

**FERTILITY AND THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA**

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In memory of my father

1929-1999

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the fertility and women's status in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It reviews the differences in population growth rates among the world's major areas during the 1950-2000 and the fertility characteristics and family policy in Europe. The fertility transition across Europe is highlighted. All European countries have experienced considerable decline of fertility and by the end of the 20th century the rates were far below replacement levels in almost every country.

The demographic change and fall in fertility in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in neighbouring states is marked. In so doing, it applies the demographic period analysis of fertility rates in the second half of the 20th century and in recent years and the examination of total fertility and age specific fertility rates shows that there was variation in the declining dependant upon the extent of female education and occupation. The historical aspect of female positions in Bosnia-Herzegovina's society is illustrates that fertility transitions are initiated by the improved status of women and their increased ability to determine own fertility. The correlation between fertility and urbanization and income per capita suggests that as income or the level of urbanization rises then the fertility rate falls. Ethnic affiliation to some extent corresponds with other socio-economic factors impacting on fertility level. Total fertility rates vary across urban and rural place of residence generally, but higher fertility rates are found in more urban than in rural areas. The greater involvement in the impersonal market sector and better professional position, the lower are the fertility preferences and lower actual fertility. The large body of evidence showing how high fertility levels is related to economically less developed municipalities helps to elucidate the relationship between a women's occupation and total fertility rate.

The post-war period is characterized by new women's activism but participation of women in different sphere of public life and their general status are still not satisfactory. The more emphasized decline in natality and fertility rates in recent years is the consequence of unenvious socio-economic and polical environment in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Investigating Changing Fertility Patterns in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Human population characteristics are of significance throughout the world. The demographers' conventional concern about the timing of demographic events and the influence of population composition attempts to identify fertility and family behavior that have undergone various changes throughout the world. Despite decades of research, there is still no universal explanation for 'why' fertility has decreased. A broader demographical and sociological perspective to the study of fertility and family planning has been contributed by many famous researchers who are mentioned here and later in the thesis. Population geographers have traditionally concentrated on the three topics of fertility, mortality and migration (Jones, 1990). Yet, the only population journal explicitly devoted to geographical population issues, the *International Journal of Population Geography*, has published only a small number of papers on fertility. Although some writing on fertility issue can be find in some other publications population geography has very modest nature in contribution to fertility studies. It possibly can be explained that population geography within multi-disciplinary fields of geography itself emerged as a systematic discipline of geography pretty late; it was in the early 1950s. Until recently, there has been more descriptive work on fertility in recognizing spatial variations in fertility. As Jones (1990) stressed some contemporary work has started to shed light on some important issues and to contribute in analysis of evolving relationships between fertility and socio-economic development. This scope of study is still dominated by demographers, sociologists and economists.

Key international researchers on fertility include Ronald Friedman (1964), a pre-eminent international demographer, who helped to shape the field of demography in the late 1940s. He was founder of the Population Studies Center at the University Michigan; Frank W. Notestein (1945) contributed remarkably to the science of demography and to a better understanding of population problems in world affairs, notably through his work on fertility, family planning and population control.

Notestein's papers document his position as a leader in the field of population and fertility research, and through his involvement at Princeton University as the Director of the Office of Population Research; In addition, Bongaarts' model of "the Proximate Determinants of Fertility" has been applied in demography (Bongaarts, 1978). It illustrates the importance of determining the nature and pace of fertility change; and John Caldwell (1982), with his theory of inter-generational wealth flows, contributed to the examination of a link between family structure and fertility. Two main protagonists of the second demographic transition (SDT), Ron Leachhaeghe (1991, 1995) and Van de Kaa (2002) have connected the declining fertility rate noticed in most countries of Europe in the late 1970s and subsequently to various societal and economic changes. The ideas and contributions to fertility issues by other researchers are presented later within thesis.

In some countries population problems are inherent within prevailing economic and social problems. In particular, characteristics of population fertility have had profound impacts upon the nature of development in both the Developing and Developed Worlds, although the issues involved vary considerably from country to country dependent on socio-politico-economic conditions and varying fertility levels and trends (Heer, 1966; Kohler and Ortega, 2002; Sardon, 2002; Henning, 2002). As a consequence the study of fertility has been prominent both within demographic studies and as a major concern of population policy (Bahle, 1995; Bradshaw et al., 1993; Castles, 1993; Martin, 1997; Neyer, G. 2003; Billari and Kohler, 2002). This is particularly the case in countries such as Bosnia and Herzegovina, recently affected by conflict and now experiencing a transition period involving new forms of social and economic development. Here the recent war's impacts on fertility are apparent as are those of the subsequent changes of the post-war period.

A key factor in the changing character of fertility is the status of women, with a complex relationship emerging between the changing position of women in Bosnian society and levels of fertility. Hence the study of fertility in Bosnia-Herzegovina offers prospects for significant contributions to be made to knowledge

about the relationships between fertility, women's status and the rapidly changing economic and social conditions in a war-torn country which possesses a distinctive ethnic and political mosaic

1.2 Research Outline

Although changing levels of fertility are having significant impacts on population numbers in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the topic has been little studied. There are some partial considerations of Bosnia-Herzegovina (when it was part of the former Yugoslav republic) by demographers studying Yugoslavia (Breznik et.al., 1972; Rasevic, 1965), but there is a dearth of in-depth research on the topic. In particular, there are no detailed fertility surveys, which elsewhere have formed a key basis of study as the case in Serbia (Rasevic, 1971; Breznik, 1980a; Rasevic, 1998; Rasevic, 1999).

Lack of existing relevant research coupled with the potential significance of changes in fertility in Bosnia-Herzegovina presents a major challenge to be rectified in this doctoral research. The aim of the research is to build upon an historical review of fertility changes and the relationship between these changes and women's position in society. This will entail broad consideration of the factors affecting fertility changes in Bosnian society during the modern period when Bosnia-Herzegovina was part of the former Yugoslav republic. The study will be brought up to date by also considering changes occurring in the last decade of the 20th century, during which Bosnia-Herzegovina has been established as an independent state.

Data on fertility (at both regional and municipality level) will be collected from various institutions, notably the Federal Office of Statistics, Institute of Statistics of Republic of Srpska and the Agency for Statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina. There may be problems of accuracy and reliability of data for the period covering the recent conflict, and additional data for this period and on current trends will also be generated through field-work. Because data on fertility provided

by official institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina for the recent period is insufficient to produce a complete picture of the fertility situation in the country some additional data will be generated through field-work. In particular, throughout the course of the research numerous interviews will be conducted with women in various municipalities in different regions of BiH. (including Trebinje, Mostar, Maglaj, Srajevo, Gorazde, Kljuc, Drvar, Bosanski Petrovac, Bihac, Tuzla and Banja Luka). Standard questionnaires will not be used, but during the course of conversations women will be allowed more scope for elaboration rather than answering specific questions that demand only fixed responses. The respondents will have different backgrounds and places of residence (with a range of rural and urban locations utilised). In addition to information obtained from women, some interviews will be conducted with persons from relevant institutions that can offer useful information. The main purpose of the information collected through field-work is to contribute to drawing the correct conclusions when official data are analysed by providing more detail and revealing the experiences of individual women.

However, there is a good base from which to work, namely the 1991 Population Census conducted throughout the former Yugoslavia. This Census and previous decennial Censuses will provide data for an historical perspective. The data will be analysed using standard demographic statistical methods.

1.3 Aims of The Research

- provide an historical review of fertility in Bosnia and Herzegovina
- calculate and analyze rates of fertility (including both pre-war and post-war periods)
- examine the correlations between fertility, urbanization and GDP per capita
- examine the changes in the status of women over time, focusing on changes from traditional society to the modern period, and including reference to policies to generate gender equality
- examine the correlations between fertility, women's education and women's work status

- investigate possible differences in the fertility levels of women from the country's different ethnic groups
- examine the impacts of social and cultural factors on fertility levels
- examine the impacts of demographic events and variables, such as population movements (voluntary and forced)
- illustrate and analyse regional differences of fertility within Bosnia and Herzegovina
- illustrate and analyse fertility differences in rural and urban areas
- provide a comparative overview of fertility in other countries, especially considering comparisons with neighbouring countries.

1.4 Research Methods

- collecting data for the research (from institutions and through field-work)
- process and analyse collected data
- map processed data using GIS techniques (Arc GIS 9.2)
- statistical analysis: descriptive statistics; inferential statistics: correlation and regression

1.5 Measuring methods

Within methods used in processing the research data are various measures of fertility. A traditional concern of demographers in the field has been the examination of differential fertility variations and associated spatial patterns. The measures used include the following:

Crude birth rate CBR - the simplest, and at the same time the commonest, measure relating the number of births to a unit of population, commonly 1000, in a particular period of time (usually one year)

$$\text{CBR} = \frac{B}{P} \times 1000$$

There are more useful refined measures of fertility that give more precise calculations. The first among them is:

Total fertility rate TFR – is most widely used by demographers. Total fertility rate represents the average number of children (of either sex) that women would bear passing through the reproductive (child-bearing) age if their reproductive behaviour does not change. That means:

- None of the women die during this period
- Age specific birth rates remain the same as for the year of calculation.

$$\text{TFR} = 5 \sum_{15-19}^{45-49} \left(\frac{B}{P_f} \times 1000 \right)$$

A more critical appreciation of fertility level can be derived from a table of fertility rates disaggregated by age.

Age specific birth rate ASFR - measures the number of births in a year to women of a given age group per 1000 women in that age group.

$$\text{ASFR} = \frac{B_{fa}}{P_{fa}} \times 1000$$

It should be noted that the TFR is a hypothetical figure based on age specific birth rates. A disadvantage of this measure is that it does not give any information about the age specific distribution of fertility, so behind two identical values there may be different distributions of ASFR.

1.6 Thesis Structure

This chapter provides a brief insight and introduction to the research that has been undertaken. In order to do so the organization of the remainder of this thesis is outlined below:

Chapter 2 outlines the perception of population growth in the world and different regions referring to stages in the Demographic Transitional Model. It reviews the differences in growth rates among the major areas (continents) during 1950-2000. The first demographic transition is portrayed as an inevitable process in every country, which (according to most models) and was supposed to end with replacement-level fertility and stationary population numbers. This chapter discusses different ideas and theories referring to fertility change and decline. A review of crude birth rates and fertility levels in the last fifty years of the 20th century is provided in order to better understand the phenomenon of fertility change. The pace of fertility decline among different developing regions are examined, revealing remarkable differences amongst the world major's areas. Fertility levels and trends in particular groups of countries are presented.

Chapter 3 moves on to review the fertility characteristics and family policy in Europe. It sheds some light on population growth in Europe, European regions and particular European countries. Diverse population growth rates and a fertility transition are marked. Around the 1950s, in all European countries total fertility rates had values above replacement level. Since the early 1960s, all European countries have experienced considerable decline of fertility and by the end of the 20th century the rates were far below replacement levels almost everywhere. Within this chapter, a review of the ongoing fertility decline is analysed. Particular attention is paid to several factors responding to socioeconomic changes occurring in most European countries that remain strongly associated with the onset of fertility decline as well as the duration of the decline. The variation in levels of the total fertility rates among countries is registered and analysed. The age pattern of fertility in the world, especially in different developed regions and Europe as a whole, is considered. The different types, classifications, functions and forms attributed to family policy are

also highlighted. Focus is placed on the development of family policy in recent decades as a part of gender policies.

Chapter 4 outlines the perceptions of determinants of fertility considering that fertility is a result of the population fecundity and impact of factors affecting fertility. The interaction between fertility and the factors that determine its character are explained. In so doing a group of determinants is distinguished as biological, socio-economic and psychological factors. The chapter reviews measuring methods used in processing the research data. After reviewing fertility characteristics in the world's different developed regions and shedding light on the fertility transition across Europe in Chapters Two and Three, the explanations for demographic change and fall in fertility in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in neighbouring states are analysed. This chapter looks at natality trends for the other parts of the former Yugoslav republic in order to give a clearer account for Bosnia and Herzegovina. Particular conditions that had a strong impact in maintaining the natality and fertility rates are discussed, and different socio-economic, historical and cultural environments in the individual republics and regions are stressed. These differences are analysed in terms of various changing relationships with the onset of the fertility transition. Total fertility and age specific fertility rates are examined for each census year in the second half of the 20th century.

Chapter 5 focuses on fertility characteristics in Bosnia and Herzegovina from the 1950s to 1991. This chapter examines relationships between educational attainment and fertility levels. In so doing the educational structure of the population is highlighted and changes in fertility rates after primary education became compulsory at the state level. It reviews the various fertility levels among different educational groups according to the age of women. Differentials in the number of births by women in different age groups and also by women in the same age groups are presented and analysed for all census years. Furthermore, the main focus is on the fertility of the women of particular ethnicity, and attention is dedicated to the three major ethnic groups (Bosniacs, Croats and Serbs) who comprise the highest percentage in the total population in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The analysis of the

fertility rates of women by activity and occupation is not provided because data about the number of live births by mothers with those characteristics are missing. So, the changes in the numbers of female population by activities and average number of children ever born by mothers in different age groups by occupation and activities is provided only for the 1961 census year. However, this throws some light on the order of births among women according to education and activity. Infant mortality, live births outside marriage and marriage and divorces are also highlighted. Besides the number of marriages and the marriage rate, comparison is made of the numbers of marriages among women in the different age groups and age at marriage.

Chapter 6 moves on to review the changes that have occurred in the position of women throughout history. The main reason is the changed status of women in modern society as an important factor in recognizing relationships between family planning and fertility. This concentrates on the historical aspect of female positions in society from an economic viewpoint. The female 'question' is presented primarily as a question of economic inequality of women in society, from which all other social injustices for the female gender originate. In so doing this chapter is firstly focused on the female position in primitive societies, and then on women's position in socio-economic class legalities-slave holding, feudalism and capitalism, and finally, within this last socio-economic class, class formation and socialism. The suffrage movement is discussed and theoretical understandings of female labour and the social status of women are presented. Particular emphasis is placed on the context in which ideas about the position of women occurs by progressive theorizing about feminism, including contemporary Marxist feminist views as well as by other theoretician and schools. The patterns of economic activity of women over time together with differences in employment levels between differently qualified women are analysed. Going further, within this chapter some attention is given to the conditions of employment of married women and mothers and the protection of maternity of the employed women. This sheds light on national actions to improve the status of women in different countries. The economic and social status of women in the former Yugoslavia and Bosnia and Herzegovina is illustrated. Employment and education are discussed as factors that significantly determine the social position

of women, as illustrated by numerous different trends presented within the thesis. This chapter seeks to review the process of emancipation of women in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which has been slower than in most other countries in Europe. The differentiation of social roles by gender in this strongly dominant patriarchal society and the impact of other significant circumstances within the country are examined.

The purpose of *Chapter 7* is to supplement the ongoing debate about the 'true' nature of the income-fertility and urbanization-fertility nexus with evidence from a panel dataset of 109 municipalities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, observed in 1991. So, the chapter provides an overview of this investigation, though it should be noted that analysis of this dataset focuses only on certain variables and that these possibly exclude a considerable variety of other socio-economic factors, which may possess significant explanatory power for human fertility. In the database (initially collected by Professor Bosnjovic and the author), the income variable equals the real GDP* per capita in 1991, and fertility is measured as the total fertility rate (children per woman), as compiled by the Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Federal Office of Statistics. Some statistical analyses are performed. The examination of the strength of the relationships between fertility and GDP (\$ per capita) and between fertility and urbanization is developed via regression analysis.

Chapter 8 seeks to highlight a number of fertility indicators including levels and patterns in both the most commonly used measures of fertility: the total fertility rate and age specific fertility rates. The intention is to elaborate and establish fertility differences depending on some background characteristics of women in Bosnia and Herzegovina according to the 1991 Population Census. Firstly, attention is focused on fertility characteristics according to place of residence (urban-rural). More specifically, it provides evidence on the extent to which age structure is linked to differences in fertility. Rural-urban migration and income-fertility as well as urbanization-fertility relationships are taken into account. Analysis of adolescent fertility also takes place within this chapter. Furthermore, levels of urban and rural fertility according to ethnicity of the population are considered by examining total

fertility rate and age specific fertility rates. The age structure of women and their share of births according to age and place of residence are also analysed here.

Chapter 9 illustrates the education-fertility relationship. It offers a review of the ways in which this relationship is examined by different researchers. It seeks to investigate the relationship between education attainment and reproductive attitudes and behaviour in Bosnia and Herzegovina according to the 1991 Population Census. So, an analysis of the fertility rates among women with different levels of education at the municipality level is provided. The main intention is to review the existing hypothesis that attributes reproductive differences to specific differences between higher educated and lower educated women in association with socio-economic changes and the fertility transition. The literacy issue is discussed and evidence on the extent to which illiteracy and high fertility are linked is provided. Educational attainment of the female population in accordance with age and place of residence and fertility rate at the municipality levels is examined and analysed.

Chapter 10 provides details of the employment-fertility relationship. After a review of the concept of this relationship as viewed by various articles by many authors, the purpose in this chapter is to examine the relationship between female employment and fertility in Bosnia and Herzegovina according to the 1991 Population Census. This determines whether females face a conflict between their reproductive and professional roles according to place of residence and occupation. This chapter proposes to assess the relationship between economic activity and occupational characteristics and fertility levels. More specifically, the participation in economic activity by the population, as well as the female population in each municipality and the fertility rate are analysed. Total fertility rate is evaluated and examined with respect to differences between women by occupation, age and place of residence. The relationship between number of women and live births according to age and place of residence is analysed and presented graphically.

Chapter 11 seeks to provide a context within which the recent economic and social status of women in Bosnia and Herzegovina is viewed. With the intention to

outline the causes of the current socio-economic status of women, the analysis is based not only on data from the Agency for Statistics BiH but also on several pieces of research done in this area as well as on the data obtained by personal contacts with women and representatives from different Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and other relevant institutions and organizations. This focuses on the impact of wartime on demographic change and gender specificities. The state of women's rights are presented by some general characteristics and institutional mechanisms established for gender issues are provided. This chapter throws some light on the level of engagement of women in decisions that will continue to shape the future economic development of the country and, especially, on the political participation of women. The efforts and projects done in the name of improving the status of women by NGOs are reviewed. Violence against women and domestic violence as a widespread social problem in Bosnia and Herzegovina and related significant issues are considered. This also illustrates the organization of the health sector and women's health protection. The aspect of poverty amongst women is considered indicating the poverty of women not only by income, but also by the lack of choices available to many Bosnian women.

Chapter 12 outlines the current demographic situation in Europe through providing some ideas that are stressed by many researchers. This stresses the diversity in family patterns and serious concern about population trends with low levels of fertility across Europe. In addition to Chapter Eleven, this chapter moves on to review the circumstances and demographic characteristics during the recent post-war period in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Although a Population Census has not been conducted since 1991 and an accurate analysis of fertility patterns at the municipality level cannot be provided, some available data are used as an indicator of the fertility level and a relevant contemporary demographic picture of the country is provided. In so doing, the changes in the numbers of population and live births in the municipalities are analysed. This provides a review of the average number of household members and offers information on the structure of households in the recent period. Crude birth rates are examined and their differences in the municipalities in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Republic of Srpska.

Family life and trends towards changes of family structure are outlined. Patterns of intensity and timing of nuptiality and dissolution of unions are also analysed. Besides other influences on the fertility levels average age at marriage and age at childbirth are given some attention here. The total fertility rate and age specific fertility rates for Bosnia and Herzegovina are analysed. The age composition of the population as an important and direct consequence of the fertility transition is highlighted.

The *Conclusion* reviews the major findings and key themes of the thesis. It situates this research with respect to the aims and objectives that were outlined at the outset of this research. By analyzing lots of population data taking the whole period examined into consideration a historical review of fertility in Bosnia and Herzegovina is provided. The main findings of the research outline are indicated. The general decline of total fertility as well as a decline in age specific fertility rates is registered. Bosnia and Herzegovina together with Montenegro and Macedonia are distinguished as region of medium birth rates in the early 1990s, with existing tendency of fertility decline. Through the analyses that go into details based on 1991 census data and on data from other sources, the relationship between changes of women's position and of fertility changes are observed and explained. An important concern of women's position is the impact of national but also of regional and local norms and culture beside the fact that Bosnia and Herzegovina has no particularly strong and widespread state impact that alters childbearing norms across all social strata. A new tendency of the modern reproduction model appeared in line with changes in the age limit for giving birth to the first child, as slow upward tendency occurred and a slight increase in the average age at getting married for women and man according place of residence was recorded. Our finding supports the view that economic development and de-ruralization as well as mass education changed the labour market and job opportunities for the female population, which influenced child-bearing behaviour in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The large body of evidence proving how high total fertility rate is related to economically less developed and less urbanized municipalities helps to elucidate the relationship between a woman's education attainment and occupation and fertility level. The number of municipalities with total fertility above the replacement level was smaller as the proportion of

economically active female and their educational attainment was higher. The fertility of particular ethnic group experienced changes and notably declined from 1960s to 1990s with more similar values for women of different ethnicities in 1990s than earlier.

The state of women's rights and status changes in Bosnia and Herzegovina in recent years is presented as well as efforts that play an important role in strengthening the position of women. The analysis of live births in the post-war period proved that there was a downward tendency as a result of the difficult socio-economic and political situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

2 POPULATION GROWTH AND THE DEMOGRAPHIC TRANSITION 1950-2000

2.1 Population growth in the world and different developed regions

According to the United Nations' 2002 Revision of the official world population estimates and projections, the increasing diversity of population dynamics among the countries and regions of the world is evident. Although knowledge about the dynamics of population throughout human history is poor and sketchy, the trends experienced during the twentieth century have been unique. It is certain that never before has the world's population grown as rapidly as in the second half of the twentieth century. Also, never before have global reductions in the growth rate been achieved by the sustained reduction of fertility among the peoples of the world.

Table 2.1 WORLD POPULATION CHANGE FOR 1900-2005

<i>Year</i>	<i>Population (milions)</i>	<i>Period</i>	<i>Growth rate (percentage)</i>
1900	1656	1900-1905	0.58
1925	1850	1925-1930	1.17
1950	2521	1950-1955	1.77
1955	2755	1955-1960	1.85
1960	3022	1960-1965	1.98
1965	3337	1965-1970	2.04
1970	3696	1970-1975	1.95
1975	4075	1975-1980	1.72
1980	4440	1980-1985	1.71
1985	4837	1985-1990	1.70
1990	5266	1990-1995	1.46
1995	5666	1995-2000	1.31
2000	6078	2000-2005	1.21
2005	6453		

Source: 1900 population from *Determinants and Consequences of population trends, vol. I* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.71.XIII.5), table II. 1.

UN Population Division, *World Population Prospects: The 2004 Revision. Highlights.*
note: projection for 2045-2050 based on medium-variant for global population growth estimates by the UN.

The world population more than doubled, indeed it almost tripled, between 1950 and 2000, from 2.5 billion to 6.1 billion persons. World population growth rates peaked at 2.04 per cent per annum during 1965–1970, after rising continuously for at least two centuries. This rapid increase in the population growth rate resulted from the combination of a rapid decrease in crude death rates (by 6.4 per 1000) and a smaller decline in the crude birth rates (by 3.6 per 1000). Having experienced virtually a constant average annual growth during the 1950s and 1960s the first decline in the growth rate occurred after 1970. Between 1975 and 1990 the growth rate remained constant, at about 1.70 per cent increase in growth per annum. From 1990-1995 the growth rate dropped to 1.46 per cent per annum. From 1995-2000, the annual growth rate was 1.31 per cent and from 2000-2005, the most recent period for which an estimate is available, the annual growth rate was 1.21 per cent (Table 2.1).

Population growth levels and trends among the major regions of the world are diverse, as shown in Figure 2.1.

**Figure 2.1 AVERAGE GROWTH RATE FOR THE WORLD AND MAJOR REGIONS,
1950-2025**

Source: 1900 population from *Determinants and Consequences of population trends, vol. I* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.71.XIII.5), table II. 1.

In 1950 there were 1.7 billion persons in the less developed regions. By 2000 the numbers had risen to 4.9 billion persons, an increase of 3.2 billion persons, representing 80 per cent of the total world population growth.

Since the Second World War four phases of population growth can be distinguished:

- I - a rapid increase in the rate of population growth from 1950-1970
- II - a steep decline in growth rate in the 1970s
- III - a relatively constant rate of growth from the late 1970s to 1990
- IV - a rapid decrease in the growth rate from 1990 to the present

Referring to stages in the Demographic Transitional Model any one region or country can be at one of the four phases of world population growth described above at any given time. The Demographic Transition involves four stages. In stage one death rates and birth rates are high and roughly in balance. In stage two, the death rates drop rapidly due to improvements in food supply and sanitation, which increase life spans and reduce disease. These changes usually come about due to improvements in farming techniques, access to technology, basic healthcare, and education. The countries in this stage experience a large increase in population because birth rates were still high. In stage three, birth rates fall due to access to contraception, increases in wages, urbanization, a reduction in subsistence agriculture, an increase in the status and education of women, a reduction in the value of children's work, an increase in parental investment in the education of children and other social changes. In stage four both rates are low. Birth rates drop to well below replacement level as has happened in several European countries, leading to a shrinking population. Death rates may remain consistently low or increase slightly due to increases in lifestyle diseases due to low exercise levels and high obesity and an aging population in developed countries.

