unemployment, illness, incapability, widowhood, age or other cases of losing livelihood on account of circumstances independent from that person's will (compare: Timotijević, 2012:46).

Today social protection itself, that is still considered to be the most responsible one for solving the problem in Serbia, however, faces numerous objective limitations, current reform of the overall system, financial shortcomings, lack of capacities, resources and specialized staff which would make it capable of responding to enlarged demands of a broad circle of potential users under the circumstances of a growing pressure of increasingly more numerous poor, as well as the elderly, chronically ill and other at-risk social groups.

In normative terms, as well as in the practice, it is recognized that there is a need to include the non-governmental sector, as the provider of services, but there are the following numerous problems there: disarray in the provision of services, insufficient standardization of services, lack of systematic planning and sufficiently broad coverage with services throughout the territory of Serbia, problem of licensing specialized staff that would provide the services, insufficient information of potential users, problems in connection with equal and even distribution of services, particularly in villages and local communities outside large cities/towns and the capital. Currently the biggest number of organizations for providing services are situated in large cities (Belgrade, Niš and Novi Sad). These include assistance and care for the elderly and the young with disabilities, for those in urgent need for shelters, support to persons with developmental difficulties, then drop in centres and day care centres for children from the street and the young, homeless shelters and reception stations. This means that the needs of this very heterogeneous sub-population have not been appropriately met, particularly of the so-called secondary homeless. A good example of the level of development of services are homeless shelters for women and children - victims of domestic violence. Latter have been, thanks to female NGOs, developed in 11 towns and municipalities of Serbia (Žarković, Petrović and Timotijević, 2012). Various organizations from the diaspora, private donors, companies, churches, individuals, Roma NGOs, food banks, etc., have played a significant role in solving urgent situations, such as the problems of eviction during winter period, then assistance in connection with the construction of flats and houses, populating of abandoned village estates and households, obtaining personal documents, assisting persons in supplying with food at their own homes, etc. There are homeless shelters for adults and elderly persons in 12 cities/towns and municipalities, mostly in the form of gerontological centres (Žarković, Petrović and Timotijević, 2012) where individuals can stay for a shorter or a longer period of time – from 7 to 8 and even up to 30 days day in most of the municipalities and up to six months in Belgrade³².

Although the increase in the number of these institutions is a significant step out, they, however, face a lack of capacities (only four places in Šabac up to 105 places in Belgrade), particularly during winter months when they are forced to admit far more persons than they are realistically ready to, which then reduces the quality of service. Due to the problem of huge pressure on them, the criteria for the admission of persons in the status of need and necessity are very restrictive. Thus, numerous elderly and terminally ill individuals are placed at such homeless shelters instead of at other institutions (unavailable or over-crowded) such as: institutions of the geriatric or palliative type. A special problem lies in the lack of continuous financial support of these homeless shelters and drop in centres, which leads to their closing down unless the local self-government is able to ensure perseverance of finances after the withdrawal of a private donor (ibid).

The strategy for repeated return to a drop in centre or a social protection institution, even after leaving them, established in the case of a fifth of the surveyed homeless (19.9%) and a third of the persons were also out in the street a year before the survey (34.3%), points, however, at a serious shortcoming of the social

³² In Slovenia, there are around 20 public kitchens (locations for the distribution of food) today, 15 drop in centres for the homeless, four day centres, two field work projects and two projects for housing support (compare: Razpotnik and Dekleva, 2012:32). In the period 2005/06, it was estimated that there were around 300-700 primary homeless in Ljubljana, while a more recent study from 2010 for entire Slovenia, applying the broader criteria – FEANTSA, estimated around 77 000 homeless persons (Razpotnik and Dekleva, 2012).

protection system in Serbia. The current system is such that it does not enable an individual or a family to leave permanently the vicious circle of street – drop in centre – stationary institution – street, instead they go through a temporary break and protection only. Thus, for a significant number of the homeless the return to and leaving of institutions for social protection represents only a strategy for surviving on the street, in other words, a way of maintaining the circular reproduction of the everyday life, but not a way out or an interruption of the vicious circle. The fact that the homeless are a dependent population, focused on the state support in Serbia, is best illustrated by the data from the survey which says that the biggest number of the homeless expect to be placed at a facility after leaving shelters for homeless (28.7%), then to return to their flat/family (23.5%) and finally expect aid from the state in case of renting a flat (18.4%) (Žarković, Petrović, Timotijević, 2012).

Unfortunately, institutionalization, i.e., expecting placement at a facility and other services from the domain of social protection, health care and education, is frequently untimely and inadequate, and these institutions are often not adequately equipped, the staff are not trained enough or sensitive enough to respond to the needs of this very specific and heterogeneous population of men and women.

The system of social housing or rather the construction of flats is insufficiently developed in Serbia. An even and just distribution of these flats to vulnerable categories of the population and the homeless is slow, burdened also by the lack of continuous financing at the local level. However, it is but a part of a broader problem – lack of a comprehensive system of housing policy. The housing policy in Serbia is a generally neglected area, with a large discrepancy between the needs and the possibilities of families and individuals to acquire housing in the market themselves, using their own resources (Petrović, 2004, 2009). Not only that there are not enough flats in the market, there are neither measures of systemic support (housing allowance) and the housing policy is focused on an increasingly narrower and more privileged strata (ibid).