During 1950-1955 the growth rate among the more developed regions was about 40 per cent lower than that of the less developed regions (1.3 and 2.0 per cent per annum respectively). During the same period, the more developed regions were

at the end of phase III of the transition, whereas the less developed regions were at the beginning of phase I. The more developed regions had reached phase IV around 1960. On the other hand, the less developed regions moved into phase IV in 1990-1995. In addition, the less developed regions grew very fast until 1970, with a growth rate of 2.5. On the other hand, the growth rate of more developed regions decreased to 0.9 per cent per annum during the same period. It is certain that these trends resulted in an increase in the gap between the growth rates of the different developing regions. From the 1965-1970 period until recently, growth rates throughout the world have been declining.

The growth rate of the least developed countries increased until at a peak at 2.9 in 1990-1995, with a subsequent decline. These countries made up 8 per cent of the world's population in 1950, while with 656 million people in 2000 their contribution to the world's population had increased to 11 per cent. Beyond 2000, the growth rates in all regions are projected to continue but with a declining trend (Figure 2.1).

The differences in growth rates among the major areas (continents) are also obvious. Africa was the fastest growing major area with an increase of about 72 per cent of population during the fifty-year period, from 221 million in 1950 to 794 million persons in 2000, while other continents had lower population increases. At the other extreme, the population of Europe increased by only 25 per cent of population, with the lowest population growth rate (from 0.8 in 1950s to 0.3 per cent in 2000) among the other continents.

The African continent had the highest growth rate of 3.0 per cent per year during 1985-1990, while at the same time Europe had the lowest growth rate of 0.4 per cent. Asia and Latin America had almost the same growth rate (1.9 and 2.0 per cent per year respectively), while Northern America grew at about 1 per cent (United Nations, 1993; United Nations, 2000; United Nations, 2005).

So, the annual addition to the world population in the early 1950s was about 50 million each year and has been growing since then. The distribution of population increase among the major regions is related to their population size. Of this increase almost 60 per cent occurred in Asia, around 11 per cent in Africa and 10 per cent in Latin America, though this distribution has also been changing through time. By the end of the twentieth century, the total world population was increasing by more than 80 million additional persons each year.

Heuveline (1999) argued that major changes in demographic regimes have long-lasting impacts on population size, growth, and structure that have been studied during the past fifty years, and interest concerns the long-term implications of mortality and fertility trends into the twenty-first century. Because mortality and fertility decline have varied in scope and timing in different parts of the world, particular changes have partially offset others.

2.2 *The world's demographic transition*

The Demographic Transition Model, which was formulated by demographers Warren S. Thompson and Frank W. Notestein¹, seeks to explain the transformation of countries from having high birth and death rates to low birth and death rates, through three stages. The model gives a description of the fall in fertility occurring during the transition from pre-industrial societies to modern societies.

1 W.S.Thompson: "Population", *American Journal for Sociology*, 34, May 1929, pp. 959-975. More detailed in the "Plenty of People", Lancaster Pa., the J. Cattell Press 1944 pp. 89-98. Frank W. Notestein "Population - the Long View", and "Food for the World", T.W. Shultz editor, University of Chicago Press, 1944, pp 31—58, and "The Population of the world in the Year 2000", *Journal of American Statistical Association*, XLV, September 1950, pp.335-350.

As with all models, the demographic transition model has its own problems and limitations. This model has to provide a framework capable of explaining fertility declines in the Developed World from the late nineteenth century and in the contemporary Developing World. Unfortunately, it has not provided an answer to the question of how long it takes a country to get from one stage to another, and it does not predict that all countries will reach stage III and have stable low birth and death rates.

The Demographic Transition Model includes some basic characteristics, for example a general decline in the mortality level, especially infant mortality, decline of natality (fertility), the shift from natural (uncontrolled) to a controlling regime of fertility within marriage, changes in age structure and accompanied consequences (including ageing of the population). The demographic transition is portrayed as an inevitable process in every country that is underlined by social change. This social as much as economic change or development is different throughout the world, and has an influence on the variety and heterogeneity in demographic change. Although most of the European countries have passed through the first demographic transition and are well on the way to reaching or reached the second demographic transition, some of them are still in one of the phases of the first transition.

The first demographic transition was supposed to end with replacement fertility and stationary and stable population. On the other hand, the second demographic transition has brought sustained sub-replacement fertility and lead to population declining in size. The population will also be older than by the end point of the first demographic transition (Lesthaeghe, 1995).

Philippe Ariés (1980) follows the idea that decline in fertility during the first demographic transition refers to altruistic investment in child quality; while within the second demographic transition it is weakened and the main motivation for parenthood is adult self-realization. As a major stepping stone of the second demographic transition Lesthaeghe (1991) considered Abraham Maslow's theory of changing needs (1954). Maslow argued that as population becomes more educated

and wealthy and their attention is not associated only with survival then a greater emphasis is given to individual self-realization and education and work values.

Maslow's hierarchy of needs looks as follows:

1. Biological and Physiological needs - air, food, drink, shelter, warmth, sex, sleep, etc.
2. Safety needs - protection from elements, security, order, law, limits, stability, etc.
3. Belongingness and Love needs - work group, family, affection, relationships, etc.
4. Esteem needs - self-esteem, achievement, mastery, independence, status, dominance, prestige, managerial responsibility, etc.
5. Self-Actualization needs - realizing personal potential, self-fulfillment, seeking personal growth and peak experiences.

The steady reduction in world population growth rates has generally been caused by the decline of world fertility levels, which is the most significant demographic change over the past few decades (United Nations, 2001).

At the Expert Group Meeting on Completing the Fertility Transition, at United Nations' Headquarters in New York, in March 2002, fertility change was discussed, with the emphasis on the situation in intermediate-fertility countries. These intermediate-fertility countries are defined as countries with total fertility between 2.10 and 5.00 children per woman in 1995-2000. Henning noted that until recently demographers have thought that the demographic transition would end by producing a stationary population, where fertility remained constant at replacement level. However, it appears that the world as a whole might have an extended period of low fertility leading to an actual reduction of world population (UN Population Division 2001).

According to Caldwell's theory of intergenerational wealth flows a direct link between family structure and fertility is proposed. Fertility decisions in all societies are economically rational responses to familial wealth flows. In societies with net

upward wealth flows each child adds to a parent's wealth, security in old age and social well-being. The economically rational decision to have the minimum number of children allowed by a psychological disposition that derives pleasure from children through parenting is characteristic in societies with net downward wealth flows (Caldwell, 1980). Caldwell's theory is not unique in proposing links between cost of children and fertility but differs from others by expanding the definition of intergenerational transfers across the life course and by linking changing value systems regarding intergenerational transfers of wealth to fertility transition (Caldwell, 1982). Notestein (1945) considered the cost of children and their economic value as major determinants of fertility. Becker (1960) proposed formal models of the demand for children based on the household production function. Leibenstein (1957) also respecting Notestein, offered evidence regarding the value of children's labour in agricultural societies.

2.3 Crude birth rates in the world and for major regions

In order to better understand the phenomenon of fertility change in general, a review of crude birth rates and fertility levels in the last fifty years is now provided.

The crude birth rate for the total world population was 37.4 births per 1000 population in 1950-1955. This average resulted from very varied experiences at the country level and for the world's major regions. From 1950-1955 to 1995-2000, the world crude birth rate declined from 37.4 to 22.6 births per 1000 population. The pace of decline during the period 1950 – 2000 has varied significantly, with a general decline of about 40 per cent. In these fifty years the decline was slow at first (only 2.1 births per 1000), between 1950-1955 and 1960-1965, rapid from 1960-1965 to 1975-1980 with 7.0 births per 1000 population and slower from 1975-1980 to 1985-1990, with a decline of 1.5 births per 1000. The decline continued to be slow again between 1985-1990 and 1995-2000, at around the same value (1.5 births per 1000).

Table 2.2 CRUDE BIRTH RATES – WORLD AND MAJOR REGIONS 1950-2025

<i>Year</i>	<i>World total</i>	<i>More developed regions</i>	<i>Less developed regions</i>	<i>Least developed regions</i>
<i>Crude Birth rate (per thousand)</i>				
1950 – 55	37.4	22.0	44.5	48.1
1955 – 60	35.6	21.1	42.0	47.9
1960 – 65	35.3	19.6	41.8	47.7
1965 – 70	33.8	17.3	40.3	47.8
1970 – 75	30.9	16.1	36.3	47.8
1975 – 80	28.3	14.9	32.8	46.9
1980 – 85	27.5	14.5	31.5	46.0
1985 – 90	26.8	13.9	30.5	43.1
1990 – 95	24.1	12.4	27.2	40.4
1995 – 00	22.6	11.4	25.4	39.4
2000 – 05	21.3	11.1	23.6	37.3
2005 – 10	20.3	11.3	22.2	35.1
2010 – 15	19.3	11.3	20.9	32.7
2015 – 20	18.4	11.0	19.8	30.0
2020 – 25	17.4	10.8	18.6	27.7

Source: "World Population Prospects: The 1996 Revision", United Nations, 1997

The most significant decline was among the more developed regions (*) of the world, 48 per cent during the fifty-year period. There was a somewhat lower decline in crude birth rate among less developed regions, about 43 per cent, but representing a decline of 19.1 births per 1000 population. The number of births among least developed regions (**) in 1995-2000 was 8.7 births per 1000 population lower than in 1950-1955, a fall of just 18 per cent.

During the post-war period the crude birth rate among more developed regions was half or more than half that for less developed regions (Table 2.2).

The number of births during 1950–1955 were 99 million per annum for the world as a whole. Since then, the number of births has steadily increased and is expected to continue increasing up to 2015. While the average number of births per annum has been increasing slightly in the less developed regions, from about 80 million births in 1950 to about 115 million in 2000, in the more developed regions it

*More developed regions comprise Northern America, Japan, Europe, Australasia.

** Less developed regions comprise all regions of Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, Asia (excluding Japan), and Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia.

has declined marginally from about 20 million in 1950 to about 15 million in 2000. It accounts for the worsening ratio of births between the more and less developed regions. Out of every 100 births in 2000, 89 were born to women in the less developed regions and only 11 to women in the more developed regions (United Nations, 2001).

2.4 Fertility levels and trends in the world and different developing regions

Since the 1950s, when population dynamics in the developing world began to be measured systematically, demographers started to warn of the difference in fertility levels and fertility changes all over the world. Among the more developed regions some countries experienced periods of below-replacement fertility earlier in the twentieth century. In most countries fertility rebounded to levels well above replacement during the 1940s, 1950s and also into the 1960s. In most of the low-fertility countries even in the 1920s and 1930s, that early transition to low fertility was not abrupt. Rather, this trend represents a continuation of long-term declining trends (Teitelbaum and Winter, 1985).

There was no conclusive evidence suggesting that decline in fertility among developing regions was about to take place even in the late 1950s and early 1960s. It was difficult to predict the onset of fertility reductions in countries where fertility had not shown any signs of change. So, the population projections of the United Nations by the early 1970s were based on the assumption that fertility reductions would occur in all regions but the timing of those reductions was not forecast accurately for every country.

The period after World War II until the late 1960s is characterised as the baby-boom period, with raised fertility levels in many parts of the developed world. In the early 1950s the total fertility rate for the world as a whole was 5.01 children per woman. Since 1965-1970, when the baby-boom was rapidly turning into a baby-bust, very low fertility has prevailed in many of the countries which embarked early on the demographic transition.

Figure 2.2 TOTAL FERTILITY RATES: WORLD, MORE DEVELOPED, LESS DEVELOPED AND LEAST DEVELOPED REGIONS 1950-2000

Source: World Population Prospects: The 1998 Revision, vol.I, Comprehensive Tables (UN publications, Sales No. E.99.XIII.9)

The high level of world fertility (around 5.00 children per woman) remained more or less constant until 1970, and then declined rapidly to 3.92 (a decline of more than one child) in the 1975-1980 period. Although at a slower pace, this decline continued to a level of 3.36 children per woman in 1985-1990. Since 1970-1975, the world fertility rate has declined by almost 40 per cent, from 4.48 to 2.79 children per woman in 1995-2000.

The pace of fertility decline during 1950-2000 has varied significantly among different developing regions (Figure 2.2). Examination of the trends experienced in the second half of the twentieth century by the low-fertility countries, among the more developed regions, indicates that many of them already were in the last stages of the transition to low fertility by 1950-1955. Total fertility reached levels below 3,00 children per woman. In 1950-1955, women in the less developed regions of the world had on average 3.40 children more than women in the more

developed regions. The total fertility rate of the less developed regions for this period was 6.17 births per woman.

While the fertility level for the less developed regions was stagnating between 1950 and 1970, the total fertility rate of the more developed regions declined steadily from 2.77 in 1955-1960 to 2.36 in 1965-1970. After this period of slow decline the total fertility rate in this major area remained more or less constant at about 1.84 births per woman between 1980-1985 and 1990-1995. The last few years of the 1990s saw a slowing down of the decline in the total fertility of the more developed regions, from 1.68 in 1990-1995 to 1.59 births per woman in 1995-2000.

After the stagnation of fertility levels during 1950-1970 in the less developed regions, fertility declined rapidly to 4.65 in 1975-1980, since when it declined more slowly to 3.81 births per woman in 1985-1990. The decade of the 1990s was characterized by a decline of 0.8 births, with a total fertility rate of 3.08 births per woman in 1995-2000.

The least developed countries had a total fertility rate of more than 6.00 births per woman for the whole period from 1950 until 1995. In the last five years of the 1990s this rate declined to 5.25 births (United Nations, 1997; United Nations, 2000).

2.5 Conclusion

The Conclusion introduces some opinions of demographers that seek to explain the changes in population growth and fertility transition presented in this chapter.

Henning (2002) in the background paper for the Expert Group Meeting on Completing the Fertility Transition, at United Nations Headquarters in New York, from 11-14 March 2002, stressed the fact that the number of developing countries whose fertility was already below-replacement level was growing. Experience of several countries in Eastern and South-eastern Asia indicate that the transition to low fertility will not necessarily stop at replacement level. Her consideration was the argument that socio-economic factors could not explain the onset of fertility decline and that recent studies of the fertility transition indicate that pervasiveness of fertility reductions has been driven by diffusion of values and norms regarding fertility control, which lead to similar behavioral change in different societies, and also causing below-replacement fertility to spread from one social group to another and from one country to another. So, the target levels of fertility for intermediate-fertility countries reached by 2050 in the low, medium and high variants would be 1.35, 1.85 and 2.35 children per women, respectively. In her conclusion it was noted that, *“until recently, demographers had thought that the demographic transition would end by producing a stable state in which fertility remained constant at replacement level and total world population stabilized. It now appears likely, that the world as a whole might experience an extended period of below replacement fertility leading, eventually, to a reduction of world population.”*¹

¹Henning, S. 2002. “The Future of Fertility in Intermediate-fertility Countries,” UN Population Division. p.4.

Caldwell (2002) argues that Governments of developed countries seemed to be losing interest in population change and policy. His opinion is that a lower population size in the future was likely, if developed countries did not become too fixated on their own prospects of population decline in coming decades. He also stressed that if countries with below-replacement fertility adopt pro-natalist policies, that might stabilise population numbers. Caldwell's conclusion was that there no longer seemed to be obstacles to most countries reaching below replacement fertility levels.

Sinding (2002) mentioned that there seems to be a broad decline of interest in population growth as a matter of international concern. He had used statistical methods to show that countries with high levels of political will and particular external assistance achieved more rapid fertility declines, but statistically significant findings had not emerged.

Cosio-Zavala (2002) in a review of four studies into the fertility transition, proposed the introduction of gender relations as these are of critical relevance for fertility, although neglected in some studies. She found arguments that female autonomy plays a strong role in reproductive behaviour, and there is strong evidence that the specific nature of gender relations plays a strong role in explaining reproductive behaviour even after controlling for women's autonomy. In Cosio-Zavala's conclusion appears a request for more research, but substantial progress has been made in understanding how gender systems influence fertility decline.

Richards (1977) stressed the importance of the Princeton project and data collected within it, appropriate for testing hypotheses about the demographic transition. The Princeton Project on the Decline of Fertility in Europe (or European Fertility Project, hereafter EFP) was carried out at Princeton University's Office of Population Research in the 1960s and 1970s. The aim of this project was to characterize the decline of fertility that took place in Europe during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The project's summary statements argued that social and economic forces played little role in bringing about the fertility transition. The

statement stresses instead a process of innovation and diffusion. A central feature of the EFP argument is a series of statistical exercises that purport to show that changes in economic and social conditions exerted little influence on fertility. The EFP suggested that this historical fertility transition occurred virtually simultaneously in a wide variety of economic and social environments.

In his paper Richards presents two possible versions of the 'theory' of the demographic transition and tests them using some data gathered by Knodel (1974). He analyzed the onset of fertility decline and variations between different administrative areas in the United States. He noted from Knodel's work that cross-sectionally, fertility was higher in rural than in urban areas, and higher in Catholic than in Protestant areas. At the same time different relations were found when variation through time is considered. The conceptual scheme is in general: demographic transition is associated with the impact of urbanization, industrialization, mortality, marriage patterns, migration and religious composition.

Calot and Chantal Blayo (1982) used two measures in their paper: completed fertility (CF) of birth cohorts and the total period fertility ratio (TPFR) for individual calendar years. In the 1950s, the total period fertility ratio was relatively high and heterogeneous. Between 1950 and 1965 TPFR in some countries increased substantially (Austria, Belgium, England and Wales, the FR of Germany, Norway, Spain, Switzerland) in others moderately (France, Italy, Netherlands) while in certain countries it remained constant (Denmark, Greece, Portugal, Sweden). In Finland was recorded the only decrease, and quite a dramatic one. The movement of the TPFR had a sudden break in 1964-5 in almost all countries, and the considerable fall in fertility slowed down around the mid 1970s, with a small upward trend observed in some (England and Wales, France). However, the fall in fertility by the 1980s was accompanied by greater homogeneity and simultaneously in Western, Northern and Central Europe with delays only in Southern Europe. The overall fertility range was only 0.5 children per woman. For more than thirty years, the TPFR has exceeded the CF and exaggerated the fertility level of actual birth cohorts. In some countries a continuous increase in the fertility of subsequent cohorts was registered until those

born in the 1930s and then there was a decline for cohorts born around 1950. There was a distinctive pattern with very small fluctuations of the CF over birth cohorts, such as the Swedish case. Calot and Blayo concluded that they are aware how such a short outline of the European fertility situation is not complete, and more statistics need to be produced to demonstrate this.

Findlay (1992) in his fertility analysis reviewed the way some demographers have looked for explanations largely in relation to the so-called proximate determinants. He mentioned some useful works conducted on the effects of changing attitudes to fertility (For example Guz and Hobcraft, 1991). Findlay stressed biosocial research on fertility and Caldwell's ideas concerning the relations between the collapse of the family mode of production and reversal of intergenerational wealth flows. This paper confirms the persistence of regional differences in fertility by noting some studies done by different authors. Some would propose the possibility that the postmodern condition will be characterized increasingly by individualized fertility attitudes and behaviour (Hoem and Hoem, 1989).

Billari and Kohler (2002) conducted descriptive aggregate analyses to express the relation between low and lowest-low fertility and cohort fertility and key fertility related behaviours (leaving the parental home, marriage and female labour force participation). They emphasize the arguments of Reher (1998) of family patterns in Southern Europe characterized by strong ties with the family in North-Western Europe, where ties have been weak. The authors portrayed a systematic pattern of lowest-low fertility that is characterized by a rapid delay of childbearing. At the end of the 1990s European countries were separated into some with moderately high fertility levels and countries with lowest-low fertility. The further analyses show that during the period from 1975 to 1999 the cross-country correlations in Europe of the total fertility level with the total first marriage rate, the proportion of extramarital births and the female labour participation rate have reversed.

Finally, there is clear indication that emergence of lowest-low fertility during the 1990s has been accompanied by a disruption of many well-known patterns used in explaining cross-country differences in fertility patterns.

3 FERTILITY CHARACTERISTICS AND FAMILY POLICY IN EUROPE 1950-2000

3.1 Population growth in Europe and European regions

The analyses in the previous chapter considered population growth and demographic transition in the world and major areas, during the fifty year period 1950-2000. Now, attention is turned to the situation in Europe, European regions and particular European countries. Since the 1950s until recently, Europe has had the lowest population growth rates in the world, compared with other continents. In 1950-1955 the population growth rate in Europe (0.8 per cent per annum) was about 1.0 per cent lower than in the world as a whole, but in 1980-1985 the difference was larger at 1.4 per cent (Europe 0.3 and World 1.7 per cent per annum), with the potential for the difference to decline, but still persisting in 2000-2005 and into the future.

Table 3.1 AVERAGE ANNUAL GROWTH RATES: REGIONS IN EUROPE

Major area and region	Growth rate (percentage)				
	1950-1955	1970-1975	1985-1990	1995-2000	2020-2025
Europe.....	0.8	0.6	0.4	0.0	-0.0
Eastern Europe.....	1.4	0.8	0.3	0.3	0.2
Northern Europe....	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.1	0.2
Southern Europe....	0.8	0.8	0.3	0.2	-0.1
Western Europe.....	0.7	0.5	0.5	0.3	-0.0

Source: United Nations Population Division: *World population prospects: The 2000 Revision, Volume II: The sex and age distribution of populations*
2002 World Population Data Sheet of the population reference bureau

The growth rate for Europe is projected to decline to -0.0 per cent in 2020-2025. Declining growth rates since 1950-1955 for Europe contributed to the changes in its proportion of the world population distribution among the major regions of the world: From 16 per cent in 1950 to around 11 per cent in the 2000s and declining further.

The main four European regions were characterized by diverse population growth rates in the five year period 1950-1955. The highest growth rate of the four regions was Eastern Europe: 1.4 per cent per annum and declining sharply to 0.8 in 1970-1975 and negative (-0.3 per cent) in 1995-2000, which is the lowest growth rate in Europe. By 1995-2000, the growth rate in Southern Europe had also declined to 0.2 per cent. Northern and Western Europe experienced a small increase during the 1980s, from 0.2 and 0.1 per cent per annum in 1980-1985 to 0.3 and 0.5 per cent per annum respectively (Table 3.1). The explanation for this increase is the existence of two factors. In some countries the increase was the result of an increase in fertility and an increase in net migrations during the 1980s (Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and Denmark). In some others the net migration rates were higher in 1985-1990 than in the previous five-year period. Northern Europe had the lowest growth rates, with a slight decline during the whole period, except the last one (1995-2000).

Probably, Europe will continue with its long-term declining trend and reach -0.0 growth in 2020-2025, with a steady decline in all regions. Europe's population is expected to decrease to 658 million by 2050, due to declining birth rates. (UN, Revision 2002).

3.2 Fertility transition in Europe

Recent fertility trends in developed countries, such as most of the European countries, have usually been accompanied by a noticeable divergence in fertility. The spread of replacement and below-replacement fertility to previously low fertility countries has occurred faster than the convergence of many other socio-economic characteristics. Presumed reasons for the fertility decline and extent to which governments are concerned about fertility differs from one country to another.

Around the 1950s, in all European countries total fertility rates had values above replacement level. Since the early 1960s, all European countries have experienced a considerable decline of fertility and by the end of the 20th century the rates were far below replacement levels almost everywhere. Nearly 7.5 million births per annum were registered in Europe by the end of the 20th century, a rate of average

10.0 births per 1000 population, with wide regional disparities from 10.7 births per 1000 in Western Europe to 9.0 births per 1000 in Eastern Europe.

The emergence of this fertility decline process has been associated with, or better to say was a result of, delaying childbearing in most countries. The decline has contributed to a reduction in the average family size, which started to occur in the early 1960s and recently has been accompanied by the phenomenon of ageing of fertility and by increased childlessness. The most widespread and fundamental change has been the reduction in large families. Recently, the phenomenon of ageing of fertility has become a major factor in current fertility trends. According to Kohler and Ortega (2002, 91-144) an ongoing delay of childbearing is associated with postponement-quantum interactions that lead to a reduction in completed fertility. Analyses show that additional delay in childbearing shifts first and second births towards older ages. So, the probability of progressing to another child is declining (Kohler, Billari, and Ortega, 2002).

Several factors responded to socioeconomic changes, such as investment in higher education and a different type of labour market, and which are likely to reinforce individual desires to delay childbearing. Kohler et al. (2002) argue that a consequence of the delay of childbearing shares many characteristics with the fertility transition in Europe. Although, the above trends occurred in most European countries there are great variations among different countries in the timing and the level of the onset of the decline as well as the duration of the decline. In the previous chapter some of differences and changes of the total fertility rates among European regions were presented. The situation across Europe more precisely looks as follows.

During the 1960s and 1970s the decline of fertility started in countries with democratic regimes after 1945.* Southern European countries (Spain, Portugal and Greece) experienced the decline somewhat later and proceeded with a rapid pace.

*Spain, Portugal, Greece, and the former state-socialist countries did not have continual democratic regimes.

In the Nordic countries, the total fertility rates have even slightly risen during the late 1980s and early 1990s, but decreased rapidly since that time. Western Europe had a slight increase in fertility, a rapid decline between 1960-1965 and 1970-1975 and then, fertility levels declined more slowly up to 1995-2000.