In compliance with the old Law on Housing from 1992 and in the absence of a new one, social flats have fallen under the responsibility of the local self-government and as the result of this various social housing programmes have been prepared in the cities. They, unfortunately, do not meet the real needs. Thus, for instance, since 2003 the city government of Belgrade has undertaken to build 1 100 non-profit flats a year, while significantly fewer have been realized (around 3 000) on account of budget limitations. However, only 15% are intended for leasing to socially vulnerable residents and the criteria for assigning the anyway few newly built social flats favour education and employment, so the most vulnerable end up being losers again (compare: Žarković, Petrović and Timotijević, 2012:10).

After the Law on Social Housing, enacted in 2009, in 2012, the Government of the Republic of Serbia adopted the National Strategy for Social Housing which mentions the notion of the homeless for the first time and recommends the adoption of the European typology ETHNOS. The Strategy lists instruments for the prevention and suppression of homelessness, through the goal number six which stipulates: 1) capacity building for the prevention and reduction of homelessness (through surveys, establishing of a unique system of registration, training of staff, etc.); and 2) building of housing capacities for the homeless. In its seventh goal, the Strategy deals with the rearrangement of illegal and sub-standard housing: 1) plan-based regulation of sub-standard settlements that can be kept, while for the settlements for which that is impossible establishing of the way for resettlement; 2) enhancement of the infrastructure of sub-standard settlements; 3) improvement of the housing conditions in sub-standard settlements (compare: Žarković, Petrović and Timotijević, 2012:10). However, the Action Plan which followed did not develop to a sufficient degree the concrete ways for the realization of the parts of this strategic document, particularly more durable ways of solving the issue and the abolishing of homelessness.

THE HOMELESS



Photo: From the archive of the NGO Housing Center

Conclusion

The study on the homeless was created on the basis of census data with the aim to present as comprehensively as possible the scope and the relative characteristics of this very special, vulnerable and marginalized population. At the same time, it is important to be aware of the limitation of a complete, valid and objective insight and obtaining of information on the people from the “culture of homelessness” (Jovičić, 2010) who actually strive to remain as less visible as possible, i.e., who aspire towards getting out of the way and finding their own way around, outside the society.

As this is the first study on the homeless that has been created on the basis of census data, the basic intention was, first, to make the population of the homeless visible, particularly the primary homeless who were registered for the first time in the latest census, in 2011, as well as also to analyze the more numerous population of the so-called secondary homeless on whom there have been no studies accompanying a census so far either. Second, the goal was also to describe and interpret within a context the basic, socio-demographic features, economic characteristics, and consequently the reference resources, personal capitals, which are consequently partially available strategies and potentials linked with the territorial distribution, childbirth rates, marital structures, sources of income, etc. In other words, to assess the absence of those possibilities in their everyday life.

Had it been based only on the census data, the analysis would not have reached an individual and his/her current and complex life situations. Therefore we have used complementary findings and biographical notes of a referent, domestic survey of homelessness conducted in the same year as the 2011 Census.

Any quantification of the phenomenon of homelessness, particularly in the case of marginalized strata, opens up ethical questions regarding the justifiability of such endeavours of social intrusion and violation of the daily life of people in a very unenviable life situation. For homelessness is obviously a form of social imprisonment (Rozenhal, 1991, according to: Timotijević, 2014:10). In connection to that, there is also a dilemma as to whether the registration of their daily life will be used in order to impose social and political control by the society, state, political elite, majority population, etc.

On the other hand, there is no social action without an insight into the situation in the field, without registration of the phenomenon, which is provided by the census statistics, regardless of the methodological limitations concerning the access to vulnerable social groups. It is necessary to get as precise an insight as possible into the numbers, distribution, characteristics, trends and tendencies, especially in connection with potential routes into poverty, of the persons who have low personal, social, cultural (low socio-economic status) and territorial capitals (they originate in poorer regions and municipalities) in order to plan and take action aimed at assisting, supporting, empowering and including these persons into a social and civic status. This particularly applies to the homeless who are mutually, it seems, connected only by the feeling of shame for not having their home and not by the feeling of full belonging to their social group (Timotijević, 2014).

The profile of the primary homeless in Serbia is similar to that from more developed countries: it concerns predominantly the male population, with low levels of education, unemployed or engaged in terms of work for uncertain, unqualified and poorly paid jobs, with a high share of morbidity, particularly in terms of addictions (alcohol, drugs, gambling). The female population is less present in the category of the primary homeless or it is perhaps less accessible for the statistics, especially the younger, more vital women (compare: Jovičić, 2010). If we assume, on the other hand, that they are more protected than men by the family which still continues to be a major source of social security in our country, then it can be expected that

with an increase in individualization, divorce and dissolution of marriage, and under the conditions of great poverty and narrowing down of social protection, the phenomenon of female homelessness is going to increase more significantly in the period to come (Žarković, Petrović and Timotijević, 2012).