Figure 3.1 TOTAL FERTILITY RATE IN EUROPE

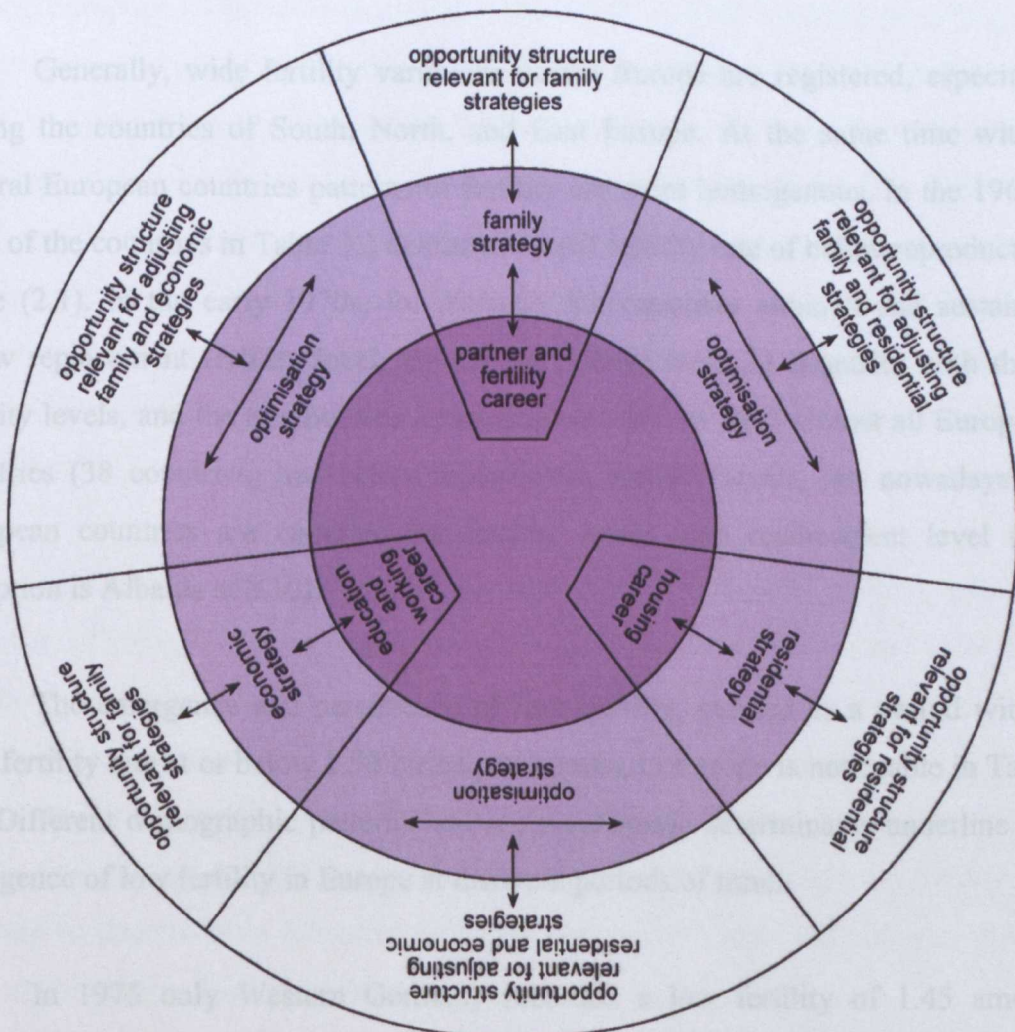
*Source: United Nations Population Division: World population prospects: The 2000 Revision, Volume II: The sex and age distribution of populations
The state of World population, Monitoring ICPD goals - Selected indicators*

Eastern Europe was the only European region that experienced decline, and even a sharp one from 1950-1955 to 1960-1965 (from 3.10 to 2.30 children per woman). Fertility decline had continued at a slower pace until 1990, but between 1990-1995 and 1995-2000 the decline was by 0.64 children per woman while the fifty-year fertility decline reached a value of about 1.69 children per woman lower in 1995-2000 than in the period 1950-1955 (Nayer, 2002). This decline is the highest one among all European regions. The smallest decline by 0.57 children per woman during the same period has experienced countries in Northern Europe (Figure 3.1).

The variation in levels of the total fertility rates among countries is the result of the changes in timing and phases of transition they have reached. Also, the fertility level is the result of the complex relationship between social context and prevailing values and norms in a society and environment in which individuals behave and act.

Bosveld (2001) argues that the life strategy relevant for fertility behaviour consists of the three life domains: the family life domain, the economic life domain and the residential life domain, and each one has its own specific opportunity structure. According to Bosveld's theory, the individual life course is characterized by the timing and sequence of events and sequence of life stages where the timing of an event refers to the moment a certain event occurs by age, while the sequence of events refers to whether or not an event will occur and order of events

Figure 3.2 THE LIFE STRATEGY APPROACH



Source: author drew according to Bosveld, 2001.

The scheme above offers an overview of the components of the life strategy that is divided into sub-strategies. Bosveld regards the family as the first life domain, referring to the partner and fertility career (the options are having children or not, the timing of the first child, the number of children and duration between the subsequent births). The second one concerns the economic life domain, and the third life domain comprises residential needs. The tactics people use to obtain their needs within each life domain, in this way is balanced between their needs within macro-level and micro-level opportunities and constraints in order to achieve life satisfaction on the best possible level. *“The actions that an individual can take concern the way careers are combined during the life course by the choice whether or not an event will occur and the timing of the occurrence. In this way we can speak of family strategies when we talk about the tactics people use to fill in their fertility and partner careers.”* (Bosveld, 2001, p. 58)

Generally, wide fertility variations across Europe are registered, especially among the countries of South, North, and East Europe. At the same time within Central European countries patterns of fertility are more homogenous. In the 1960s, none of the countries in Table 3.2 exhibited a total fertility rate of below reproductive value (2.1). In the early 1970s, for instance, ten countries attained and sustained below replacement fertility level. By the 1975 there were 20 countries with these fertility levels, and the number was increasing steadily. In 1995 almost all European countries (38 countries) had below replacement fertility levels, but nowadays all European countries are experiencing fertility lower than replacement level (the exception is Albania at 2.10).

The emergence and persistence of low fertility, defined as a period with a total fertility rate at or below 1.50 births per woman, in Europe is noticeable in Table 3.2. Different demographic patterns and socio-economic determinants underline the emergence of low fertility in Europe at different periods of time.

In 1975 only Western Germany recorded a low fertility of 1.45 among European countries, but the number has persistently increased. So, by 1995 the

number of the low fertility countries was seventeen and continuing to increase. The duration of low fertility varies among the countries. Persistently low fertility countries are Germany, Austria, Greece, Italy and Spain, since the middle of the 1980s, or even since the early 1970s. Nowadays, these countries with some Eastern European countries together constitute the group with the lowest fertility in Europe and the World as a whole.

Some Western countries (France 1.9, Luxembourg 1.8, Netherlands 1.7, and Belgium 1.7) have the highest total fertility rates in Europe. Albania with a fertility value of 2.1 births per woman is obviously the most fertile European country but with a noticeable decline of about 3.0 births per woman during the 1965-2002 period. During the same period all European countries have recorded a decline but not continually. Many of them had even raised fertility in the 1980s or in the 1990s. Among European countries Luxembourg is the country which has been recording the longest increase since 1985. Although, the increase is slight (about 0.5 births) it is constant. Some Nordic countries, like Finland and Denmark, as well as the United Kingdom, especially England, experienced fertility increases in the late 1980s and the early 1990s. In Finland even family policy support cannot raise the birth rate to the replacement fertility level. Since the middle of the 1990s Denmark also has been a country in the European Union with one of the highest fertility with a number of reforms implemented to improve the situation for families with small children (Sardon, 2002).

As shown in the table below after the continual fertility decline, with the exception of 1980, France has experienced a slight increase since the late 1990s. East European countries and Baltic countries (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania) recorded a slight upward trend in fertility levels only from 1980 to 1985. Belarus had a slight increase in the last years of the 20th century, and nowadays accompanies Estonia and Russia. Maintaining a stable family policy can be an explanation of why fertility did not drop so drastically in countries of the former Soviet Union and Hungary during the first five years of the political transition.

Differences in patterns of the fertility levels are attributed to demographic and socio economic factors. The mean age of women at first marriage and mean age at first birth are regarded as major driving forces of fertility development. In the 1960s the mean age at first marriage was between 22 and 25 years in almost all European countries. Marriage patterns began changing in Western and Northern Europe four decades ago. On the other hand in the rest of Europe this change only began recently.

Table 3.2 AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER WOMAN IN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	1997	1999	2002
Germany	2.51	2.03	1.48	1.56	1.37	1.45	1.25	1.37	1.36	1.3
W. Germany	n.a	1.99	1.45	1.45	1.28	1.45	1.34	1.44	1.40	n.a
E. Germany	n.a	2.19	1.54	1.94	1.74	1.50	0.84	1.04	1.11	n.a
Austria	2.70	2.29	1.83	1.65	1.47	1.45	1.40	1.37	1.32	1.3
Belgium	2.60	2.25	1.74	1.68	1.51	1.62	1.55	1.60	1.61	1.7
Denmark	2.61	1.95	1.92	1.55	1.45	1.67	1.80	1.75	1.73	1.7
Finland	2.47	1.83	1.68	1.63	1.64	1.78	1.81	1.75	1.74	1.7
France	2.84	2.47	1.93	1.95	1.81	1.78	1.70	1.71	1.77	1.9
Ireland	4.03	3.97	3.43	3.24	2.48	2.11	1.83	1.92	1.88	1.9
Iceland	3.71	2.83	2.65	2.48	1.89	2.30	2.08	2.04	1.99	2.0
Luxembourg	2.41	1.98	1.55	1.49	1.38	1.60	1.69	1.71	1.73	1.8
Norway	2.93	2.50	1.98	1.72	1.68	1.93	1.87	1.86	1.84	1.8
Netherlands	3.04	2.57	1.66	1.60	1.51	1.62	1.53	1.56	1.65	1.7
United Kingdom	n.a	2.43	1.81	1.90	1.79	1.83	1.71	1.72	1.68	1.6
England and Wales	2.85	2.40	1.77	1.88	1.78	1.84	1.71	1.73	1.73	n.a
Scotland	3.00	2.57	1.90	1.84	1.70	1.66	1.55	1.55	n.a.	n.a
Northern Ireland	n.a.	3.25	2.67	2.78	2.44	2.26	1.92	1.92	n.a	n.a
Sweden	2.42	1.92	1.77	1.68	1.74	2.13	1.73	1.52	1.50	1.6
Switzerland	2.61	2.10	1.61	1.55	1.52	1.58	1.48	1.48	1.48	1.4
Spain	2.97	2.88	2.79	2.20	1.64	1.36	1.18	1.18	1.20	1.2
Greece	2.32	2.40	2.32	2.22	1.67	1.39	1.32	1.31	1.30	1.3
Italy	2.55	2.43	2.21	1.64	1.42	1.33	1.20	1.20	1.22	1.3
Portugal	3.07	3.01	2.75	2.25	1.72	1.57	1.40	1.46	1.49	1.5
Albania	5.16	3.62	n.a	3.26	3.03	2.90	2.70	2.70	n.a	2.1
Bosnia and Hezegovina	n.a	2.71	2.38	1.93	1.89	1.71	n.a	1.65	1.56	1.6
Croatia	n.a	1.83	1.92	1.92	1.81	1.67	1.48	1.69	1.38	1.4
Macedonia	n.a	2.98	2.71	2.47	2.31	2.06	2.13	1.93	1.76	1.9
Slovenia	n.a	2.12	2.17	2.10	1.71	1.46	1.29	1.25	1.21	1.3
Yugoslavia	n.a	2.30	2.33	2.29	2.22	2.09	1.90	1.77	n.a	1.7
Bulgaria	2.07	2.17	2.22	2.05	1.98	1.82	1.23	1.09	1.23	1.3
Hungary	1.82	1.98	2.35	1.91	1.85	1.87	1.57	1.38	1.29	1.3
Poland	2.52	2.26	2.26	2.26	2.32	2.05	1.62	1.52	1.37	1.3
Romania	1.91	2.89	2.60	2.43	2.32	1.84	1.34	1.32	1.30	1.2
Czech Republic	n.a	1.90	2.40	2.10	1.96	1.90	1.28	1.17	1.13	1.1
Slovakia	n.a	2.41	2.53	2.31	2.26	2.09	1.52	1.43	1.33	1.2
Russia	n.a	2.00	1.97	1.86	2.05	1.90	1.34	1.23	1.17	1.3
Estonia	n.a	2.16	2.04	2.02	2.12	2.04	1.32	1.24	1.24	1.3
Latvia	n.a	2.01	1.96	1.90	2.09	2.01	1.26	1.11	1.16	1.2
Lithuania	n.a	2.39	2.18	1.99	2.09	2.02	1.49	1.39	1.35	1.3
Belarus	n.a	2.33	2.20	2.00	2.07	1.91	1.39	1.23	1.29	1.3
Moldova	n.a	2.56	2.52	2.39	2.77	2.39	1.76	1.67	1.39	1.3
Ukraine	n.a	2.09	2.02	1.95	2.02	1.89	1.38	1.25	n.a	1.1
USSR	2.46	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a
Andorra	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	1.2
Liechenstein	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	1.4
San Marino	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	1.2
Malta	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	1.7

Source: A. Monnier: "La conjuncture démographique: l'Europe et les pays développés d'outre-mer, in *Population* (Paris, Institut national d'études démographiques), Nos. 4-5, 1987.

2002 World Population Data Sheet of the population reference bureau

n.a. - not available

Between 1970 and the late 1990s the mean age at first birth rose by about 2 to more than 3 years, and the mean age at first marriage rose by about 2 to more than 4 years during the same period. With a mean age of 29.9 years at the first birth the Netherlands occupies one of the top positions for countries with late fertility in the European Union and Europe over a long period. It is one of the highest values ever recorded in the world (Demographic Statistics EU, 2000). Ireland recorded a higher mean age (30.3 years) at first birth in the early 1990s and Italy recorded a mean age of 29.8 at first birth in the middle of the 1990s. Even Albania, with the highest fertility rate, had a lower mean age of 28.4 years at first birth in the early 1990s (Council of Europe, 2000).

Table 3.3 PROJECTED TOTAL FERTILITY FOR THE WORLD, MAJOR DEVELOPMENT REGIONS AND EUROPE, 1995-2000 AND 2045-2050 ACCORDING TO FERTILITY VARIANT

*Total fertility
(average number of children per woman)*

<i>Major area</i>	1995-2000	2045-2050			
		<i>low</i>	<i>medium</i>	<i>high</i>	<i>constant</i>
World	2.82	1.68	2.15	2.62	3.87
More developed regions	1.57	1.52	1.92	2.33	1.70
Less developed regions	3.10	1.70	2.17	2.65	4.06
Least developed countries	5.47	2.02	2.51	3.02	5.90
Europe	1.41	1.41	1.81	2.20	1.43

Source: Table 2. United Nations Population Division: *World population prospects: The 2000 Revision, Volume II: The sex and age distribution of populations*

Projected fertility trends for the next few decades are presented in Table 3.3. According to fertility variants in the 2000 Revision (UNPD), fertility levels in Europe are far below those in the less developed regions and below fertility for the world as a whole as well. At the same time European fertility is the lowest recorded among the more developed regions according to each variant.

3.3 Age pattern of fertility in the world, different developed regions and Europe

The age pattern of fertility, in addition to the age structure of women of child-bearing age, is an important determinant of the number of births in a population. Knowledge of the age pattern of fertility is important to policy makers and planners to target specific age groups.

Analyzing the data in Figure 3.3 it can be seen that women aged 20-29 have the highest fertility rates. So, for the total number of births in Europe (about 42 056) the peak childbearing ages are between the ages of 20-24 and 24-29 years, for the world as a whole and in Europe also. In Europe, the fertility rates for those women aged from 20-24 years are 99 births per 1000 women; and those aged 25-29 years have a rate of 117 births per 1000 women, which means that more than 60 per cent of the total births occur among women aged between 20 and 29 years.

Comparing the European situation to the situation in the world, with more than half the total births to women between the same ages we can conclude that the fertility span in Europe is shorter. In percentage terms, differences are most marked among older women over 30 years of age. The fertility rate among women aged 45-49 for the world as whole is 8, but for the less developed regions it is 11, whereas the corresponding rate among women in Europe is 0 births per 1000 women. The fertility rate among teenage women in the less developed regions is nearly triple (64), and for the world twice (59) the rate among teenagers in Europe (24 respectively). European teenage women 15-19 years have about as many births as women aged 35-39 years (24 and 25 respectively).

Figure 3.3 AGE SPECIFIC FERTILITY RATES: WORLD, MAJOR REGIONS AND EUROPE, 1990-1995

Source: United Nations Population Division: World population prospects: The 2000 Revision, Volume II: The sex and age distribution of populations

3.4 Age pattern of fertility in European regions

The age pattern of fertility shows variation across the regions in Europe. Although Europe overall has the lowest age specific fertility rates in the world, some regions have experienced higher rates among women in particular age groups than the average for the more developed regions.

So, Eastern Europe with 17 818 births during the 1990-1995 period, has the highest teenage fertility rate in Europe with 38 births per 1000 women, and at the same time higher than average in the Developed World (35). Indeed, among all the regions in Europe, only in Eastern Europe is the higher rate among women aged 20-24 than that in more developed regions, but declines are more marked among older women over 30 years of age. Northern Europe is characterized by having the smallest number of births (6 252) during the period 1990-1995. The peak ages for child-bearing are from 25 to 29 years and for the age group 30 to 34 years. The age group 30-34 has 87 births per 1000 women, which is the highest fertility rate in

Europe, as well as the rate for the age group from 35-39 years. The age specific fertility rates are the lowest in Southern Europe in almost all age groups. The number of births in this region in the five-year period is 7 762. Western Europe with 10 224 births has low fertility rates also, especially with low participation of teenage mothers among other age groups for child-bearing. In percentage terms it is only 3 per cent. Even women aged 20-24 have only small numbers of births, which is a consequence of late age at first marriage and more common cohabitation among the couples. So, the peak age group for childbearing in Western Europe is in the age group 25-29 (Figure 3.4).

Figure 3.4 AGE SPECIFIC FERTILITY RATES: EUROPE AND EUROPEAN REGIONS, 1990-1995

Source: United Nations Population Division: World population prospects: The 2000 Revision, Volume II: The sex and age distribution of populations

3.5 Completed fertility in Europe

In the most recent two decades in most European countries, especially in Western Europe, the fertility of women below age 30 decreased while the fertility of women aged 30 and above increased. Countries such as Spain, Greece, Portugal and

some others present exceptions. In these countries the fertility of women over 30 years declined. Also, differences in completed fertility by the generations born in 1930 and 1960 across Europe are apparent. Among EU countries Ireland had the highest completed fertility level of 3.50 children per woman by cohort from 1930, and it continues to retain the highest levels. The cohort from 1960 has a lower level of 2.37 children per woman, which is still the highest in Europe. Italy, Germany, Austria and Spain have experienced the lowest completed fertility by cohort from 1960, with values of 1.63, 1.63, 1.66 and 1.69 children per woman respectively (Demographic Statistics EU 1998).

According to Kohler, Billari and Ortega (2002) the completed fertility on average might be approximately similar between early and late starters. In contrast to this hypothesis, there exists a well-known negative association between the age at first birth and completed fertility. Lowest-low fertility may not always lead to low completed fertility, for instance if it is a temporary phenomenon, not a permanent one. Nevertheless, recuperation is pretty hard once the onset of fertility is postponed to very late ages.

From the analysis above it is obvious that each country has experienced a fall in births and often a dramatic one. This was due to a number of factors that directly influence the complex relationship between the state, the family policy, and the demography.

**Figure 3.5 COMPLETED COHORT FERTILITY IN EU COUNTRIES
(generation 1930 and 1960)**

Source: Demographic Statistics EU, 1996.

3.6 Family policies in Europe

The term ‘family policy’ has various meanings in different countries. The objective of this chapter is to deal with the development of such policy and to compare the nature of family policies across Europe. In some countries it is widely conceived, while in others it is considered firstly as a matter of social security. Family policies usually comprise a numerous of policies in many different areas. Some of them measure or target family issues directly, while some others are part of policies that concern matters not primarily related to the family. All of them have some commonalities and similarities but there are differences as well. This section seeks to account for the multitude of policies and to provide better insight in order to observe the effects of family policies on fertility. Some of the researchers on this topic stress difficulties in conceptualizing and measuring family policies (Bradshaw et al. 1993; Bahle 1995).

“Family policies can be defined as practical measures which focus on, or affect, the family unit and its members. Usually the underlying aim will be to improve the well-being and to strengthen the functioning of the family.” (From Pyramid to Pillar – Population change and social security in Europe, 1989, pp. 41; published by the International Labour Organisation)

In European countries family policies can be classified in a number of different ways. According to Esping-Andersen’s study (1999) one of the common classifications of family policies regimes is the following:

- Universalistic welfare states with an explicit, comprehensive family policy (such as Nordic countries - Norway, Sweden)
- Conservative welfare states with an explicit but narrowly focused family policy (such as continental European countries - Austria, Germany, Poland)
- Liberal welfare states without any explicit family policy (Anglo-Saxon countries - United Kingdom)
- Southern European welfare states as a separate welfare-state regime.

Universalistic welfare states direct their policies towards individual independence and social equality. Conservative welfare states are characterized by policies that are targeted towards maintenance of status and the preservation of traditional family forms. Liberal welfare states direct individualism through minimal social benefits and subsidy of private and marketized welfare schemes. The Southern European countries are conservative but considered as separate welfare state regimes with greater family merits but with a very limited supply of social care services. In terms of different paths to modernity the Southern European welfare states could be regarded as traditional or latecomers with determined peculiarities and their own model in family policy. The average household size, even it has decreased lately, is still the highest in the Mediterranean countries within Europe.

All European countries, whatever policies they have, may be broadly distinguished in terms of their models and objectives. In the past family policies have been used as policy instruments to solve some national problems or support national

ideologies. However, historically all countries have in common the view that the family is the central institution for birth and care as well as socializing and each kind of support of children. Family policy can be considered in a very broad sense, but have some types of objectives which may coexist in the same country. A wide scope of interest can be attributed to family policy; it is not a sectoral question but characterizes various welfare-state models (Martin, 1997).

The issue of family policy arises out of different socio-economic and socio-political contexts, but it is not possible that their categorizations grasp thoroughly the specificity of European nations. Similar policy outcomes are the result of cultural affinity and traditions or arise from common socio-economic circumstances associated with a degree of individualization.

“Policy similarities between groups and their differences from other groups may be attributable as much to history and culture and their transmission and diffusion amongst nations as to the immediate impact of the economic, political and social variables” (Castles, 1993: xv).

Here the aim is to elaborate a few types of objective that most probably coexist in one country. The demographic objective is prevalent among the other three objectives: the protection of children in poor families, the neutrality and freedom of choice for families, and the objective of sex roles and the interest of the labour market.

Demographic objectives are of special importance for family policy. A number of European countries have experienced a dramatic change in fertility rates and decline in the marriage rate. Increasing childlessness sometimes leads to a demographic panic as mentioned earlier. On the other hand the rise in the incidence of cohabitation, a rise in the incidence of divorce and an increase in one-parent families as well, accompanies an important demographic change, which is the ageing of the population. France is an interesting example where family policy had very strong demographic objectives and where measures responded to the demographic

crisis were different in different periods of time, depending on each phase of demographic concern. So, the French Government officially has changed benefits and priorities for children and families in each phase. Ireland and the former Soviet Union are countries that put emphasis on benefits for the poorest families and with a strong differential in the birth grant according to the child's birth order.

Establishing institutional childcare was a priority in the Catholic countries of continental Europe, Austria, Belgium, Italy, France as well as Great Britain. Various countries pursued different policies of providing childcare, such as kindergartens, day nurseries, pre-schools and childcare facilities etc. Scandinavian countries are characterized with a greater diversity in family types and with different choices that individuals can make (From Pyramid to Pillar, 1989). Sweden introduced a universal system but provided higher benefits for larger families. Cash family benefits or in other words family allowances can be available to all children and may be the same for each child or related to the child's age and position in the family.

Some research has concentrated on policies that target parenthood and policies that are related to fertility, as well as the impact of policies on employment of mothers (Gornick, Mayers, and Ross, 1997). Family policy as population policy in some cases is reflected in the argument that low birth rate is considered as a national well-being of the country. There are a few different terms that concern family policy and these vary considerably from country to country. These terms include:

Maternity leave policies include a variety of protective measures for pregnant and breast-feeding women such as compulsory or optional maternity leave from employment granted to mothers before and/or after confinement and paid maternity leave.

Parental-leave policies include granted parental leave by law in order to take care of their children during the early years of children's life.

Childcare services and benefits comprise childcare provided by the state, the public or private institutions (Nayer, 2003).

Several researchers have pointed to the impact of public policies regarding the gender structure of employment within the family in general in Europe (Fraser, 1997; Langan and Ostner, 1991). Langan and Ostner have focused on how the position of the male breadwinner weakened, which was prevalent in the 1950s and 1960s. Some policies are directed towards changing gender relationships in the labour market and labour relationships (Nayer, 2003). Some scholars have argued that in the welfare state regime economic discrimination against women exists even though they are 'protected' by regulations and legislation (Asplund 1998, Hemstrom 1998, Longva & Strom 1998, Naur & Smith 1998).

“Firms do not know in advance whether their employees will have children, and if so whether the employees themselves will take on the job of parenting. What they do know, however, is that their female employees are statistically more likely than their male counterparts to go on parental leave, work part time and be absent due to childrearing responsibilities after given birth. This produces incentives to treat male and female employees differently.” (Hemstrom, 1998, pp.162)

Family policy development in recent decades has been concerned with reorienting the old model towards new and more relevant models of family needs (From Pyramid to Pillar, 1989). Researchers have begun to stress the central role played by welfare policies in affecting women's labour activities and labour market positions (Esping-Andersen 1999). The prevalence of welfare policies is a reflection of the economic activity of women and the female rate of labour force participation. Implicitly, if not always explicitly, the role of the State has become to draw women into employment. In Eastern Europe the aim is based on constitutional guarantees for the employment of women, while in Western Europe the aim of drawing women in to the labour market is less explicitly stated. Granting women access to work is important not only because of the increasing percentage of lone mothers in Europe, but also because of improving the quality of life of families in terms of instability of male employment.

Moreover, the increased participation of women in the labour force has raised a number of problems which have required responses in terms of family policy. These include maternity leave with full earnings or partly paid maternity benefits and rights of mothers to guaranteed reinstatement. In all countries, despite similar demographic conditions, and social and economic situations approaches towards maternity protection and parental leave are different.

The concept of parental leave was first established in Austria, in 1957, while other countries started by the early 1970s or even the 1980s. The right to parental leave is recognized in a number of countries, namely Germany, France and Spain granted two to three years but it is also recognized in some socialist countries, such as the former Soviet Union. European countries have implemented quite different parental leave but it is usually regarded as an extension of maternity leave.

However, in many countries the development of family policy has not been a consequence of economic growth. Comparing patterns of family policies with the patterns of fertility levels in Europe it can be observed that countries that consider their family policies related to labour-market policies and as a part of gender policies seem to be a better environment in maintaining or retaining fertility above lowest-low levels.

3.7 Conclusion

Europe has had the lowest population growth rates in the world, since the 1950s until now. All European countries have experienced a considerable decline of fertility, so end of the 20th century was marked by the rates far below replacement levels almost everywhere in Europe and by the shorter fertility span of women in Europe than in the other regions. However, fertility variations across Europe are registered, especially among the countries of South, North, and East Europe. Differences in patterns of the fertility levels can be attributed to demographic and socio economic factors. Projected fertility trends for the next few decades are the lowest among the more developed regions according to each variant.

Family policies in European countries can be classified in a number of different ways characterized by various welfare-state models. Demographic objectives are of special importance for family policy but policy outcomes are the result of cultural affinity and traditions and of socio-economic circumstances associated with a degree of individualism. Recently, family policy has been concerned with more relevant models of family needs related to labour-market policies and as a part of gender policies with aim to maintain fertility above lowest-low level.

4 THE DEMOGRAPHIC TRANSITION AND POPULATION FERTILITY IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

4.1 *Fertility and determinants of fertility*

Within the range of possible population characteristics fertility is of great significance throughout the world. Fertility is a positive component of the natural movement of the population, which affects population growth. This is the case in both the Developed and Developing Worlds, although the issues involved vary considerably from country to country dependent on socio-politico-economic conditions and varying fertility levels and trends. Population geography has made a very modest contribution to studies of fertility patterns. Previously population geographers have mostly done descriptive work on fertility. Lately, they have begun to recognise how spatial patterns of fertility must be regarded as an important factor in some issues in population studies. According to Jones (1990) three particular applications of the geographer's spatial outlook are capable of contributing to fertility studies:

- Spatial diffusion theory might be used to assess the spread from innovative centres of fertility knowledge, attitudes and behaviour.
- Regional cultural identities might be useful in understanding patterns of leads and lags in the development of demographic regimes across space.
- Territorially disaggregated data could be used to supplement, or substitute for, temporal data in the analysis of evolving relationships between development and fertility.

In demographic theory fertility and fecundity are differentiated. Moreover, in the local (former Yugoslav republic) literature consideration of these notions has been the same as in English-speaking areas, which is not the case in the French literature. The distinction in the meaning of these two notions has occurred since the Population Association of America meeting in 1934.

Fecundity means the potential physiological capability to participate in population reproduction of women, men or couples.

Fertility means the realisation of the physiological capability or effective productivity expressed through the number of children.

Sterility is the opposite notion to fertility, which means physiological incapability to effectively participate in reproduction.

Fertility, as one of the four relevant components of population growth, is the most dynamic one. The quality and improvement of the demographic situation in both Developed and Developing Countries depend on future changes in the fertility level. The current fertility level has an important implication for the future economic and social development for every single country. Furthermore, interest in studying factors which directly and indirectly influence fertility levels has always been connected with searching for appropriate and adequate population policies. Particular population policy has to be directed to set up desirable levels of fertility, no matter who established policy – society as a whole, or some health-related institution or other institutions.

4.2 Proximate determinants of fertility

The level of fertility is a result of the population fecundity and impact of many factors affecting fertility, directly or indirectly, to be below physiological capability – fecundity. This is the case in every society, from the primitive through to today's modern and complex society, but with particular differences in the level of fertility. In each primitive society the fertility rate was higher than in modern society, and closer to the fecundity level. In the other words that means there were a smaller number of factors that lead to the fertility decline.

In modern societies the number of factors affecting fertility increases as also does their intensity. Demographically observed fertility is the result of both biological and behavioural factors. These factors are called the proximate determinants of fertility (see Bongaarts and Potter, 1983). The framework of the factors affecting fertility which recognized both direct and indirect determinants of fertility was introduced by Kingsley Davis and Judith Blake from the 1950s. John Bongaarts developed these ideas into a framework for analyzing the proximate determinants that explained the fertility-inhibiting effects of the key determinants. Bongaarts' work made an important advance over previous attempts, using a large

number of examples to describe the fertility-inhibiting effects of the determinants (Stover, 1997).

Three mutually connected groups of determinants have been distinguished:

- 1) Biological factors
- 2) Economic and social factors
- 3) Psychological factors.

With regard to their effect, these factors are further differentiated as either direct or indirect factors. And with regard to their lasting impact on fertility they are differentiated as either long-term or short-term factors. It is very hard to embrace all factors affecting fertility in a single explanatory framework. So, fertility determinants need to be examined carefully for any given situation, bearing in mind the specific socio-economic, cultural, political and psychological environment (ambient) in a concrete population where fertility is changing from a previous level to a new level. It should be underlined that in the demographic literature there exists a general agreement about the fact that the primary and decisive roles in fertility changes have been socio-economic and cultural factors and also psychological factors. Fertility is a complex phenomenon because of the reason that all factors are very closely connected and can operate simultaneously. There is a permanent interaction between fertility and the factors that determine its character. Fertility itself has a reciprocal impact on the various factors by either increasing or weakening their effect. A further consequence is usually with long-term effects on population characteristics, age structure, and the aging of the population

4.2.1 Biological factors

Biological factors determine physiologically possible (maximum) reproduction and cannot be increased by other factors. Among biological factors are fecundity, population age structure, average age at marriage, sterility, celibacy, lactation amenorrhoea, period between two successive pregnancies, hereditary

disease and other biological-medical factors which affect pregnancy. Some of these have a stronger impact and more intensively determine fertility.

Total fecundity means total fertility in the absence of the proximate determinants which have inhibiting effects on fertility. According to Bongaarts the upper limit for fecundity is 15 children, based on two separate methods of estimation. In the first method, he considered women aged 15-44, which includes 30 years of childbearing. Supposing the average birth interval in the absence of contraception and breastfeeding is 20 months, then total fecundity is about 15 children, with a range from 13 to 17. In the second method, his estimation was for two groups of countries, those with long periods of lactational infecundability and low contraceptive prevalence, and those with short periods of lactational infecundability and high contraceptive prevalence. In the case when effects of marriage, contraception and lactational infecundability are removed and abortion is assumed to be negligible, he estimated a total fecundity rate of 15.3 (Stover, 1997).

There is no precise answer in science about differences in fecundity between individual populations. American demographer Frank Lorimer mentioned possibilities in fecundity difference but at the same time fecundity itself is affected by general life conditions in certain environments (nourishment, work conditions, climate and socio-psychological factors). A basic characteristic of fecundity is that it changes with the population aging process. Lorimer has calculated the percentage of women capable of child-bearing according to age:

	Age	Percent	
-	14	1.4 %	
-	15	4.6 %	
-	17	33.9 %	
-	18	61.5 %	
-	22	93.0 %	maximum; starts to decrease with age
-	30	87.2 %	
-	35	80.5 %	
-	40	69.9 %	
-	45	38.1 %	
-	50	1.2 %	

Further, Lorimer has calculated the average fecundity, the average number of children born during the reproductive span, and his result is 8.32 children per woman. Many authors consider this number small and share a common opinion about the larger average number of children born per women. According to L. Henry, the natural fertility level is approached among Hutterities (an Anabaptist sect living mainly in the United States and Canada). The average number of children born per Hutterite woman is 10.9 or even 12 live births, which remains close to the fecundity level (Wertheimer, 1973; Breznik, 1980).

Age at marriage may be considered as a very important and major determinant of fertility. To a significant extent, age at marriage is conditioned by existing attitude and customs in a particular society. There is a fairly noticeable relationship between response, younger age at marriage and higher fertility (Jones, 1990, 106). Obviously a couple married at an earlier age has a longer fertile period, which provides more opportunities for a bigger number of births.

Some parts of the world, especially parts of Africa, are characterised by polygamy. Women in such less stable unions face different pressures when making

decisions about childbearing and having off-spring than women in single-partner relationships, though they may want to make the relationship more permanent by making their partner responsible for the children.

Stability of sexual unions has a significant impact on fertility and age at marriage. The basic trends in family formation in Developed Countries are increasing the numbers of consensual unions. While it was common for a couple to get married during their childbearing years, the mean age at marriage for women was lower than that for men in almost all countries. This was a characteristic until the 1960s. Since that time marriage patterns have begun to change in western countries. In central and eastern Europe this change began recently, although at a slower pace, which is also the case in much of the Developing World.

Nowadays, people in the Developed World are marrying later. Young people choose cohabitation in consensual unions as an alternative to marriage. So, the average age at marriage for women in the late 1990s has increased noticeably compared with earlier decades. Generally, the delay of entry into marriage reflects gains in female education and employment (UNFPA, 1999).

Sterility is a relevant biological determinant and can be complete and partly one. Two major groups of factors cause sterility:

- natural factors (e.g. disease, inherited sterility, sterility after miscarriage);
- social factors (e.g. bad health and hygiene conditions which contribute to disease, sexually transmitted diseases, alcoholism).

A large number of countries have no available data on infecundity that can be used to attribute the causes of sterility.

4.2.2 Economic and social factors

These factors comprise a second group of determinants. Although there is a great deal of controversy over exact determinants, fertility rates have a high correlation with economic prosperity or lack of it. Social and cultural factors are also important. These determinants are connected with biological factors and especially

with psychological ones. They are the product of the basic economic conditions and social structure.

Among basic economic and socio determinants are:

- Economic development level with regard to industrialisation and urbanization
- Economic conditions of family living (dwelling conditions)
- The role of children in the family
- Socio-economic status of women in society
- The education level – especially education of women
- Attitude to marriage (religion and traditional life norms)
- Mortality level, spatially infant mortality rate
- Birth control

Strengthening of the industrial sector and non-agricultural activities accompanied with increase of urban population, means deep changes in social productivity and living conditions. Fertility levels remain high where familial production is still dominant. Regarding John Caldwell (1976), high fertility is advantageous to parents in peasant societies, based on farming, especially if organised on the basis of communal land management. Caldwell's wealth flows theory proposes a direct link between fertility and family structure. He argues only two major forms of family structure. In 'primitive' and 'traditional' societies, net wealth flows are primarily upward from younger to older generations, and individual interests are enslaved to corporate interests, while developed societies organizing family structure in terms of downward wealth flows where parents usually provide for economic well-being of their children.

The cost of education and child-rearing increases the total cost of living in a household. So, in developed societies the economically rational decision is to have the small numbers of children allowed by a psychological disposition that derives pleasure from children and parenting.

Moreover, fertility may also be lowered by accompanied decline in infant mortality. Economic transformation and growth of formal education changed

parents' views of family size. Children became a cost rather than a benefit to parents. At the same time children with more education have their own aspirations for their lives and they tend to marry later. Also, it is noticed that parents demand that children enter later in marriage in order to support the family for a longer period. So, the impact of education is very obvious.

The status of women has been radically changed with strengthening industrialisation and urbanisation. Women have received higher levels of education and have taken jobs outside the home, and their socio-economic status and aspirations have been changed. This has weakened the impact of tradition on family attitudes. Generally, women's lives and their relationship to their families have been profoundly affected during the past three to four decades by changes in reproductive technology.

Gender issues are relevant with the aim to improve the status of women. In many countries the importance of women's status and family formation is recognised and gender awareness has a place in national policy. The priorities of the governments in many countries are to concentrate on family and gender equality policies. The purpose of these policies is enabling couples to combine labour force participation with the care of their children. The policies are aimed to support the raising of children alongside gainful employment. In addition reproductive rights and reproductive health have become the focus of interest and attention spatially at recent time.

Furthermore, improvements in living standards mean better health conditions and decline of infant mortality rates. Numerous activities aimed at enhancing positive tendencies in the incidence of diseases and mortality have succeeded in bringing about the expected results particularly in Developed Countries. So, with respect to mortality, high fertility is not needed any more as a compensation for high infant mortality.

Birth control is a phenomenon understood as an application of all facilities and methods that have been used to reduce or limit fertility. Women have had full control over their fertility only in the last thirty years of the twentieth century, with access to contraceptive devices and access to abortions. The most important forms of birth control today, or the most widespread methods for regulating the birth rate, are coitus interruptus, contraception and induced abortion. The presence of some intervention and voluntary fertility control was also present within marriage in the past. Although some methods were used in the past, more subtle form of birth control like some contraceptives devices are reflection of general economic and cultural development. Widespread appliance of some measures and contraceptive devices is narrowly connected with complex socio-economic characteristics. Birth control also implies a focus of concern and attention to reproductive health. "The various elements of reproductive health - maternal health, information and access to safe, effective and affordable contraceptives, prevention of sexually transmitted diseases- constitutes a base for sexual health and the birth of healthy infants" (UNPFA, 1999, 9).

4.2.3 *Psychological factors*

Psychological factors constitute the third group of fertility determinants. Their impact on fertility rates is complicated because of the reason that these factors seem to be a reflection of all societal conditions and biological factors on individuals and her/his life. Very often this group of factors is neglected or not appreciated enough. The strength of the effectiveness of these factors on fertility is noticeable. They have a direct impact on many characteristics for each individual.

According to R. Freedman (1964) we can distinguish two groups of such factors:

- Socio-psychological factors
- Personal-psychological characteristics

This first group of factors is correlated with processes, which determine reproductive norms in communities (e.g. individual attitudes, number of children per family). Within the second group of factors are neuroses, attitudes to sex, strength of

desire to have an offspring. The influence of the factors regarding their effect can be direct or indirect, as mentioned earlier. American authors Kingsley Davis and Judith Blake consider as direct causes of fertility the following:

- Factors affecting coital intercourse
- Factors affecting embryogenesis
- Factors affecting pregnancy and successful birth

In particular, three groups of factors, biological, socio - economic and psychological, all impact upon the nature of fertility and contribute to differential fertility. In other words they produce differences in fertility between individuals and various groups in the population. Demographic analyses strive to examine fertility among different social, professional, ethnic or other groups.

4.3 Natality trends in the former Yugoslav republic

As discussed previously, the first or “classic” demographic transition refers to the historical declines in mortality and fertility from the 18th Century onward in several European countries, and continuing at present in most developing countries.

In regard to the explanation of demographic change and fertility fall in Bosnia and Herzegovina changes in neighbouring states will be analysed below, highlighting the distinctive temporal pattern of the transition in these countries. Differential demographic development in particular parts of the former Yugoslav republic was caused by the facts that some parts were and still are developing under different historical, political, cultural and socio-economic conditions and within varying multinational environments. In some parts the decline in the fertility rate was considerably faster than was the case with fertility in Western European countries. Many studies have looked at transitions in fertility and have tended to focus on factors contributing to changes in fertility among the population (Caldwell 1982; Cleland and Wilson 1987; Bulatao and Casterline 2001). Basically, fertility is viewed as a function of the proximate determinants as shown in Figure 4.1. Factors influencing fertility are usually classified into two groups, namely intermediate

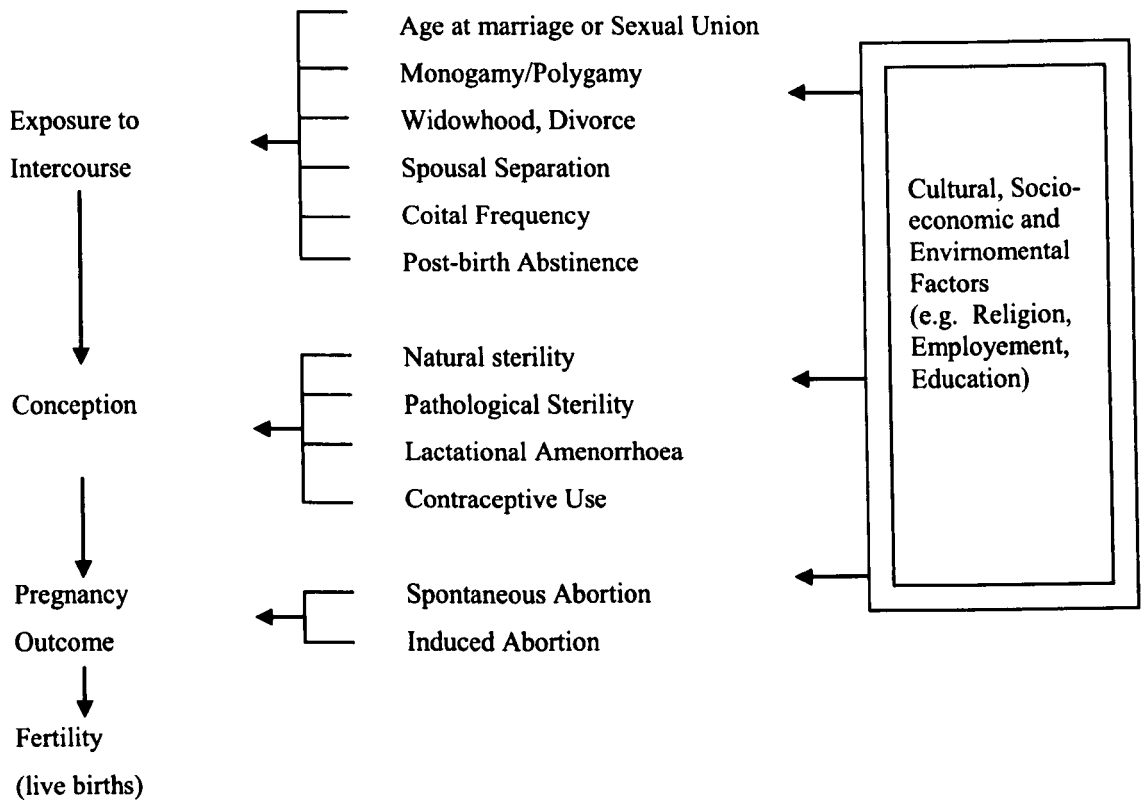
fertility variables, or proximate determinants, and socio-economic variables. Davis and Blake (1956) were the first to identify a set of eleven proximate determinants called “Intermediate Fertility variables” but their classification did not get wide acceptance because it was not easily incorporated in fertility analysis. In view of that, Bongaarts (1978) realized that some of the factors are more relevant than others in determining fertility and he reclassified this list of determinants into four variables as the most important in explaining fertility variation:

- Proportion married
- Contraceptive use and effectiveness
- Induced abortion
- Postpartum infecundability

The intention of these studies was to mark some of the determinants as being a major factor in these transitions.

Herewith attention will be turned to a specific population to consider its individual demographic transition. The transition in fertility of the population in Bosnia and Herzegovina began almost a century after it had started in the most developed European countries. The specificity of demographic development alongside this later start point of transition reflects the different timings of the fertility decline in different localities and its shorter lasting period as a result of faster decline.

Figure 4.1 THE DETERMINANTS OF FERTILITY



Source: author drew according to Huw Jones 1990.

This section looks at natality trends for Yugoslavia as a whole and for the individual republics and regions. The available statistical data for the 19th century and for the period before the First World War are not consistent for all parts of the former Yugoslav republic. Bosnia and Herzegovina is one of the republics that is missing accurate statistical data for this period. Considering the level of natality during this period in neighbouring republics where data were available, and regarding historical circumstances and conditions in Bosnia itself and surrounding regions, it is assumed that natality was above 45% and with notable tendencies of a permanent decline.

In order to give a clearer account for Bosnia and Herzegovina and its position in the former Yugoslavia at that period of time, the situation in other republics can be considered. By the end of nineteenth century the crude birth rate

(CBR) in Serbia was about 42.4‰, but before the First World War, between 1896 and 1910, the rate was 38‰, and during the five-year period 1916-1920, it was no more than 24.8‰. In Vojvodina the crude birth rates were similar to those in Serbia. During the period between 1874-1889, and in the first decade of the twentieth century Croatia also had high crude birth rates, between 43-47‰, with some regional differences (Dalmatia and Istra had lower rates 38-42‰). These values were kept at the same level till the period before the First World War. Regional differences indicate the starting point of fertility transition in particular parts even at the end of nineteenth century, especially in Croatian towns. The population in Slovenia, as the most 'western' republic, had the lowest crude rates in the nineteenth century, between 33 and 35‰, and a faster natality decline in the twentieth century than that of the population in other republics. This was a consequence of an early starting point of demographic transition, by the end of nineteenth century, which is about forty years later than in Western Europe countries. For Kosovo and Metohia data are only available in the twentieth century, since 1911, when they were characterised with the highest values, above 45‰. Macedonia and Montenegro were among republics that are missing data and had estimated high rates (around 40‰) in 1911. Recorded differences between republics, with respect to various demographic variables, were a product of different timing in birth control acceptance in marriage. These regional inequalities in natality level before acceptance of birth control, or so-called "secular" decline of birth rates, were impacted by demographic variables like age of marriage, celibacy, age structure etc.

The events of two World Wars had a strong impact on the level of natality. During the two wars natality declined sharply, much faster than before. Shortly after each war, it recovered. Most of the authors (Simeunovic 1964; Rasevic 1965; Rancic 1966) explain this phenomenon as a compensation effect. The decline of crude birth rates can be seen in Table 4.1, which presents data for all parts of the former Yugoslav republic from 1926 to 2000. The natality trend in each part of the former Yugoslavia republic will be explained below.

Table 4.1 NATALITY RATES IN FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLICS 1926-2000

Period year	Lifbirths per 1000 inhabitants								
	SFRY	B&H	Monte Negro	Croatia	Macedonia	Slovenia	Serbia		
							Central S.	Vojvodina	Kosovo
1926-1930	35.8	44.3	37.3	32.6	43.1	29.7	35.2	25.1	43.2
1935-1939	27.9	37.0	29.4	25.7	34.9	22.5	25.2	19.5	34.6
1939	25.9	35.1	28.6	24.1	32.8	24.7	22.6	19.2	31.5
1947-1949	28.3	36.7	31.1	23.4	38.4	22.9	25.2	24.8	-
1950-1954	28.8	38.2	32.7	23.2	38.4	22.8	26.1	23.3	43.5
1955-1959	24.0	35.4	30.1	20.8	34.0	19.4	19.6	18.4	42.2
1960-1964	22.0	31.4	26.7	17.2	29.4	18.0	16.6	16.3	41.5
1965	20.9	28.2	24.1	16.6	28.2	18.5	15.5	15.6	40.0
1968	18.9	23.1	20.7	15.2	25.6	17.4	14.9	13.8	37.4
1971	18.3	22.0	19.3	14.7	23.2	16.8	15.2	13.4	37.5
1977	17.7	18.5	18.7	14.9	21.5	16.6	15.2	14.3	33.5
1981	16.4	17.2	17.6	14.6	20.6	15.4	13.2	13.7	30.2
1987	13.3	15.6	16.5	12.8	18.9	14.2	12.6	11.5	29.9
1991	14.7*	15.6	-	10.8	16.9	11.2	-	-	-
2000	-	12.9	14.9	12.8	13.7	9.3	12.2	-	20.3

*Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, data for 1990

Source: Demographic statistics 1956, 1963, 1967; Statistical Yearbook of Yugoslavia 1969, 1970 SIS; Statistical yearbook of Bosnia and Herzegovina 2001, Federal Office of Statistics.

In Montenegro intensive population movement, emigration and rural-urban movement, and a higher level of education than in Bosnia and Herzegovina produced the tendencies of natality changes between the two wars and after. As a result of population movement the natality among agricultural inhabitants was lower than among non-agricultural inhabitants, from the early 1950s. The main reason for this was an ageing of the population in rural settlements. The average crude birth rates were lower and had values of about 28‰ during the war. They increased by about 4‰ immediately after the war, but were lower by almost 15 per cent compared with values in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The value of natality, from the 1960s until today, was halved.

In the two republics of Croatia and Slovenia, the situation of natality was similar. Corresponding levels of natality were also recorded in Vojvodina, 18.4‰ in

the 1960s and 11.5‰ in the early 1990s. Vojvodina is characterised with the lowest rates among all parts of the former Yugoslavia. Many factors, for example rural-urban movement, emigration, education, changes in family structure etc., have been contributing to the acceptance of the principles of family planning. In addition to these factors the national population structure has been contributing, not only in Vojvodina, but in other parts as well. The populations in Croatia and Vojvodina started to have a problem in population reproduction by the late 1960s, with crude birth rates no more than 15.2‰ and 13.8‰ respectively. Continued natality decline since 1967 has been a result of very intensive emigration of workers (both sexes) during the period 1968-1970. The natality was low but was more stabilised during the last four decades in Croatia than in Slovenia. During the period 1960-2000, the crude rate in Slovenia was halved, and in Croatia it fell by about one quarter. Serbia had almost an identical level of natality to that in Croatia, with some differences during the compensation period when it was higher in Serbia (1.8‰ and 2.9‰ respectively), with recorded values of 25.2‰ in 1947-49 and 26.1‰ in 1950-54. During the twelve-year period (1965-1977) crude birth rates were around 15‰, falling to 12‰ in the late 1980s. Since that time until today natality has maintained almost the same value.