We can also find similar average features of homelessness on the basis of the census data, thus confirming the important socio-demographic characteristics both of the primary homeless (rough sleepers) and of the so-called secondary homeless. Quite expectedly, the homeless, as a very dependent and vulnerable population, are in the state of great and numerous needs (health-related, housing, socio-economic, etc.), registered in large urban centres of the Republic, particularly Belgrade, Novi Sad and Niš.

Among the primary homeless there is dominance of men, while women are a little more represented among the secondary homeless, who are generally speaking significantly more numerous, with a more favourable age and sex structure, higher incidence of marriage, as well as higher shares of one-person households, high unemployment and high share of inactive and dependent population, which overall bears witness to a great social isolation and low action potentials of both groups of its members.

Also, the empirical research of the homeless in Serbia has pointed at certain specificities: a large share of these persons used to be active in terms of work, but have been either retired too early, or have low pensions, or have been laid off on account of economic restructuring, being declared technological surplus (Žarković, Petrović, Timotijević, 2012). Also, among the primary homeless outside homeless shelters it was noticed that they have somewhat lower age, more significant participation of workers with no qualifications who are "transition losers", but also of those who are more agile in searching for a new job. Among the secondary homeless, the Roma population is less active in looking for formal employment, but they are more active in the grey economy (collection and resale of secondary raw materials). There is a relatively high share of migratory population from other municipalities of the Republic or between the settlements of the same municipality, but there is also a relatively low share of refugees and displaced population, except in the case of the Roma (every fifth), which can be explained by a more developed system of support for this population, relatively efficient solutions and more solid social integration of the refugee population as well as by long term efforts in tackling their problems.

The secondary homeless, particularly the users of homeless shelters, are predominantly persons who are not married, although the state of being divorced is listed as an individual reason for housing deprivation in the case of both categories of the homeless (both the primary and the secondary ones). There is, however, presence of family violence, particularly in the case of persons from homeless shelters. The self-confidence in the individual capacities of these persons is very low, which is linked to a very low level of personal resources and social networks, but the in-depth qualitative part of the empirical research has shown that the self-confidence is still highest among the most vulnerable, i.e., the primary homeless, used to the life on the street and outside the community (Žarković, Petrović and Timotijević, 2012).

Starting from 2000, Serbia has made certain steps in terms of taking on international responsibilities towards socially excluded groups or, concretely here, towards the homeless. Particularly in the local communities, many diverse and concrete actions have been undertaken, much more and earlier than at the national level, which are aimed at providing services to persons in the state of need (Timotijević, 2012). In the process of accession to the EU, Serbia has confirmed its readiness to engage itself in providing adequate housing for all of its citizens, i.e., to get activated in reducing and preventing homelessness. One of the important steps has been the ratification of the Revised Social Charter of the Council of Europe from 2009.



Nevertheless, the real and concrete engagement at the uprooting of homelessness remains an acute social problem of Serbia, while the basic reasons for such a state are: lack of financial readiness to adequately and systematically cope this problem, institutional insufficiency and general decline of social solidarity in the political course of the neo-liberal capitalism which exhausts even the narrowest social networks and these are family and relatives social networks (Timotijević, 2012).

But, this study of the Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, as well as the other, above-mentioned empirical analyses and comparisons with the experiences from more developed countries, testify to the taken, important and initial steps in shedding the light onto this complex social issue. This study and the reference scientific and specialized discourse clearly formulate the basic message that it is necessary to continue to work on the creation of global action plans and programmes, as well as on the activation of social and personal resources in a supporting the setting (neighbourhood), but with a clear delegation of responsibilities, possibly by the models of participatory action (with an engagement of the homeless themselves, NGOs, social enterprises, non-profit organizations in the sector of social services, etc.). This last would be an equivalent to the overcome, protective relation and treatment of these persons used so far, i.e., passive provision of services and receiving of aids, irrespective of the needs of the clients and their surroundings (Avramov, 2006). The return of the homeless back into the society is the second phase of resolving their life situation (compare: Jovičić, 2010) and it is also very complex, demanding, carried out in several stages and it entails powerful motivation on the side of the homeless themselves, as well as a great engagement of the community in enabling and facilitating that entry/return among the fellow citizens and the “normal” routine.

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"As the author explains in the preface, this study on homeless people is aimed at analysing the important socio-demographic structures (age and sex, marital status, socioeconomic, ethnical and migratory features), and studying the associations, families and households of one of existentially most imperilled social groups, in Serbia and in the EU as well".

Professor Dragan Vukmirović, PhD

"The author observes the relevant foreign and domestic references, establishes the analysis into a theoretical frame of a wider context of social deprivation; multidisciplinary approach has been applied as well as a robust methodology in the concomitant analysis".

Dragana Avramov, PhD

"The contextual analysis of the phenomenon of homeless people in Serbia in the period of post-socialist transformation indicated the necessity to survey the subject phenomenon from the aspect of life events, reform of the system of social protection and inadequate political response, both in the domain of social housing and including jobless persons and persons without social relations into the labour market, and also regarding medical treatment and care provided to persons in need".

Professor Mina Petrović, PhD



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