In Macedonia, during the period between the two wars the decline of natality was faster than in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but after the war the decline was slow and in 1991 still higher by about 3‰. Kosovo recorded a very slow decline of natality from 1926-1987, of no more than 30 per cent, while other republics recorded declines between 50 and 65 per cent in the same period. The crude birth rate in the late 1980s was still 29.9‰, but reliability of data is questionable in the 1990s. The reason is that Albanians boycotted the conducting of the population census in 1991, so we can only rely on accurate data until the late 1980s.

The period between the two wars in Bosnia and Herzegovina is characterised by a decline in natality from 44.3 to 35.1‰. The compensation period after the Second World War was most visible between 1949 and 1955, with an exception in 1951, when the natality rate was much lower (33.9‰). The main reason for that

decline was the drought that happened in 1950 throughout the former Yugoslav republics, which also had an impact on the number of marriages in 1951 (2402 marriages less than in 1952). The tendency for natality to decline after 1955 took two forms. The first was for the period 1955 –1964, with a slow decline, and the second was from 1965, with a very sharp decline, in the order of a 60 per cent fall until today.

The territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the beginning of the 1920s was economically undeveloped. More than 80 per cent of the population were employed in agriculture, the level of education was very low, only a small number of the population lived in cities, there was a high infant mortality rate, and limited migration flows. All these conditions had a strong impact in maintaining the high natality and fertility rates. Limited socio-economic changes occurred between the two wars, but the significant changes in society after the Second World War were reflected in almost all demographic characteristics and processes. The eight-year primary education system had become compulsory, which increased the education levels of the Bosnian population. The economic structure was changed as well, and by 1961, the participation of the labour force in the primary sector was 56.7% compared with 78.5% in 1948. The population mobility within the country also increased. So, these various changes suggest that natality was declining. This can be addressed by examining the variability of fertility rates.

According to Macej (1866), Djordjevic (1912) and Vuletic (1964), the beginning of the natality decrease as well as an increase of the natality differences in some of the former Yugoslav republics cannot be explained only by the impact of the different fertility determinants without birth control as a main determinant reducing fertility even in the late nineteenth century.

4.4 The fertility trends in the former Yugoslav republic

4.4.1 Total fertility

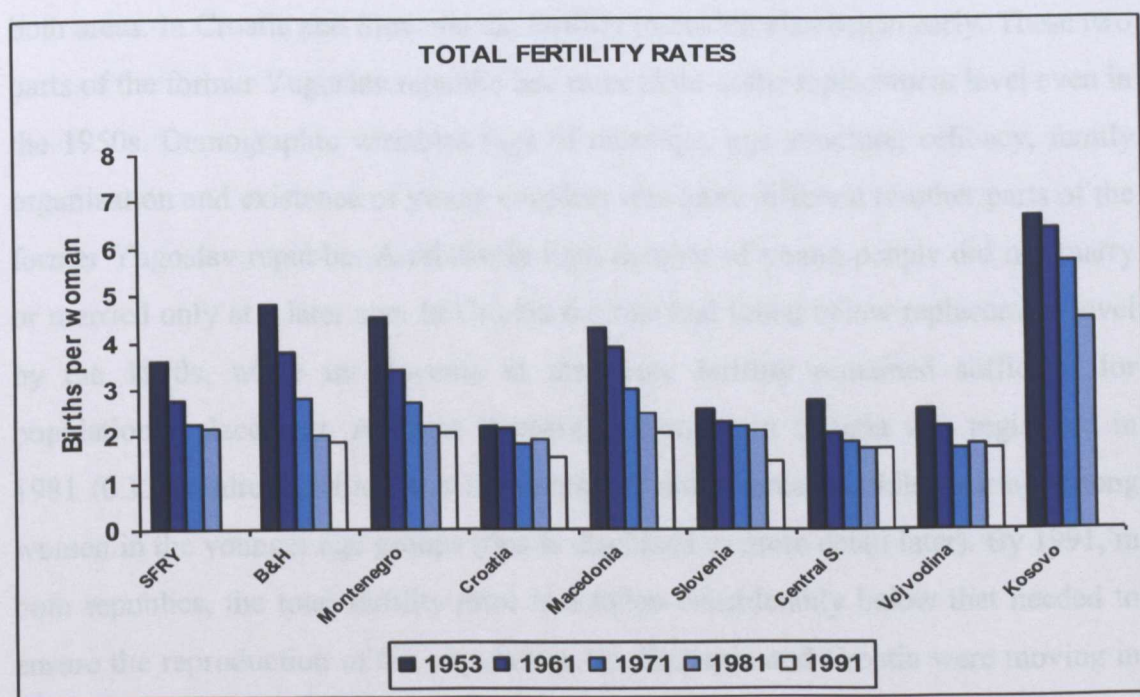
There was a persistent decline in the total fertility rate (TFR) registered during the four decades for which data are available (from 1953-1991).

Table 4.2 TOTAL FERTILITY RATES IN FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC

Year	Number of children per woman								
	SFRY	B&H	Monte Negro	Croatia	Macedonia	Slovenia	Serbia		
							Central.S	Vojvodina	Kosovo
1953	3.62	4.82	4.53	2.21	4.31	2.58	2.74	2.56	6.70
1961	2.74	3.80	3.40	2.16	3.89	2.27	2.07	2.18	6.39
1971	2.27	2.81	2.70	1.81	2.98	2.21	1.85	1.72	5.69
1981	2.14	2.02	2.22	1.93	2.49	2.11	1.74	1.83	4.49
1991	-	1.88	2.05	1.54	2.06	1.46	1.74	1.72	-

Source: Demographic statistics 1956, 1963, 1983; Statistical yearbook of Yugoslavia 1969, 1983, 1994 SIS; Statistical yearbook of Croatia 1993; Statistical yearbook of Slovenia 1993; Statistical yearbook of Bosnia and Herzegovina 2001, Federal Office of Statistics.

Figure 4.2 TOTAL FERTILITY RATE IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLICS



Source: author's calculations based on data from Federal office of statistics

In the 1950s, Bosnia was still in the first phase of the demographic transition, with a total fertility rate measuring 4.82 in 1953. In the 1960s and early 1970s the country entered the middle phase of the transition, with the fertility rate falling to 3.80 in 1961 and 2.81 in 1971. In the early 1980s, the country had a moderately low fertility (2.02), and by the census of 1991 Bosnia & Herzegovina had a fertility rate lower than that needed to reach the replacement level of the population (TFR of 1.88). The total fertility rate decreased by 61 per cent during the thirty-eight year period, from 1953-1991, representing a fall of 2.94 children per woman. This fall is the highest one among all other parts in the former Republic (Table 4. 2).

A similar situation was occurring in neighbouring parts of the former Yugoslav republic. In some parts of the former republic the transition in fertility started at almost the same time as it did in Bosnia, but in Vojvodina and Central Serbia the transition began during the closing decades of the nineteenth century. A total fertility rate of about 2.5 was recorded in these two parts of the former Yugoslavia as early as in the 1950s. By 1971 in Vojvodina, or even by 1961 in Central Serbia, the rate reached a value 20 per cent below that required for population replacement. Fertility largely stabilised over the following two decades in both areas. In Croatia and Slovenia the fertility transition also began early. These two parts of the former Yugoslav republic had rates close to the replacement level even in the 1950s. Demographic variables (age of marriage, age structure, celibacy, family organization and existence of young couples) was quite different to other parts of the former Yugoslav republic. A relatively high number of young people did not marry or married only at a later age. In Croatia the rate had fallen below replacement level by the 1970s, while in Slovenia at that time fertility remained sufficient for population replacement. A slight increase of fertility in Croatia was registered in 1981 (0.12 children), which was the result of some increased child-bearing among women in the younger age groups (this is discussed in more detail later). By 1991, in both republics, the total fertility rates had fallen considerably below that needed to ensure the reproduction of the population. So, Slovenia and Croatia were moving in the direction of demographic stagnation and decline. This lower fertility reflects a

social trend towards small families. The present generation of parents is less inclined to have more than two children, the preference being for one or, at the most, two.

In Montenegro the fertility transition began in the 1920s, but the sharpest declines in fertility were recorded after the Second World War. By the 1980s the fertility of the Montenegrin population revealed the same characteristics as that of Serbia and Vojvodina, namely following the “modern” type of reproduction pattern, with a low fertility rate. In the early 1990s, the fertility rate fell below the level needed for population replacement. Macedonia is a region that had similar characteristics to those in Montenegro, with high fertility in the 1950s and a tendency towards decline, but still with higher rates than in many other parts of the former Yugoslavia (2.06 in 1991). In contrast, its neighbour, Kosovo, is a region where it is much more difficult to recognise the starting point of a transition in fertility. Although there are some indications of it occurring in the 1930s, data recorded show that there was no consistent trend. It could be argued that even by the 1960s Kosovo was still in a pre-transition period. At the beginning of the 20th century fertility rates in Kosovo were close to those in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia, but by the mid point of the 20th century the rate (6.7) was much higher than elsewhere in the former Yugoslavia. The difference between fertility values in Kosovo and Vojvodina (the areas with the highest and lowest fertility) was almost 30 per cent at that time, and reached 60 per cent by the late 1980s and early 1990s. From the 1970s there was a slow decline in fertility that continued in the 1980s, though the TFR of 4 to 4.5, was double that in other parts of the republic, and was enabling population to double every 17-18 years, by far the highest rate in Europe.

4.4.2 Age Specific Fertility

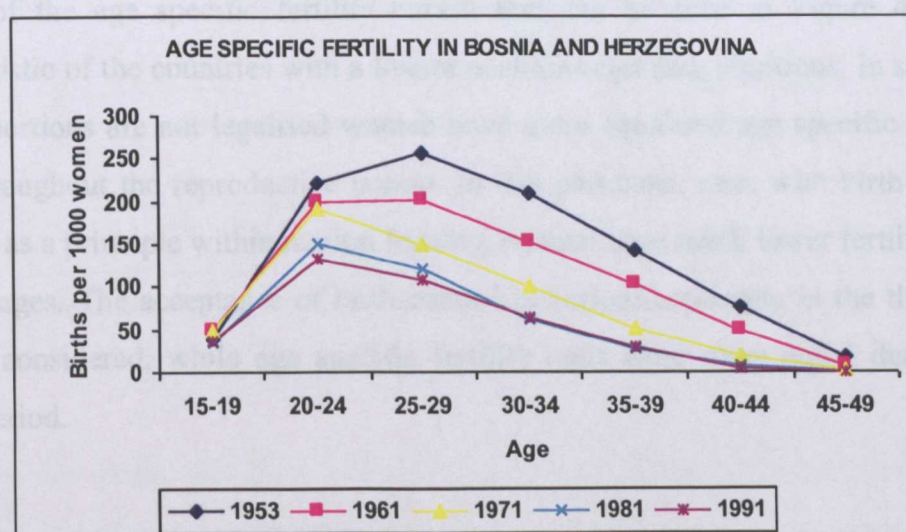
There was an obvious overall decline in total fertility in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the second half of the 20th century, but this was also accompanied by a differential in the number of births by women in different age groups.

Table 4.3 AGE SPECIFIC FERTILITY RATES IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA BY CENSUS YERS

Year	Total	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49
1953	144.9	39.8	222.4	255.7	210.2	143.0	75.1	17.8
1961	128.9	48.0	199.5	201.3	152.0	103.0	49.9	7.0
1971	83.2	48.8	191.2	149.8	99.7	51.5	19.3	1.9
1981	46.8	35.5	149.9	120.9	62.3	26.1	7.7	0.8
1991	29.5	38.1	134	107.3	63.1	28.6	3.9	0.4

Source: Demographic statistics 1956, 1961, 1971, 1981; Statistical yearbook of Bosnia and Herzegovina 2001, Federal Office of Statistics.

In particular, there was hardly any decline in the fertility of adolescents. Indeed, the fertility rates of women aged 15 to 19 years rose sharply in the 1950s before returning to previous levels in the succeeding two decades. The most important decline in fertility rates was for women in their twenties, the optimal years for child bearing. In the 1950s the fertility of women in both of the most fertile age groups had almost the same values of fertility rates. Women aged 25-29 had an even higher fertility than those aged from 20-24, but since 1961 the fertility rate has declined sharply among women in the age group 25-29. This appears to have been a consequence of the birth control adopted by families, in order to have fewer children (Table 4.3).

Figure 4.3 AGE SPECIFIC FERTILITY IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA 1953-1991

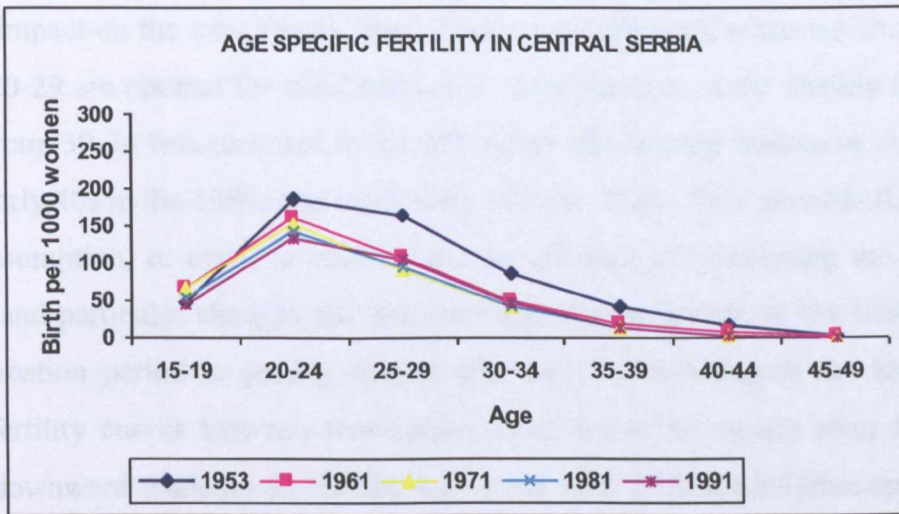
Source: author's calculations based on data from Federal office of statistics

For those women aged from 20 to 24 years and those aged from 25 to 29 years, the rate of fertility was halved during the forty-year period from 1953. The impact of birth control and family planning is more notable in the older age groups. There was also a steep decline in birth rates among women aged between 30 to 34 years (70 per cent decrease) and 35 to 39 years (80 per cent decrease). During the ten-year period from 1961 to 1971 the fertility rate among women in their 30s was halved and it continued to decline subsequently. Postponed age of marriage and later age of first birth can explain the slight increase of fertility amongst older women in 1991 compared with 1981. This trend will be examined in more detail later on. Birth rates among women over 40 years were much lower than for the other age groups, and here the sharpest declines in the fertility rate were recorded (a fall of over 97 per cent), reflecting a shortening of the child-bearing period amongst the Bosnian female population.

For women in all age groups the rate of fertility declined during the second half of the 20th century, but at different speeds and amounts depending on age. Women aged 25-29 had the highest fertility rates in the first two census years, 1953 and 1961. Since 1961 the situation has been changed and women in the age group 20-24 years produced the highest number of births. If we compare the decline of fertility in each census year, the sharpest decline from 1971 is obvious. The abrupt decline of the age specific fertility curves that can be seen in Figure 4.3 is a characteristic of the countries with a liberal position regarding abortions. In societies where abortions are not legalised women have more equalised age specific fertility rates, throughout the reproductive period. In this particular case, with birth control accepted as a principle within marital fertility, women have much lower fertility rates in older ages. The acceptance of birth control is noticed especially in the three last decades considered, while age specific fertility rates were more equal during the earlier period.

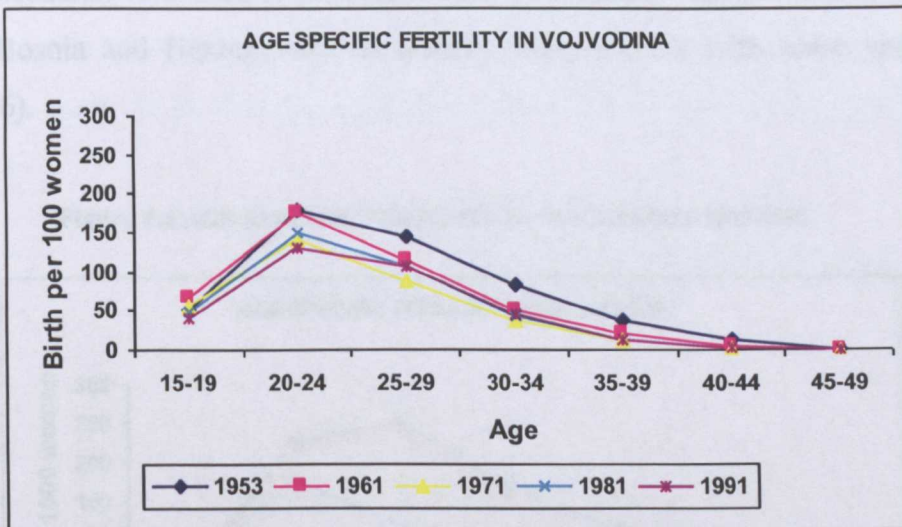
Similar characteristics of the age specific fertility rates (ASFR) occurred in other parts of the former Yugoslav republics. The figures below present the situations in Central Serbia and Vojvodina.

Figure 4.4 AGE SPECIFIC FERTILITY IN CENTRAL SERBIA 1953-1991



Source: author's calculations based on data from Federal office of statistics

Figure 4.5 AGE SPECIFIC FERTILITY IN VOJVODINA 1953-1991



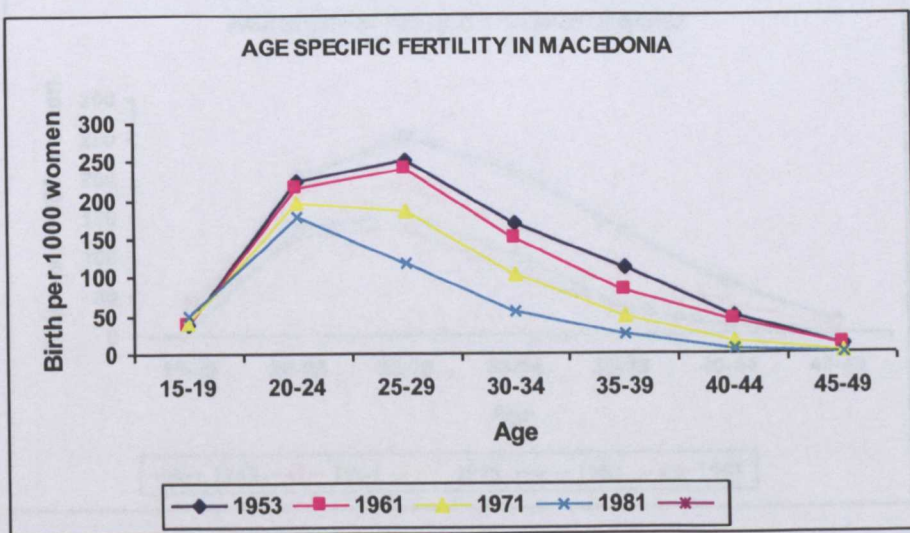
Source: author's calculations based on data from Federal office of statistics

By the 1990s the decline in the number of births in Central Serbia and Vojvodina was caused not only by the decline in the rate of fertility of adolescents and women aged between 20 and 24, but also by the decline in the number of births

by women in the age group 25 to 29 years. During the almost forty-year period, from 1953-1991, in both areas the fertility rate among women in their 20s generally declined, more or less by 30 per cent. The fertility rate of women aged 25-29 was almost halved until 1971 but with a slower increase recorded later on. Indeed, the fertility decline in the older age groups was even sharper, more than 90 per cent, but with less impact on the total fertility rate. This is not surprising when we know that the ages 20-29 are optimal for child bearing. A slow increase of the fertility rates in the age group 30-34 was recorded in the 1970s, but also among women in their late 30s and early 40s in the 1980s and continuing into the 1990s. This provides the basis for the assumption, or even, to confirm the significance of postponing the age of marriage and particular changes like the later age of giving birth to the first child. The procreation period is getting shorter this way. If we compare the shape of specific fertility curves between five census years it can be clearly seen that the sharpest downward tendency in fertility was from 1961 in Central Serbia and from 1971 in Vojvodina (Figure 4.4 and 4.5).

Macedonia had similar characteristics with similar impacts on fertility as those in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as already analysed, but with some variations (Figure 4.6).

Figure 4.6 AGE SPECIFIC FERTILITY IN MACEDONIA 1953-1991

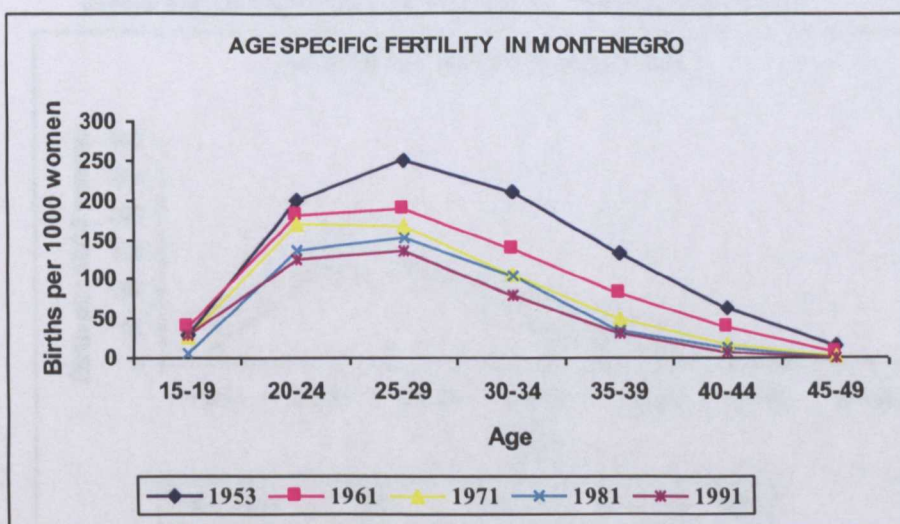


Source: author's calculations based on data from Federal office of statistics

There was a persistent upward trend in the fertility of adolescents, by almost one quarter, for the considered period (Figure 4.6). There was also a continuation of the increase in fertility of adolescents in Slovenia, a complete contrast to the rest of the former Yugoslavia. The opposite trends are illustrated by the continuous decline in fertility amongst women in the other six age groups, with almost the same percentage decrease as in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In Macedonia the impact of the acceptance of birth control by women in older age groups is apparent. The shape of the age specific fertility curves in this republic resemble the Bosnian curves, but with a steeper decline in 1981.

Montenegro belongs to the same group as Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina with respect to age specific fertility rates. These three republics have contributed to the high average total fertility rate in the former Yugoslavia. In comparison to the other republics the greatest oscillations of fertility, from 1953 to 1991, were among Montenegrans adolescents, but by 1991, without almost any decline (only 1.3). The age specific fertility of women in other age groups was characterised by a decrease from 36 among the youngest to 97 per cent among the oldest women (Figure 4.7). Considering the whole period analysed the number of births was highest for the female population aged 25-29 except in 1971 (for women aged 20-24).

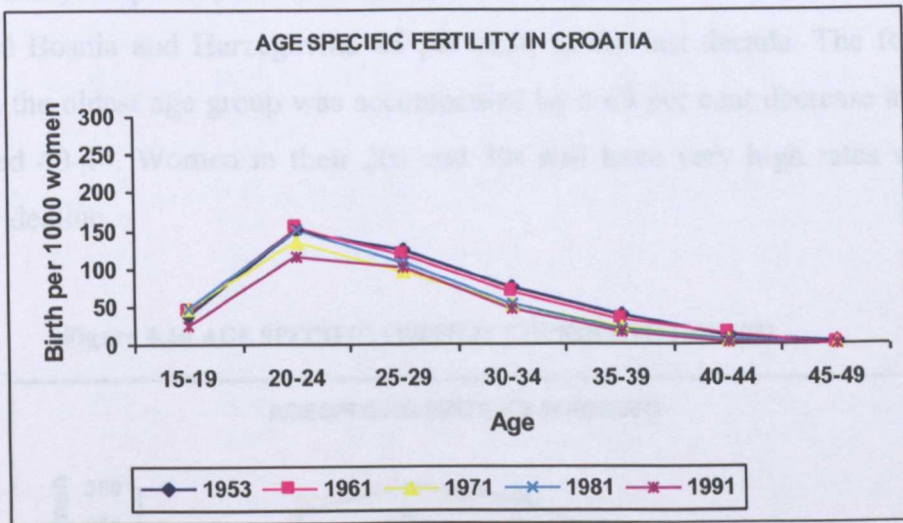
Figure 4.7 AGE SPECIFIC FERTILITY IN MONTENEGRO 1953-1991



Source: author's calculations based on data from Federal office of statistics

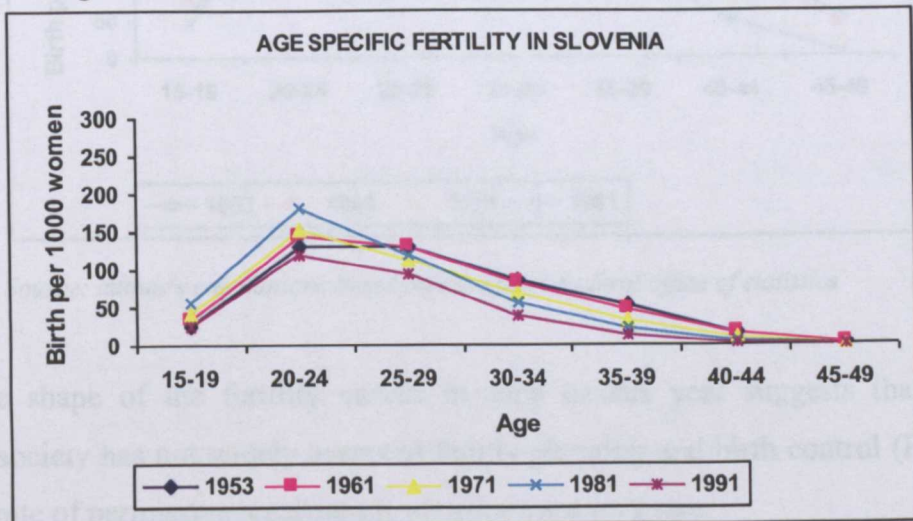
There is an obvious decline in the number of births in the low fertility regions of Croatia and Slovenia. The analysis of age specific fertility rates show continued decline in the number of births by women in all age groups with the exception of adolescents. The explanation for almost a double decrease of fertility in adolescent ages lies in increased education of women in the 1980s and in increase of contraceptive use. Simultaneously, in both republics, the fertility rate of adolescents had increased until 1981, but in the last decade of the period analysed it decreased by about 50 per cent.

Figure 4.8 AGE SPECIFIC FERTILITY IN CROATIA 1953-1991



Source: author's calculations based on data from Federal office of statistics

Figure 4.9 AGE SPECIFIC FERTILITY IN SLOVENIA 1953-1991

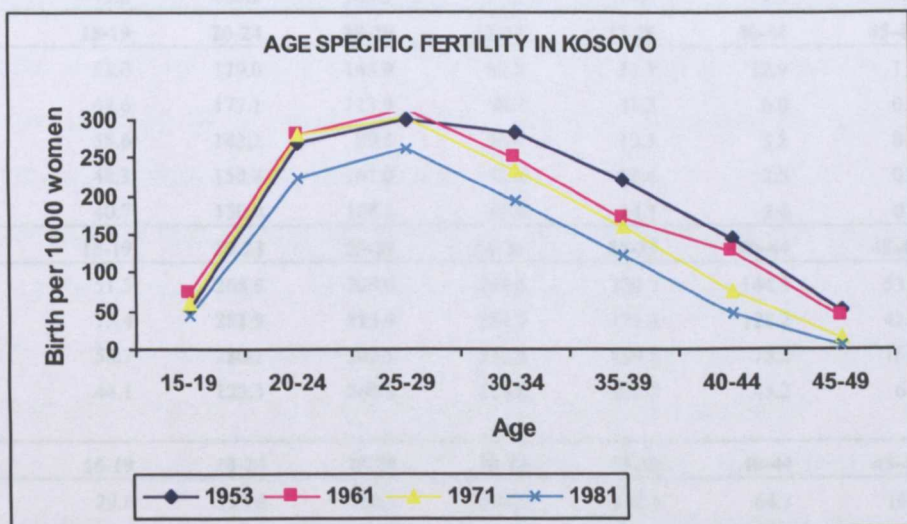


Source: author's calculations based on data from Federal office of statistics

The same process as was occurring in other republics is confirmed by the decline in the concentration of births for women over 30 years of age. In general, these two republics have a trend towards a consistent decline in fertility.

Kosovo has its own particular fertility characteristics, which contribute to a completely different situation in comparison with the rest of the former Yugoslavia. While other areas maintained a constant and sharp downward tendency for age specific fertility, Kosovo records very slight decline. For example the differences in fertility rates among women in age group 45-49 (the steepest decline by 87 per cent during the analysed period) between Kosovo and Vojvodina was 97, and between Kosovo and Bosnia and Herzegovina 88 per cent, in the last decade. The fertility decrease in the oldest age group was accompanied by a 69 per cent decrease among women aged 40-44. Women in their 20s and 30s still have very high rates with a pretty slow decline.

Figure 4.10 AGE SPECIFIC FERTILITY IN KOSOVO 1953-1991



Source: author's calculations based on data from Federal office of statistics

The shape of the fertility curves in each census year suggests that this particular society has not widely accepted family planning and birth control (Figure 4.10). In spite of permissive legalisation, abortions are very rare.

Table 4.4 AGE SPECIFIC FERILITY RATE IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIAN REPUBLICS BY CENSUS YEARS

Croatia	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49
1953	37.4	150.1	125.2	74.0	39.0	11.1	1.4
1961	44.5	153.3	119.5	68.3	33.4	12.4	0.8
1971	47.2	134.2	97.3	53.4	22.6	6.0	0.6
1981	47.9	152.6	107.9	51.9	19.4	4.6	0.4
1991	25.2	115.8	102.5	47.6	15.3	2.8	0.2
Slovenia	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49
1953	24.1	130.5	129.8	84.9	53.7	17.9	2.7
1961	32.8	143.1	131.0	82.6	46.9	17.0	1.4
1971	42.6	152.5	112.7	70.1	33.3	10.1	1.1
1981	56.3	179.6	118.2	55.4	23.4	5.9	0.5
1991	24.6	119.0	94.8	38.7	12.9	2.9	0.1
Macedonia	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49
1953	38.9	222.3	250.0	169.3	112.2	49.5	12.1
1961	39.2	214.9	238.7	149.3	81.4	43.4	10.4
1971	41.5	195.8	184.9	104.9	49.6	15.8	3.2
1981	49.5	177.6	118.2	55.4	23.4	5.9	0.5
1991							
Central S	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49
1953	46.2	187.3	163.5	87.5	42.3	16.3	3.5
1961	65.8	161.2	108.9	48.7	18.8	8.6	1.4
1971	66.5	152.0	91.8	41.2	14.1	3.3	0.3
1981	52.1	141.5	94.5	42.4	13.2	2.9	0.3
1991	43.8	132.2	105.3	47.5	14.6	3.2	0.2
Vojvodina	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49
1953	51.0	179.0	145.9	82.3	37.5	12.9	1.3
1961	67.6	177.1	113.9	50.2	21.3	6.0	0.3
1971	55.6	143.2	89.3	38.4	13.1	3.2	0.4
1981	48.3	150.8	107.0	43.5	12.4	2.5	0.2
1991	40.7	130.9	108.1	46.8	14.1	2.6	0.1
Kosovo	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49
1953	51.5	268.8	299.0	284.8	220.7	144.3	53.0
1961	73.4	281.9	313.9	251.7	171.3	128.2	42.9
1971	58.7	280.2	302.8	235.5	159.6	75.2	16.8
1981	44.1	223.3	260.8	193.8	122.7	45.2	6.8
1991							
Montenegro	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49
1953	29.6	198.8	250.3	208.9	132.1	64.7	16.6
1961	38.7	179.8	188.6	138.3	83.1	41.1	8.7
1971	26.0	168.7	167.5	105.9	49.8	18.7	2.9
1981	5.7	136.4	150.7	102.9	34.9	12.2	0.9
1991	28.3	126.0	135.6	79.2	32.8	6.9	0.5

Source: Demographic statistics 1956, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991;
Statistical yearbook of Bosnia and Herzegovina 2001, Federal Office of Statistics.

The attitudes expressed by women with regard to family size are the result of the impact of traditional institutions. Going back as far as the early 1970s, they have desired a lower number of children than the number of children born.

4.5 Conclusion

It is appropriate, therefore, to elaborate the characteristics of the fertility changes maintained from the 1950s. The need for the study of fertility cannot be overemphasized because of its great impact on population growth and other social, economical and cultural parameters. Taking the whole period examined into consideration we can point out:

- The general decline of total fertility
- The most significant downward fertility trend was among females over 30. In the beginning of the study period the fertility rates of women, in the most fertile age groups, were almost equal. In comparison with women aged thirty and over the decrease of the rates among women aged 25-29 were less significant, while rates among women aged 20-24 were relatively stable. So, women in this age group have been contributing more to reproduction than women aged 25-29 in recent decades. This is a direct consequence of the acceptance of birth control by spouses.
- The fertility of adolescents has recorded a slow increase from the 1950s to the late 1960s or even 1970s. This tendency of increase is impacted by a decline in the average age of marriage and partly is a consequence of a higher number of marriages occurring amongst the youngest age groups.
- Changes in fertility preferences and in fertility level in particular regions of the country were influenced by the expansion of family planning in marriages. The impact of birth control and family planning is even more obvious among women over 30. Generally speaking, an increasing proportion of the population reproduction is occurring in the first part of the fertile period of women (under 30 to 35 years).
- The fertility curve changed notably during the period 1953-1991. Instead of two modal values, at the end of this period there is only one modal value with a subsequent steep decline. This is a characteristic of the countries with a

liberal position regarding abortions, as mentioned earlier. In almost all parts of the former Yugoslav republic induced abortions present the most efficient way of birth control, despite the progress in technology that offers new and much more effective methods and devices of birth control. Slovenia, for instance, is the region where contraception is replacing induced abortion as a birth control method, and the specific fertility rates are more even. In the medium-fertility regions, birth control is not practiced by all groups of the population. Abortions are not so frequent, although their number is increasing recently. However, this phenomenon will be examined further later (within the Bosnian female population).

- At the end of the period examined there were still regional differentiations. By level of birth rates the following three regions could be distinguished:
 - o The region of low birth rates (Vojvodina, Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia) where the tendency of declining natality had almost stopped
 - o The region of medium birth rates (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and Macedonia) with a still existing tendency of natality decline, and
 - o The region of high birth rates (Kosovo) where a decline in natality fall had only just begun.

- A significant decline in the general fertility rate as well as a decline in age specific fertility rates was manifested. Changes in fertility rates and their levels in particular regions of the country were primarily influenced by the expansion of family planning in marriage.

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

MAP 1

5 DIFFERENTIAL FERTILITY CHARACTERISTICS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA (from the 1950s to 1991)

5.1 Introduction

Population geographers study the ways in which fertility varies spatially, but together with sociologists they are interested in how fertility varies within developed and developing societies among different social classes, ethnic or national groups. Also, they are interested in how fertility depends on female employment, level of education, urbanization, religion, etc. Patterning itself is mostly the result of particular spatial arrangements of more than one variable.

“The essence of differential fertility is that within national societies there exist social groupings with particular norms and values concerning family size that are maintained by peer-group pressure to conform.” (Jones,1990: pp.124). Fertility levels and differentials are related to the demographic transition processes and can be expected to possibly disappear in post-transition societies. Fertility decline starts in particular social groups and afterwards diffuses throughout society.

The fertility trends in Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as in neighbouring parts of the former Yugoslav republic have been already discussed in the previous chapter. There was an obvious decline in total fertility in the second half of the 20th century. In regard to the explanation of the changes in total fertility there now follows a review of the differential fertility characteristics in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Since the demographic data in the former Yugoslavia and particularly in Bosnia and Herzegovina were not gathered applying the same methodology during the whole period (between the 1953 and 1991 censuses) we are faced with some obstacles and difficulties. Therefore, it was not possible to make an analysis for all the variables affecting differential fertility. Also, it was not possible to analyze them continuously from 1953 to 1991, even for major variables. The main reason is that available statistical data are not consistent for every census year, because of the different methodologies applied to collecting the data for each census. So,

researchers are only in a position to analyze them during the different periods depending on the nature of the available data. The fertility characteristics in this chapter are based on the vital statistics and census data and analyzed by the transversal method.

5.2 Fertility levels according to female education

In the last two decades many theoretical and empirical studies have investigated the relationship between women's education and fertility (Jeffery and Basu, 1996; Jejeebhoy, 1995). Many scholars have argued that the existence of educational attainment differences determine the fertility level. According to Jejeebhoy (1995) education-fertility relationships can be categorized into four types, ranging from one in which increased years of schooling contribute so that fertility falls monotonically, to one in which there is no relationship or fertility rises monotonically with education. Between these two extreme types are patterns indicating that a few years of schooling have either no effect on or increase fertility initially. Jejeebhoy's comparisons were based on a large number of international studies.

Educational attainment is the most researched variable among all fertility determinants. The educational structure of the population in Bosnia and Herzegovina has been changing considerably, especially after primary education became compulsory at the state level, which was in the very late 1950s. In the first phase of that process only four-year primary education was compulsory and subsequently, eight-year primary education became compulsory. This was very important for the young female population, especially in the rural areas, but in the urban areas as well. In almost all rural and in some of the urban families there was a virtual lack of support for female education; fathers mostly did not like to send their daughters to the schools. They preferred female children to help in the house with domestic duties, rather than to send them away from home for schooling. They often refused to permit them to attend school, even on the occasions when schools were in the same settlements as their domicile. It should be noted that the different educational levels in the past as well as the other factors (socio-economic development, investment in

schooling system, population social structure etc.) caused the substantial differentiation of educational attainment through the country, which will be presented and analyzed later (Breznik, et.al, 1972).

The primary aim of this chapter is answering the question of the path-ways through which education influences fertility in Bosnia and Herzegovina. If we take into account that the fertility data according to age and educational attainment are taken from two sources it is necessarily to consider the absolute frequency of the number of women by educational groups. Between 1961 and 1991 the number of women without any education dropped from 820 594 to 417 246, which is a decline from 66.4% to 25.8% in the total female population aged 15 or more. In 1991 about 80 per cent of women with no schooling were aged 50 and more and only 1.0 per cent of women without schooling were aged 15-24, while in 1961 there were 15.5 per cent of young women in this age group without schooling. At the same time the number of women with university educational attainment increased from 4 269 in 1961 to 79 423 in 1991, and their proportion in the female population aged 15 or more, changed from 0.3% to 4.9% during the 1961-1991 period.

The situation among other educational groups looks as follows. In 1961 women who completed primary school accounted for 30.3 per cent of all adult women, while those with completed secondary school were just 2.9%. The percentage almost tripled (8.4%) in the next census year 1971, and in 1991 more than one-quarter of the female population aged 15 and more were in this educational group. The most significant change was recorded among women in the age group 20-24. Their number increased from 10 825 in 1961 (6.6% of women in these age groups) to 100 195 (61.8% respectively) in 1991. Another important concern is live births according to age and education of mother. Notably the highest numbers of live births in 1961 were by mothers with no schooling 69 649 (or 64.4 %) of the total females.

Compulsory education contributed to some decline of the number of live births by mothers with no education, first of all as a consequence of their smaller

representation in the total female population, especially among women in younger ages. The number of women from 15 to 30 years of age with no schooling declined from 229 516 in 1961 to only 8 663 in 1991. There was an obvious change in the number of live births by female population with secondary school attainment between 1961 and 1991, from 4.8 % to 44.7 % in total number of live births. A tendency observed for the number of live births by mothers with completed university education shows a notable increase in the 1961-1991 period as well, from 0.3% to 6.0%, which is also a product of increased numbers of university educated women.

The post-transitional phase in the fertility of population of Bosnia and Herzegovina shows changes in the number of births by women under and over 30 years of age. There was a continuation of the moderately upward trend in fertility of women in their thirties and a simultaneous decline in the number of births by women under 30 years of age, which was initiated in the 1980s. This represents a new tendency typical of the modern reproduction model. In line with changes in the age limit for giving birth to the first child, a slow upward tendency occurred between 1961 and 1981 and since 1981 has continued a slight downward tendency in the concentration of births by mothers less than 30 years of age. So, the share of births by women aged 30-34 increased from 12.7% in 1981 to 15.5% in 1991. A similar situation occurred among women of the same age with different educational attainment, especially among women who completed university education (26.4% in 1981 and 37.7% in 1991). The female population aged 35-39 showed a slight increase in their share of births (from 4.0% to 5.0%) during the same period.

At the same time, the average age at getting married and the average age of women at childbirth had considerable impact on fertility levels. A slight increase was recorded in the average age at getting married for women. In 1991, it was 24.2 years, which is higher by 0.8 years than in 1950. The average age of women at childbirth had a downward tendency from 1950 to 1971 and since then continued to be similar until 1991 when it slightly increased. During the period 1950-1991 the average age

of women at childbirth declined by about three years. The decline is affected to a considerable extent by the decline in the rates in the higher birth orders (Table 5.1).

Table 5.1 AVERAGE AGE OF WOMEN AT THE TIME OF GETTING MARRIED AND AT THE TIME OF CHILDBIRTH 1950-1991

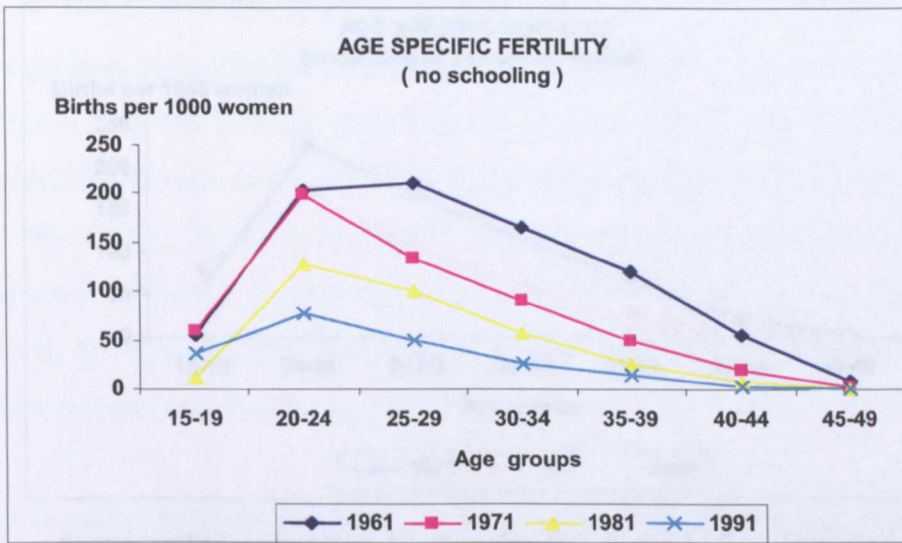
Year	Average age at getting married for women	Average age of women at childbirth
1950	23.4	29.0
1971	22.2	26.6
1979	23.0	25.7
1980	23.4	25.6
1981	23.2	25.6
1982	23.3	25.6
1983	23.4	25.7
1984	23.4	25.6
1985	23.4	25.7
1986	23.5	25.8
1987	23.6	25.7
1988	23.7	25.8
1989	24.0	25.8
1991	24.2	26.1

Source: Statistical yearbook 1981, 1993-1998; Federal office of statistics.

5.3 Age specific fertility by educational attainment of women

The level of the age specific fertility rates points to a decline in birth levels across all age groups as a continuation of the tendency initiated in the early 1950s. Differentials in the number of births by women in different age groups and also by women in the same ages are present in all census years. In almost all countries, and obviously in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, no education and primary education are associated with higher numbers of children than are found among those women with secondary and higher levels of education.

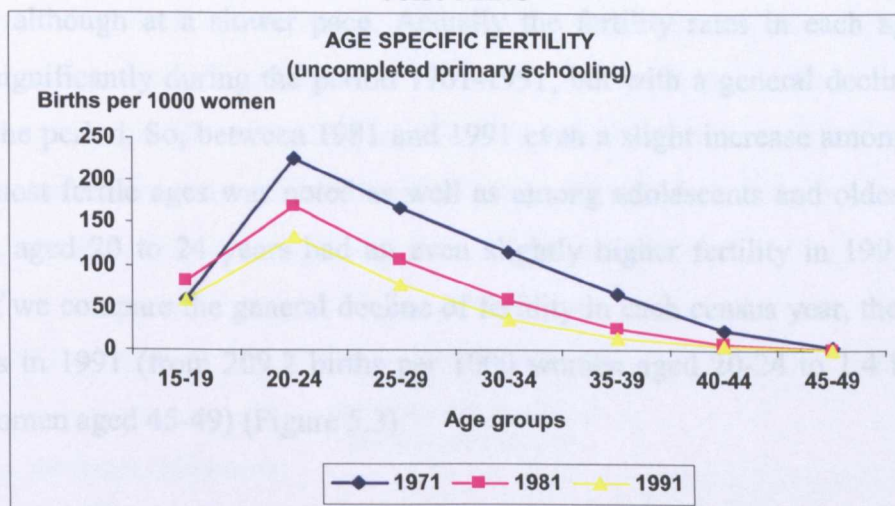
Figure 5.1 AGE SPECIFIC FERTILITY RATES OF WOMEN WITH NO SCHOOLING



Source: author's calculations based on data from Federal office of statistics.

There was an upward fertility tendency of young women aged 15 to 19 years in the first period (1961-1971), and a downward tendency after 1971. The number of women without any school education fell sharply between 1971 and 1981, from 726 343 to 490 079 respectively. This move towards improvement of education for women contributed to the declining fertility rates for women aged 15 to 19 by helping to encourage a move towards the later onset of childbirth. Smaller numbers of women made the decision to give birth at a very young age. The level of fertility rates for women in each of the next age groups was declining continuously during the whole period analysed, from 1961 to 1991. The fertility rates for women in their twenties, in both groups of the most fertile ages had a steady decline but there was a sharper one among women aged 25 to 29 years. So, the fertility rate in 1991 was lower by more than four times than it was in 1961 (49.5 and 201.8 respectively). Obviously this rapid turn to very low fertility occurred among women over thirty and over forty years. In the age group 40-45 years fertility declined almost twenty times (55.6 to 2.9).

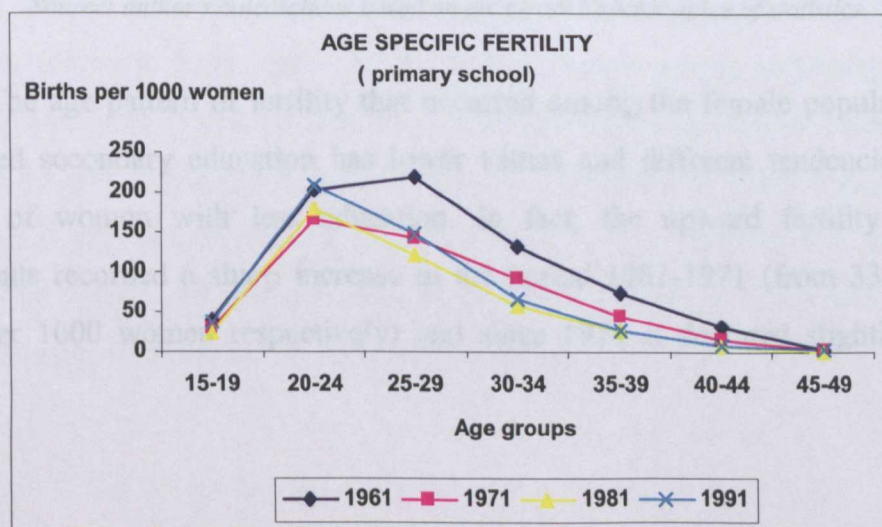
Figure 5.2 AGE SPECIFIC FERTILITY RATES OF WOMEN WITH UNCOMPLETED PRIMARY SCHOOLING



Source: author's calculations based on data from Federal office of statistics.

The census data and the vital statistics data of live births by women with uncompleted primary schooling do not exist for 1961 and so the fertility rates are analysed for the 1971-1991 period. During this period the pace of fertility decline was slight in each age group but was most obvious among older women. By analyzing the age specific fertility rates for each census year the most significant decrease was recorded in 1971, after a peak at 224.8 births per 1000 women aged 20 to 24 years the rate reached only 2.1 births per 1000 women in the age group 45-49 (Figure 5.2)

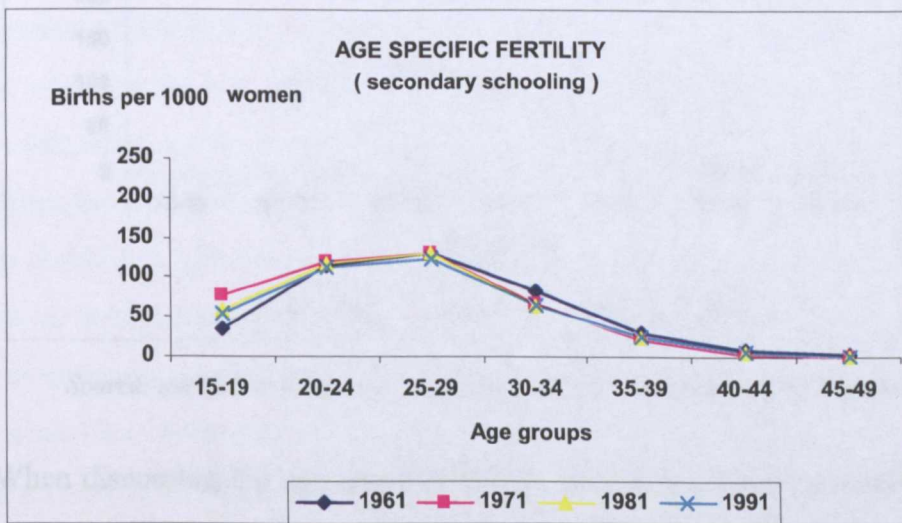
Figure 5.3 AGE SPECIFIC FERTILITY RATES OF WOMEN WITH PRIMARY SCHOOLING



Source: author's calculations based on the data from Federal office of statistics

For women with completed primary education the rate of fertility recorded a decline, although at a slower pace. Actually the fertility rates in each age group varied significantly during the period 1961-1991, but with a general decline by the end of the period. So, between 1981 and 1991 even a slight increase among women in the most fertile ages was noted as well as among adolescents and older women. Women aged 20 to 24 years had an even slightly higher fertility in 1991 than in 1961. If we compare the general decline of fertility in each census year, the sharpest one was in 1991 (from 209.2 births per 1000 women aged 20-24 to 1.4 births per 1000 women aged 45-49) (Figure 5.3).

Figure 5.4 AGE SPECIFIC FERTILITY RATES OF WOMEN WITH SECONDARY SCHOOLING

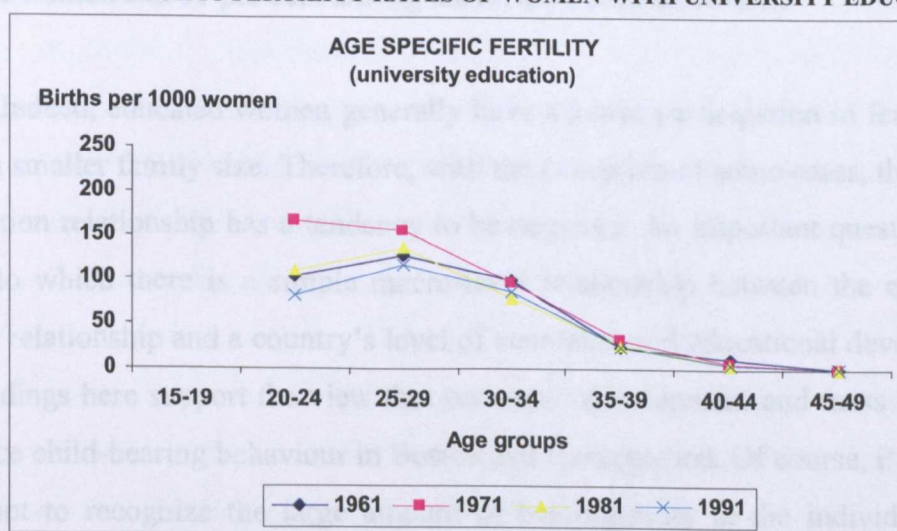


Source: author's calculations based on data from Federal office of statistics.

The age pattern of fertility that occurred among the female population with completed secondary education has lower values and different tendencies for the fertility of women with less education. In fact, the upward fertility trend of adolescents recorded a sharp increase in the period 1961-1971 (from 33.4 to 76.7 births per 1000 women respectively) and since 1971 it declined slightly to 53.9 births.

For women at every age from 20 to 49 years the rates of fertility were radically lower. In absolute terms, differences in the age specific fertility rates between women with this amount of education and the less educated women are most marked at ages 20 to 29, the peak age groups for child bearing. The fertility rate among these women was almost halved in comparison to the fertility among women with a lower level of education, as can be seen in Figure 5.4.

Figure 5.5 AGE SPECIFIC FERTILITY RATES OF WOMEN WITH UNIVERSITY EDUCATION



Source: author's calculations based on the data from Federal office of statistics.

When discussing the age specific fertility rate of the female population with completed university education similar characteristics occurred to those in the previous group of women regarding school attainment (secondary school education), but rates were the lowest of all age groups. In other words, the fertility rates of women in the most fertile ages had the lowest values among university educated women in comparison with the fertility of less well educated women. Between 1961 and 1971 a slight increase was recorded (about 63.6 births per 1000 women aged 20-24 and 29.6 per women aged 25-29) and since 1971 a considerable decline has started. The fertility decline was marked and obvious with no more than 81.1 and 116.4 births per 1000 women in the most fertile ages in 1991.

To the above analyses we can add some more details about educational influence on fertility that are obvious. For example, in the 1981 census year 455 683 or 31 per cent among the total number of the female population aged 15 and over did not participate in reproduction but the corresponding figures were only 12 per cent of non-educated women, and from 44 to 66 per cent of secondary and university educated women. The number of childless women aged 50 to 54 accounted for only 12 per cent of the total number of women of these ages, but with 11 per cent among illiterate women and 31 per cent among university educated women.

Indeed, educated women generally have a lower participation in fertility and desire a smaller family size. Therefore, with the exception of some cases, the fertility - education relationship has a tendency to be negative. An important question is the extent to which there is a simple macro-level relationship between the education-fertility relationship and a country's level of economic and educational development. The findings here support the view that economic development and mass education influence child-bearing behaviour in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Of course, it would be naive not to recognize the large amount of heterogeneity at the individual level. Some heterogeneity will be observed and analyzed on a municipality level based on 1991 census data. Educated women generally have a lower desired family size, which is proven in many studies (Cleland and Kaufmann, 1993). This hypothesis is obviously the case in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Not surprisingly, furthermore, the findings here support the view that mass education and a higher level of female literacy influence child-bearing behaviour and effective reproductive decision making. For example, the share of illiterate females in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1961 was 50.2 per cent of women 10 years and over, and from 1971 to 1991 this declined by 18.7 per cent. And by 1991 it was 16.4 per cent and only 0.9 per cent of these were aged 10-19 while in 1961 19.1 per cent of females of these ages were illiterate compared with 6.1 per cent in 1971. However, the key question is why better educated women are more likely to act on their reproductive preferences, rather than why they prefer smaller numbers of children

(Cleland and Kaufman, 1993). So, research has tended to focus more on identifying the determinants of reproductive decision making.

After all, we also can confirm a developed framework by Jejeebhoy (1995) in which education influences fertility through various types of autonomy: knowledge, decision making, physical, emotional, economic and social, and then through the proximate determinants. All these types of autonomy ensure that women have increased confidence and have a wider ability to make decisions, to move freely, and enhance employment opportunities as well as to have control over their lives. Education is exposing women to new ideas and affects the autonomy of women in a number of ways. For example, education leads women to seek medical and family planning advice. Women's position in the community is enhanced by education. Thereby, a woman's degree reduces her dependence on her spouse.

It should be noted here that Bosnia and Herzegovina is the one of the few socialist countries that has achieved mass primary and secondary education for women, and the influence on fertility will be largely at the level of the individual. Primary education usually has little impact on women's job opportunities. So, it was not unusual in Bosnia and Herzegovina that women married more traditional husbands who were able to provide sufficient economic resources and women did not have to seek paid employment. Secondary education provides women with qualifications for a good job. Through participation in secondary and university education women gain more skills and knowledge and women can be better able to implement fertility control even in the absence of a family planning program. Such women with more education and more employment opportunities also belong to a different social group with regard to marriage prospects. Marriage is therefore usually delayed and so the fertility span is shorter.

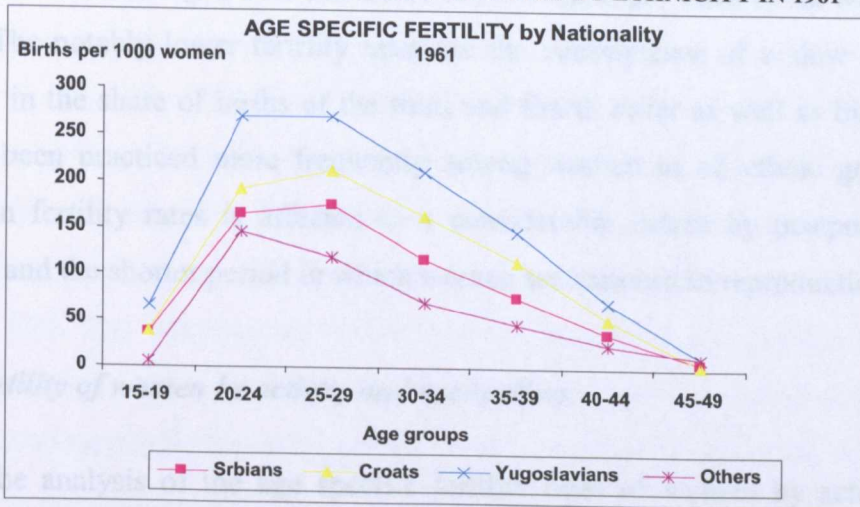
In general, the influence of education on fertility varies significantly at the level of the individual.

5.4 Age specific fertility by ethnicity of women

The fertility of the population of a particular ethnicity has received considerable attention. In the particular case of Bosnia and Herzegovina attention is dedicated to the three major ethnic groups who comprise the highest percentage in the total population. According to the latest census in 1991 they constitute more than 90 per cent of the total population in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Muslims-Bosniacs 43.5%, Serbs 31.2%, and Croats 17.4%). We should mention that "Others" in our classification comprise around eleven to thirteen different nationalities or ethnic groups but with no more than 0.3 per cent of representations for each (Jewish, Montenegrins, Slovenians, Gypsies, Albanians, Italians et al). The fertility trends according to age and ethnicity can be observed only in two census years over the period 1961-1991. The analysis is incomplete because these data for the 1971 and 1981 census years are not available. We should mention that 'Yugoslavians' in 1961 (Figure 5.6) are actually Bosniacs (Muslims) but at that time this group were not allowed to identify themselves that way, but only as Yugoslavians or as Serbs or Croats as well. The differences in fertility levels among different ethnicities are very significant in 1961 but not in 1991. In further analyses we can easily observe that the age specific fertility rates are also much higher in 1961 for each age group than in 1991 (Figure 5.6).

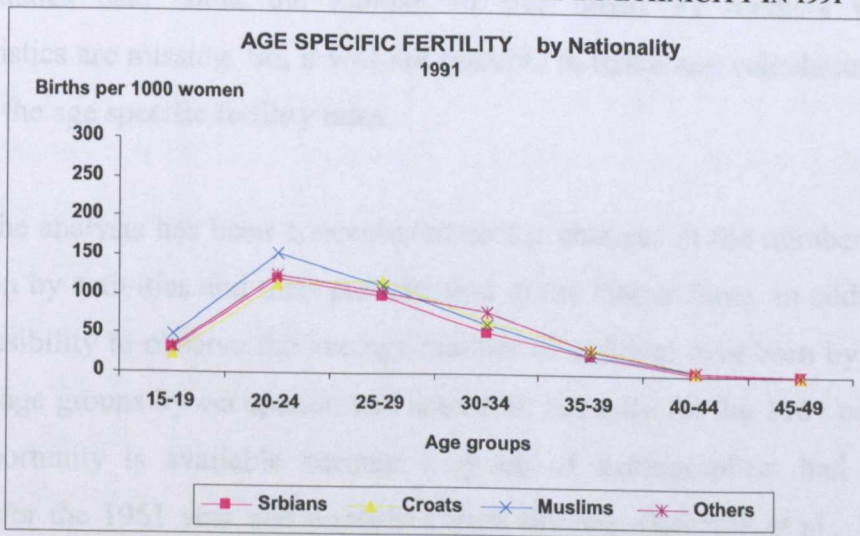
In the 1960s women aged 20 to 29, which are optimal ages for childbearing, had almost twice the number of live births that they had later in the early 1990s. Bosniac females aged 20-24 and 25-29 had respectively 269.8 and 268.2 births per 1000 women in 1961. The rates declined to 151.4 and 110.2 respectively in 1991. Women from the Serbian and Croat groups had lower fertility rates and women who belonged to other nationalities or ethnic groups had the lowest fertility rates in each age group. In 1961 the values of fertility rates by women in the older age group, over 30 years, were reasonably high especially among Yugoslavians (68.8 and 12.2 births per 1000 women aged 40-44 and 45-49 respectively).

Figure 5.6 AGE SPECIFIC FERTILITY RATES BY ETHNICITY IN 1961



Source: author's calculations based on the data from Federal office of statistics.

Figure 5.7 AGE SPECIFIC FERTILITY RATES BY ETHNICITY IN 1991



Source: author's calculations based on the data from Federal office of statistics.

As shown (Figure 5.6 and 5.7) the age specific fertility rates in 1991 are pretty low and with more similar values for women of different ethnicities. The fertility rates of Bosniacs women were still the highest in comparison with the fertility of women belonging to the other two ethnicities. The fertility levels in the older age groups over 30 years have declined rapidly. In comparison to the rates in 1961 fertility among those women aged 30 and more had at least halved in 1991, no matter which ethnicity. (For example, the decline was from 116.9 to 54.1 births per

1000 Serbian women aged 30-34 or 113.7 to 34.1 births per 1000 Croat women aged 35-39). The notably lower fertility rates are the consequence of a slow downward tendency in the share of births of the third and fourth order as well as birth control that has been practiced more frequently among women in all ethnic groups. The decline in fertility rates is affected to a considerable extent by postponement of marriage and the shorter period in which women are exposed to reproduction.

5.5 Fertility of women by activity and occupation

The analysis of the age specific fertility rates of women by activities and occupation cannot be realized on the basis of population census data and vital statistics data. In fact, although the census data about the number of female population according to activity and occupation by age do exist, at the same time the vital statistics data about the number of live births by mothers with those characteristics are missing. So, it was not possible to make any calculations in order to obtain the age specific fertility rates.

The analysis has been concentrated on the changes in the number of female population by activities and their participation in the labour force. In addition, there is the possibility to observe the average number of children ever born by women in different age groups by occupation and activities, but only for the 1961 census year. This opportunity is available because a group of demographers had completed analyses for the 1961 year and published their findings (Breznik et al., 1972). The differences in the average number of children by women with agricultural and non-agricultural occupations were from 0.12 to 0.37 in rural areas and 0.80 to 1.11 in urban areas. Differential fertility of women with various non-agricultural occupations was more emphasized among younger women. To take an example, women aged 50-54 years had cumulative fertility rates from 4.06 children (administrative workers) to 6.71 children (service activities and social welfare) in rural areas, and from 2.34 children to 5.29 children respectively in urban areas. The highest average numbers of children (6.76) by women that completed the reproductive period in the age group 50-54 and older were for unemployed women supported by husbands employed in agriculture. The female population employed in agriculture that had not participated

in reproduction was 9.7 per cent and compared with 23.2 per cent for non-agricultural workers.

During the 1961-1991 period, the number of female agricultural workers declined by more than five times from 313 070 to 52 620 and the number of live births by mothers employed in agriculture declined more than three times, from 26 523 to 7 975. The numbers of women with non-agricultural activities have been increasing as well as the number of live births, but the average numbers of children per woman are generally lower in comparison with agricultural workers.

5.6 The order of births, infant mortality and live births outside marriage from 1950s to 1991

5.6.1 Birth order

The 1956 -1991 period displayed some new elements in respect of birth structure by order of births of the second order and a slow decline in the share of births of the third and fourth and more orders. In 1956, the share of second births was 23.4 per cent but in 1981 it was 33.1 per cent of the total number of births. The share of third and fourth birth orders in 1956 were 16.0 and 12.8 per cent of births respectively but in 1981 the share declined to 12.2 and 4.8 per cent of births respectively. In 1991 the share of third birth orders was 11.7 and the share of fourth birth orders was only 3.3 per cent. A tendency observed for several decades confirms a notable decline of the fifth and higher orders.

Throwing some light on the order of births among women according education and activity we can reach certain conclusions. Women's activity has a considerable impact on the birth structure by order of births and during the whole period women not in work ('supported women') had the highest participation in third and more birth orders (close to or more than 80 per cent), followed by women employed in agriculture. The shares of uneducated women in 1956 and 1961 were 85.3 and 78.6 per cent of the fourth birth order respectively. By 1991 their proportion had declined extremely to 6.1 per cent, but at the same time women with primary

education raised their proportion from 20.4 per cent in 1961 to 42.6 per cent in 1991. Women who had failed to complete primary school in 1991 had 31.0 per cent of the fourth birth order. This change is a consequence of the highly reduced numbers of non-educated women.

5.6.2 *Infant mortality*

The causal relationship between infant mortality and fertility continues to occupy an important place in demographic research. Over the past few decades, this relationship has been a controversial issue. It involves multiple dimensions that are difficult to disentangle empirically or even identify theoretically. The modern economic theory of population emphasises an interdependency between infant mortality and fertility. Heer (1966) argues that the magnitude of the response of parents' fertility behaviour will depend on their preference for the lost child's gender and birth order as well as the perceived monetary and physical cost of birth control.

On one hand, there is an effect of infant mortality on fertility that depends on mechanisms directly associated with birth intervals. On the other hand, fertility and mortality are affected by common factors which are normally unmeasured but with undoubted imprints on both processes.

A commonly held view was that the mortality decline that started in 1950 in most socialist countries would soon lead to a fertility decline, as found in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The hypothesis of steady fertility decline that is concurrent with or follows the process of socioeconomic development or processes that are part of modernization - industrialization, urbanization, mass education, improved health, diffusion of modern techniques of birth control - are responsible for precipitating a secular decline in infant mortality and also for a secular fertility decline in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Between 1950 and 1991 infant mortality declined more than six-fold (Table 5.2). The direct connection between infant mortality and fertility change in Bosnia and Herzegovina is hard to elaborate thoroughly but with lower infant and

early child mortality fewer births are needed to secure a desired number of surviving children.

Table 5.2 INFANT DEATHS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA 1950- 1991

Year	infant deaths per 1000 live births
1950	125.6
1953	143.1
1961	98.7
1971	54.7
1981	30.1
1991	19.1

Source: Demographic statistics 1981, 1991; Federal office of statistics.

5.6.3 Live births outside marriage

Comparison of live births outside marriage from 1956 until 1991 shows a declining tendency in absolute numbers in Bosnia and Herzegovina hand in hand with a decline in the former Yugoslav republic. Armed with the general decline of live births outside marriage we can observe a lower share of live births outside marriage in Bosnia and Herzegovina itself as well as their share in the former Yugoslav republic (from 19.7 % in 1956 to 12.6% in 1981). During the 1956-1981 period the number of live births outside marriage in the total number of live births declined by about 1.6 per cent and increased to 2.0 per cent in the following ten-year period, to 7.4 per cent in 1991.

Table 5.3 LIVEBIRTHS OUTSIDE MARRIAGE 1956-1991

	Yugoslavia	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Livebirths outside marriage per 1000 livebirths	% in total number of livebirths
1956	37811	7486	70.4	7.4
1961	35655	6166	57.1	5.7
1971	30455	4314	52.2	5.2.
1981	30596	3870	54.5	5.4
1991	-	4959	74.1	7.4

Source: Demographic statistics 1956, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991; Federal office of statistics.

The data are not sufficient for a proper comparison of live births outside marriage according to women's occupation. Therefore we may only give a short comment about it. Live births outside marriage by women not in work represented the highest proportion in the total number of births. In reviewing live births outside marriage according to school attainment it is obvious that their numbers are much higher amongst the non-educated. In this case an extension of schooling also goes hand in hand with a lower number of live births.

Table 5.4 LIVEBIRTHS OUTSIDE MARRIAGE BY WOMEN EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT 1956-1991

	No school	Primary school	Secondary school	University	Unknown
1956	5546	1742	187	1	10
1961	3892	1993	264	5	12
1971	1246	2676	288	25	79
1981	360	1452	826	65	167
1991	302	2990	1381	120	166

Source: Demographic statistics 1956, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991; Federal office of statistics.

5.7 Marriages and divorces

In none of the Bosnian research or surveys are there data which would enable the relationship between fertility and marriage and divorce rates to be analyzed. In this chapter, though, the changes in the numbers of marriages and divorces are presented.

Table 5.5 MARRIAGES AND DIVORCES 1950-1991

Year	Marriages (per 1000 inhabitants)	Divorces (per 1000 inhabitants)	Divorces (per 1000 marriages)
1950	11.4	0.9	80.9
1953	10.8	0.7	62.2
1955	9.8	0.8	79.9
1961	9.7	0.9	98.2
1965	9.5	0.8	81.1
1971	9.4	0.8	89.3
1975	9.0	1.1	126.1
1981	8.9	0.8	93.3
1985	8.3	0.7	66.2
1991	6.4	0.4	56.3

Source: Demographic statistics 1956, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991; Federal office of statistics.

There was a slight change in the number of marriages between 1950 and 1991. In 1950 the number of marriages was 30 242, increasing to 36 631 in 1981, which was a pretty small increase for the thirty-year period in comparison with the changes in the number of the total population of Bosnia and Herzegovina (from 2 662 000 in 1950 to 4 124 256 in 1981). Since 1981, some decline in the number of marriages is apparent. So, in 1991 the number of marriages was no more than 28 238. In line with decline in the number of marriages, the marriage rate declined during the 1950-1991 period by 5 marriages per 1000 inhabitants. The most obvious decline, by 1.9 marriages per 1000 inhabitants, was during the last five-year period (Table 5.5).

The share of single women in the total number of women was about 24 per cent in 1961 as well as in 1981. At the same time the share of single females aged from 30 to 34 years was 11.8 per cent in the total number of women in the same age

group in 1961, while their share slightly declined to 8.8 per cent in 1981. Single females aged from 50 to 54 years raised their share by 1.4 per cent and they accounted for 3.3 per cent of the total number of women in 1981. Women in the age group who did not give birth accounted for 12.7 per cent of the total number of women of the same age.

Comparison of the numbers of marriages among the women in the different age groups shows that the highest number of marriages during the 1950-1991 period was among women aged from 20 to 24 years, except in 1971. Usually they accounted for almost 50 per cent of the total number of marriages (Table 5.6). To this comment can be added (even if it is not presented in a table) that age differences between spouses on average were generally not very big but have varied through time. So, the highest number of marriages was among the male population in the age group 20-24 years.

Table 5.6 MARRIAGES ACCORDING TO THE AGE OF BRIDE

Age	1950	1953	1961	1971	1981	1991
Total	30 242	31 069	31 842	35 290	36 631	27923
15-19	8 405	10 229	9 187	16 019	11 495	7996
20-24	13 840	14 315	14 641	13 190	16 591	11419
25-29	4 978	4 109	4 630	2 659	5 082	5023
30-34	1 280	1 368	1 522	1 418	1 483	1681
35-39	718	400	769	720	465	680
40-44	384	292	334	473	430	331
45-49	229	161	191	334	292	179

Source: Demographic statistics 1956,1961,1971,1981,1991; Federal office of statistics.

It is also obvious from the vital statistics data that the most frequent marriages were between females with no schooling and males with completed primary education in 1953. In the next census year 1961 when primary education had already become compulsory, marriages between females and males with completed primary education had the highest per cent (47%) of the total number of marriages. But, the number of marriages of women with no schooling was halved in 1961,

firstly as a consequence of the compulsory educational system. The situation was similar later, in 1971 with a much higher share of marriages among the primary educated population (67.0%). A steady decline in the number of marriages of non-educated women continued and their share was only 3.9 per cent in 1981, while women with primary schooling accounted for 52.0 per cent of the total number of marriages. At the same time males with secondary education had a higher percentage in 1981 than earlier.

It has been shown how marriages rely on two conditions, age and education. During the whole period from 1953 until 1991 women not in work had the highest share of the number of marriages, around 50 per cent. They are followed by women employed in agriculture and industry. Women employed in agriculture in 1953 and 1961 had a higher percentage (52.0% and 58.0% respectively) than women not in work (31.2% and 23.0% respectively).

An ambivalent relationship exists between divorce and childbearing because divorce often ends an infertile union. On the one hand divorce redistributes infertile but not necessarily sterile, spouses; on the other the threat of repudiation may encourage a woman to have more children. From this point of view, a lower divorce rate would be expected to result in lower fertility.

However, it is surprising that the relationship between divorce and fertility tends to be reversed, but it is impossible to be certain to what extent. Fertility persistently declined from 1953 to 1991 as is shown in the previous chapter (from 4.82 to 1.88 respectively). Divorces per 1000 inhabitants as well as divorces per 1000 marriages have been changing all the time and declined by 0.5 and by 24.9 respectively in 1991. The highest divorce rates were in 1975, with values of 1.1 per 1000 inhabitants and 126.1 per 1000 marriages.

Age at marriage is a key variable for understanding differences in family size within the same country; lifetime fertility declines regularly as women marry later and later. Some fertility decrease observed in Bosnia and Herzegovina can be

attributed to later age at first marriage. Average age at marriage for women increased by no more than 0.8 year during the 1950-1991 period. Average age at marriage for men increased by 1.3 years during the same period (Table 5.7).

Table 5.7 AVERAGE AGE AT THE TIME OF GETTING MARRIED FOR WOMEN AND FOR MEN

Year	Average age at getting married for women	Average age at getting married for men
1950	23.4	26.5
1971	22.2	26.1
1979	23.0	26.6
1980	23.4	26.9
1981	23.2	26.7
1982	23.3	26.8
1983	23.4	26.8
1984	23.4	26.9
1985	23.4	26.9
1986	23.5	27.0
1987	23.6	27.2
1988	23.7	27.2
1989	24.0	27.5
1991	24.2	27.8

Source: Demographic statistics 1956, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991; Federal office of statistics

5.8 Conclusion

It can be pointed out that there was variation in the declining TFR dependant upon the extent of female education. Data are only available for 1961, 1971, 1981, and 1991 but over this twenty year period the greatest decline in TFR was amongst women with no schooling. In contrast, the TFR actually increased slightly for those women with university education. There were significant declines for women with education only to primary school level and also for those educated to secondary school level.

A new tendency typical of the modern reproduction model appeared in line with changes in the age limit for giving birth to the first child, as a slow upward tendency occurred. At the same time a slight increase in the average age at getting

married for women was recorded, and can be explained by the influence of education. The fertility of the population of a particular ethnic group experienced changes and declined during the observed period 1961-1991 with more similar values for women of different ethnicities in 1991 than in 1961.

6 THE STATUS OF WOMEN THOROUGHOUT HISTORY

6.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to show the changes that have occurred in the position of women throughout history, because the changed status of women in modern society is an important factor in recognizing relationships between family planning and fertility. Within the framework of complex factors in society: socio-economic, political, cultural and others, which demand from modern men and women active control over biological functions in order to maintain the human race, the importance should be emphasized of the economic, political and sexual emancipation and freedom of women. Changes in women's position in modern society have emphasized women's biological function as a mother as a fundamental problem affecting society.

The changes in the status of women in society have also changed the structure of the family unit, relationships between members within the family and the realization of the function of women as mothers. One of the changes is a reduction in the numbers of children being born and also a reduction in infant mortality. More and more decisions regarding the size of the family are of mutual interest, both for parents and society as a whole.

With growing recognition of the equal position of women and their active involvement in economic and cultural development in the Developed World, modern society has increasingly utilized all available new technology that help women as a housewife in household tasks (washing machine, dishwashing machine etc.) to make a double role (biological and social) easier for women. So, it is possible to compare the changes in the position of women throughout time with the decline of fertility and to observe the temporal agreement of these two issues not just in Europe and the world but specifically in Bosnia and Herzegovina as can be seen in the previous chapter.

Recent decades represent a phase of a wide recognition of the legal equality between men and woman. There are relatively few countries in which women still do not have basic political rights on the same basis and on the same level as men. Modern society has ceased to be indifferent toward the practice of inequality and submission of women in every aspect of social relations.

Nevertheless, if a process of equalization between men and women is becoming wider and more versatile, then it is becoming obvious and clear that their real equalization lies primarily in the equalization of their economic rights and their right to work. Perception of female roles is not narrowed to the stereotypes associated with their “natural” predisposition. A spectrum of roles is defined by cultural norms in a given country. Employment of women is a source of additional income for households and gives women an opportunity for self-fulfilment by having a feeling of being a socially useful person (Engels, 1950).

Today, when women have legally equal possibilities to be educated for all kinds of professions and to be involved in all kinds of businesses evenly with men, the traditional role of the woman as a housewife has still not been historically eliminated. Because of that, a great number of married women who are employed are carrying a burden of a double work obligation – working in their household after and before their paid work. In this case, the working contribution of the women exceeds the working contribution of the men, but their working rights remain recognized only for the paid work, in both an economic and a legal sense. Women are distinguished here as more burdened manpower with relatively narrower economic and working rights than men. Here lies the base of a real gender inequality, although the social equality has been legally recognized.

The application of the right and free involvement of women and men in all public functions carries a question of equal working possibilities for both male and female manpower, or a question of specific economic and social repercussions while using one or the other, for those who exploit it. From a business point of view, it is regularly underlined that the use of female manpower, because its nature is so

specific, gives lower economic results than use of male manpower. This postulate develops theories about the inferior value of the female gender, and an inferior "value of female work". In current practice too, with the transition of businesses to the profit principle, reluctance toward employing female manpower has arisen, based also on the theory of it being less profitable than male manpower. Regardless of any real background for this practice and opinions that are connected to it, it is a fact that this theory contains one of the causes of actual social inequality of men and women, in spite of their legal equalization in society (Engels, 1950).

Exactly these arguments attract attention and arouse interest for observing female positions in society from an economic viewpoint. Specifically, a woman's very work represents a real characteristic of her actual and final emancipation and equality in society.

The female 'question', especially as it has been established herein and the way it is contemplated here is presented primarily as a question of economic inequality of women in society, from which all other social injustices for the female gender originate. This has an overriding historical dimension. The history of this question has a close relationship with the development and alteration of socio-economic formations, or even more precisely, because this question is connected to the origin and development of social-economic class formation in human society.

6.2 Women in Capitalism and Socialism

As in the earlier societies, the basic characteristic of the social status of women in Capitalism is social inequality and subordination. The French revolution, as the first bourgeois revolution which opened the political paths to the free development of Capitalism, rejected the 'Declaration of Women's Rights', and its authors, Olimpie de Gouge and Rose Lacombe, ended their lives on the guillotine. Napoleon's *Code civile* limited women's possessions and their personal rights.

In the beginning, Capitalism subordinated women by providing for them economically and creating a regime by law that the main duty for women was

producing offspring while men were rulers of the family. It should be noted, though, that the idea for the first Woman's Rights Convention dates back to the 1840s. For example, the Seneca Falls Convention, July 19-20, 1848, was a beginning for the securing for women of equal participation with men in the various spheres. The suffrage movement involved such famous leaders as Elizabeth Cady Stanton (taking the Declaration of Independence as her guide), Susan B. Anthony, Alice Paul and later Betty Friedan, and countless others. The suffrage movement was characterised by internal splits and disagreements, but the women achieved their goal of securing the right to vote for women in United States and later in most other countries. After 72 years of concerted steady effort by women and their fair-minded male allies, the right to vote along side their brothers was finally granted. On 26th August 1920 the Secretary of State certified passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, giving women constitutional protection of their right to vote.

'First Wave feminism' refers to women's rights activity from the 1840s to the 1920s, and women's movements that developed from the late 1960s as 'Second Wave feminism' were instrumental in achieving a heightened public awareness of the need for suffrage and emancipation. The two waves were followed by the equality and anti-discrimination initiatives of the 1970s and 1980s (Boxer, 1982).

There are assumptions that feminism can transcend national differences and, conversely, that women's movements are shaped and circumscribed by national levels of development (Basu, 1999). Robinson (1998) argues that "*Feminists contend that men have 'rights' that are unjustly denied to women. In seeking to redress the injustices brought about by male exercise of unequal power relations, which has produced various forms of male control over women and women's subordination, feminists have carried their struggle into both the public and private spheres, including the academic*" (p. 453).

Greater equality between men and women started to occur amongst the poorer classes when the hiring of female workers started the first mass economic emancipation in history post-1945. The point of economic emancipation is economic

independence based on personal money-making. However, in early capitalism most women were not emancipated.

According to Bebel (1956), a capitalistic economy absorbs a great percentage of women and married women as well, in its early stage. Women become burdened in three different ways: as a worker, mother and housewife. In some cases she becomes the only worker who feeds the family. The situation becomes even more difficult when work problems are added to the family problems. Women who were pregnant had to work until the moment they had to deliver a baby because there was no maternity protection. Economic matters made these women come back to work shortly after delivering a baby if the old job was still waiting for them.

The first theoretical understanding of female labour and social status of women in general at the time of initial capitalist industrial development was mentioned in work by the Swiss economist Sismondie (Engels, 1950). He thought that machinery usage in industrial production brought unemployment and great poverty to workers as well as damaging the households. According to him, women's labour should not be totally removed from industry, but women being totally taken away from their homes to work in factories should not be allowed as well.

There was also a *Liberal school* associated with 19th century French economists, which followed the tradition, both in politics and economics, set by the theorist Jean-Baptiste Say. In sum, they can be considered the French counterparts of the British "Manchester School" with a dash of better theory and a good deal of optimism. Their greatest work is *The Labour of Women in the XIX century* by Paul Leroy-Beaulieu (1870). According to Leroy-Beaulieu, the basic element of society is not the family but the individual. Fourier in his *New Industrial World* (1830) advocated the removal of all the measures that limit women's freedom, and asked also for the opening of horizons for all women. He said that women would overcome men in many aspects (Hadziomerovic, 1959).

A very progressive theoretician of feminism, the economist John Stuart Mill acknowledged his ideas about the position of women's labour in *The subjection of Woman* (1869). He thought that equality between men and women in social, legal and political senses would lead to a moral metamorphosis of human kind.

Representatives of Marxism, Marx, Engels and Lenin, thought that women should first take a position in the social economy, i.e. paid work in the labour market, as a basic condition of their emancipation. In 1844 the first law about shortening the work-time of women appeared in England. Inside the International Labour Organization (ILO) (whose membership numbered 72 countries), the following conventions were subsequently established:

- two conventions about the protection of maternity of woman in labour (1919 and 1952),
- three conventions about night-labour of women (1919, 1934 and 1948) and
- one convention of equality of payment to both men and women labourers (1952).

There is a special Committee inside the United Nations whose concern is the position of women and their problems. Political questions, freedom of women, their position in society, the question of women's presence and political functions, the question of shortened labour-time and many others have been solved systematically. The relationship between the position of women in society, social mobility and fertility was one of the important research hypotheses of the so-called 'Princeton studies' in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The Office of Population Research of Princeton University undertook a study to isolate the social and psychological determinants of human fertility in the U.S. According to the findings in the report on *Family Growth in Metropolitan America*, published in 1961, the hypothesis as a whole was rejected. As is well known, these findings strongly suggest that the social mobility-fertility hypothesis may have been prematurely discarded as a significant variable in explaining variations in fertility. There is no general lack of empirical support for the hypothesis. According to Berent (1952) observations of non-mobile,

upwardly and downwardly mobile women by status by both status of origin and destination findings supported different conclusions (Zimmer, 1981).

As for the connection to Marx and his writings, the main connection is to Friedrich Engels' *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* (1845). This focuses on the concerns of working women and provides an understanding of how the institution of the family is related to capitalism; how women's domestic work is trivialized and not considered "real work"; and basically how women are given the most unfulfilling, boring, and/or low-paying jobs. These are all offered as partial explanations for gender oppression.

In the writings of Marx and Engels generally and on this issue in particular, spatial differentiations between urban and rural society played little part. Similarly, in the work of Durkheim and Weber no aspect of society could be analysed independently of overall social relations. In addressing this, the Marxist geographer Doreen Massey (1984) attempts to demonstrate that in the reproduction of social and economic relations particular locations affect the nature of social development, and hence she adds a geographical dimension to the various social theories that were essentially aspatial (Robinson, 1998).

Marxist feminists try to integrate into their theory and political practice the existence of a material and social basis for gender oppression and the need for women to constitute themselves as a social subject. The feminist movement makes possible reaffirmation of women's identity, both individually and collectively. The view expressed by Robinson (1998) is that "*feminists have focused in particular upon the marginalization of women within the public sphere and upon the way in which women have been rendered invisible by their omission from countless writings of male academics*"(p.454).

Comparing the situation in the former Yugoslavia both prior to and after the creation of the socialist state, it is clear that Marxist ideas were part of radicalizing movements and did much to ensure that women became more conscious of their

specific problems, encouraging their self organization to defend their specific interests and thus strengthen the autonomous women's movement.

Contemporary Marxist Feminists such as Heidi Hartmann, Michele Barret, Maxine Molyneux, Flora Anthias and Patricia Connelly generally sustain the analytical (and political) primacy of the mode of production in laying bare the basic social, economic, and political structures/relations in which women and men enter or find themselves in struggling for their life means and in putting in motion the process of succession of generations. Mostly they focus on the analysis of the articulation of social relations (of gender, class, race/ethnicity, kinship, and generation), and how they define the situation of women in different and in specific class instances.

Germaine Greer, one of the known Western personalities of the generation which challenged women in the 1970s, made a big impact with her book *The Female Eunuch*. Greer's book had a big impact on young feminists at that time linked to the youth radicalization of the 1960s and the emerging women's liberation movement in the West. The author had not patronizingly attempted to speak on behalf of all women, rather her writings reflected the experience of educated, white, middle-class women. She stated that motherhood was being systematically degraded, and women in work were being blamed for societies' woes. They were accused of being cold-hearted career seekers (Mohideen, 2003).

6.3 *The level of employment and tendencies in employment in modern Capitalism*

When trying to form the most faithful image about the employment of women, the key points are the general degree of employment and employment according to separate economic sectors. The general view on women's participation versus total active population can be seen using the annual statistical records of the International Labour Organization (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1 EMPLOYMENT RATE OF WOMEN in the 1950s

Country	Year	Number of Employees	% employed women	Employed women as a % of all women
USA	1950	60 037	27.5	21.7
Canada	1951	5 300	22.1	16.9
Great Britain	1951	22 579	30.6	27.2
France	1946	20 520	38.3	37.5
W Germany	1954	22 074	36.0	33.1
Italy	1954	21 342	30.1	25.9
Belgium	1947	3 481	23.6	19.0
Switzerland	1950	2 155	29.7	26.2
Netherlands	1947	3 866	24.4	19.5
Sweden	1950	3 120	26.4	23.3
Australia	1947	3 238	23.4	-
Brazil	1950	17 117	14.2	-
Japan	1954	40 580	41.2	36.8

Source: International Organization for Work: Statistical Yearbook, 1955.

The proportion of women amongst employers, private employers and free professions in the larger Developed countries in the 1950s was as much as 15 to 20% (e.g. Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Argentina and Japan). The general conclusion that can be drawn from this data is: there is a tendency for an increase in the active female population, to account for between one-third and one-quarter of the total active population.

The development of Capitalism necessarily creates higher levels of employment of women, though two characteristic moments (the economic crisis of 1929-1932 and the Nazi regime in Germany) had a negative influence on the spread of employment in general and specifically on employment of women. The firing of workers which started in 1929 in the first place mostly affected women. The politics of the Nazi government, while decreasing the employment of women, can be illustrated by a chain of legal examples. One of them was the rule from May 30th, 1932 when all the women-clerks working for the federal government were fired after they got married. A series of measures was introduced to direct and limit the labour of women to certain professions only (BIT, 1952).

A decrease in the number of employed women amongst labourers and an increase of the number amongst waged employees and clerks, jobs that required education, should be mentioned as an important tendency while employing women post-1945.

The patterns of economic activity of women have changed over time. Thus, the introduction of salaried employment outside the home during the second half of the 20th century has transformed the domestic and professional reality of women not only across Europe. Alongside socio-economic changes affecting the family system, women's roles are also being transformed, and during the last few decades the conflict between paid work and family duties has increased (Liefbroer-Corijn, 1999). Women's employment rate in Western Europe was 37.9% at the beginning of the 1990s. Despite an overall increase, large differences in women's employment rates remain, from 32.3% in Spain to 76.1% in Sweden. The percentage of women in the active population in Eastern Europe was 44% in 1970 and 48% in 1990, and in Western Europe 33% and 42% respectively (Bureau International du Travail, 1995)

Table 6.2 WOMEN'S SHARE OF EMPLOYMENT IN THE MAIN PROFESSIONAL CATEGORIES IN 1990 in (%)

	Eastern Europe	Western Europe
Professionals and technicians	56	50
Administration and management		
Personnel	33	18
Office clerks and similar	73	63
Sales force	66	48

Source: United Nations, The World's Women 1995- Trends and Statistics, No.E.95XII.2

The recent increase in women's employment is thus a result of changes in the activity patterns of European women of child-bearing and child-rearing age (Maruani, 1995). The labour force in the EU increased by some 2.5 millions between 1994 and 1999, and the average participation rate of women rose from 57% to 59%

over these five years (Commission of the European Communities, 2000a). Across the EU as a whole, women are paid on average 83% of men's hourly wages, and this is more pronounced in the private than in the public sector (76% and 89% respectively). Higher shares of women are found in more atypical forms of employment e.g. temporary employment, family workers and informal work (Commission of the European Communities, 2000b). In general highly educated or qualified women are better integrated into the labour market than their less qualified compatriots.

Women's labour market position in Central and Eastern Europe and the CIS changed after the collapse of state socialism. Before 1989, one of the major differences between the gender regimes of state socialist and capitalist societies was to be found in the level of women's representation in paid work. In 2003 at least two major reports assessed the situation of women in the post-state socialist labour markets (World Bank, 2003; European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, 2003). After the economic transition Labour Force Surveys in different countries show that millions of women lost their jobs, many became unemployed, even more become economically inactive. Overt discrimination has increased, especially towards certain groups of women: older women and those with young children. Already high levels of job segregation have become the norm and women are still being forced into less prestigious, underpaid public sector jobs. Only a handful can take advantage of the new opportunities offered by international companies or domestic private sector firms. Women have become active participants in the growing informal sector, where many receive minimum wages in unstable jobs without being eligible for benefits of any kind (Pollert, 2003). In sum, there is currently a significant gender inequality in the job market.

In various ways the position of women in Eastern Europe and gender inequality in post-state socialist societies is not significantly larger or smaller than in some other part of Europe (Brainerd, 2000). Actually, the difference in employment levels between highly qualified women and those with low levels of qualification is more pronounced in some countries than others. For example, employment rates

between well qualified and poorly qualified women are more different in Spain, Greece and Italy than in the United Kingdom, Denmark, Finland and Sweden. Despite various legislative measures in favour of equal pay in all European countries, gender based inequalities continue to exist. The difference between salaries varies from country to country. In the early 1990s manual workers received between 67% in the UK and 84% in Denmark of the average male worker's income (excluding public sector employment). Non-manual workers received two thirds of the average male salary in Germany, Greece, France and Portugal and around 60% in Ireland and UK (Bulletin on Women and Employment in the E.U. 1994, No.5: 1). At the recent 7th ILO (International Labour Organization) European Regional Meeting in February 2005 in Budapest it was argued that women generally show lower rates of economic activity than men in Central and Eastern Europe. Even in Sweden, which from a gender standpoint is an egalitarian labour market in European terms, population-wide female inactivity in the workplace was 42.3 per cent in 2003, compared with 34.3 per cent for men. This meant a "gender gap" of 8 percentage points.

In Croatia, Hungary and Poland, the gender gap was 14.5-15.5 percentage points. However, this was still lower than in some Western European countries, such as Ireland (21.3 percentage points) and Spain (23.3 percentage points). However, there is much higher participation of women in part-time employment than among men. Part-time employment is less widespread in Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries than in Western Europe, but there is a high level of involuntary part-time employment (Baranovic, 2002).

Table 6.3 EMPLOYMENT RATE OF WOMEN AND MEN IN EU COUNTRIES in 2000

Country	All	Women	Men
Austria	48.5	40.5	56.5
Belgium	59.3	50.4	68.1
Denmark	74.6	70.2	79.0
Finland	66.0	63.5	68.4
France	49.3	42.4	56.7
Germany	64.8	56.9	72.4
Greece	55.5	41.5	70.1
Ireland	61.0	49.4	73.1
Italy	43.1	30.6	56.6
Luxembourg	61.6	48.5	74.4
Netherlands	65.0	51.0	76.0
Norway	70.9	66.6	75.1
Portugal	67.4	59.4	75.8
Spain	56.1	41.4	71.2
Sweden	77.6	74.7	80.4
UK	59.2	51.8	67.8

Source: EIRO

6.3.1 *The conditions of employment of married women and mothers*

Considering the status of women there is no doubt that most of the problems occur in the working and living conditions of employed married women and mothers. The labour of these women touches the most sensitive questions of survival and development and the growth of the family, and it is specifically related to the raising of children. Going further, the labour of married women represents a point of constant historical conflict between conservatives, who only fight for keeping women's role traditional, to 'tie' her to the house and family, and progressives, who saw the first condition of women's definite and true economic emancipation, and through that, social emancipation also, only in employing women on an equal basis with men.

Although accurate data about employment levels of married women and mothers do not exist everywhere and especially not for developing countries in the 1950s, there is plenty of evidence and signs which show a tendency of increase in the percentage of women employed, which had become especially apparent by the end of the first half of the 20th century.

The percent of married women in the labour force in the United States was 30% in 1940, while in 1949 it was 46%. The increase of numbers appears in Great Britain as well – between 1931 and 1951 the number of employed women who were married, doubled – it increased by about 1 750 000 women.

According to data published in 1954, in Western Germany in 1950 34.7% of married women were in employment. The situation was similar in other developed countries in Europe. The increased number of married women in labour was also seen in many Developing Countries. There were also 50-80% of married women in employment in India at this time but they were mostly in unpaid employment and working on the land (Hadziomerovic, 1959).

Data on the public and private roles of women have been interpreted and presented in books by Siemieńska (1997) and Domański (1999). During their research it was noted that a significant percentage of people living in Europe believed that ‘a woman should have a child to be satisfied’. However, in Scandinavian countries almost all respondents of both sexes believed that women should work outside their home and the dominant view about the social role of women was in favour of emancipation. In Western European countries respondents were more frequently in favour of paid employment of women than of limiting their activities to the household. In the countries of Central Europe the percentage of women supporting the traditional division of roles as compared to those supporting emancipation was more diverse than in the previous groups. Countries of Southern Europe were characterized by a high percentage of respondents convinced that employment of women should be motivated by economic reasons rather than due to other reasons.

6.3.2 Measures taken in order to liberate employed women from family obligations

In fact involvement of women in the labour market means that women have to work full-time both at work and at home which is a double burden. In a great

number of countries, a whole chain of practical measures were taken at the state level or as the initiative of some public institutions and organizations, even the employers, in order to give more freedom to employed women, first to those who were married and then to mothers in their family duty. The organizations that provide day-care for children after school time, during the school year and the holidays have been of great significance for many employed mothers.

Raising, financing and managing institutions for children's day-care for employed mothers has been regulated by law in many countries. However, in some countries access to services substituting household duties is limited. There are some differences considering the organization inside the institutions, the age of children accepted to those same institutions for day-care, in the prices of these services, then considering mothers' work-time, staff qualified etc. In many countries the costs of childcare are very high. The custom of opening public kitchens and public washing-rooms became widespread, then came building and organizing kindergartens and nursery schools, organizing of economic purchases for household needs. The rules written in law mentioned before existed not only in Anglo-America and developed countries of Western Europe, but also in Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Cuba and many other countries. The National Centre in Belgium the *Office de la Naissance et de l'Enfance/Kind en Gezin (ONE/K&G)* was created according to law from 1919 for the protection of children, to take care and financially help the kindergartens and nursery schools. According to the Codex of Labour from 1931 in Chile, all industrial and trading industries with a minimum of twenty female workers had to open nursery schools where women could leave their children till the age of two. Rooms for children until they were six years old had to be provided in industries for the workers in India, according to law from 1948. In England, kindergartens and nursery schools were financially helped by local and central government (BIT, 1954).

Regular financial assistance of nurseries from municipalities exists in Switzerland as well. But still the number of nurseries and kindergartens is not enough and the costs are well beyond the means of most countries.

According to University of Massachusetts-Amherst sociologists Dan Clawson and Naomi Gerstel (2002), while working parents in the United States struggle to find and afford private child care of even mediocre quality, parents in most European countries easily find publicly-funded programmes offering good-to-excellent care: European countries provide thought-provoking alternative models of child care. For example, focusing on differences between the systems available in France and Denmark, the authors find that French child care is intended primarily as early education and is open to all children, regardless of socio-economic status. Almost 100 percent of French three-, four-, and five-year-olds are enrolled for the full-day in free *écoles maternelles*; all are part of the same national system, with the same curriculum, staffed by teachers paid good wages by the same national ministry. Denmark's child care system, on the other hand, offers a 'non-school model', and is intended to aid working parents, not educate children. The cost of the French child care is not cheap. However, in France, child care costs are considered to be a social responsibility and are publicly funded, while in the U.S., parents themselves pay for these services (Science Blog, 2002).

Children of school-age are taken care of in many ways. They have meals at school and care provided for them after school. Meals at school have been very practical in many countries for a long time, with this practice spreading after the Second World War. Many charity organizations arranged additional meals for children as a supplementary measure in the immediate post-war years.

The following point can be observed while summarising the measures taken in order to liberate employed women and mothers: the increase in employment of female labour, especially married women and mothers, which was dictated by the economic situation in families and employers' need for labourers, put an emphasis on building institutions in order to help the employees while giving more freedom to employed women considering their family obligations.

Childcare in the 1990s can be understood in different ways depending on the level of development in individual countries and on the level of responsibility shared

between the family and the state as well. The situation regarding childcare and employment in European countries is quite diverse, and this is why it has to be analyzed separately. In some European countries parents receive a specific amount of money for childcare performed by a parent or some civil non-public institutions (e.g. Norway, Finland). France has a well-developed childcare system with full day childcare when it is needed. The most undeveloped system of public childcare is in Southern European countries with a low activity rate of women (Del Boca, 2002). CEE countries do not have a homogeneous system but have lower financial benefits, and mostly transfer responsibility for childcare to the family (Kotowska, 2002). A summary of the analyses provided by different authors has highlighted that responsibilities associated with childcare are related to the age of the child. So, establishing a dominant model can be difficult (Mustyńska, 2004).

6.3.3 The protection of maternity of the employed women

One of the most sensitive and most important points in protecting women's labour is protection of their maternity. However, it should be emphasized that this has reached a high level, both in the number of countries that apply it and the wide range which solving the problem has covered. The convention of protecting the maternity of women in labour was introduced at the first conference of the International Labour Organization in 1919. This covered the most important elements of protection, such as paying the costs of babies' food from public funds while mothers were taking the advantage of maternity absence, rights to stop working while nursing the baby, rights of free medical services, guaranteeing of employment after maternity absence and rights of free medical services related to the birth of the child.

In some countries it was convenient to charge the costs of food from public insurance funds considering the possibility that every employer would avoid employing female labour if these costs were supposed to be paid by them.

The need for revising the convention appeared after a lot of experience in using its rules practically. A new convention was made in 1952, which had the same elements as the earlier one, but it extended the rules to some other activities. It is important to emphasize that the convention used the advice of the World Health Organization in its 'standby' phase, whose suggestions really improved and completed official documents considering the domain of protection of maternity of women in labour. Improvements made in the field of maternity protection between 1919 and 1952 were enormous. After first accepting the convention, only one country allowed for a maternity leave for 12 weeks while in 1952 it was allowed in 20 countries. Employment after maternity leave in 1919 was guaranteed by law in only six countries, while in 1952 it existed in 35 countries. Forms of social insurance existed in only nine countries and they paid for food during maternity leave, while in 1952 there were 40 countries. Medical care was provided over different systems of social insurance in most of the countries. There is an obligatory social insurance law today, which includes regulations of duty about maternity protection in most countries.

Among the earliest forms of family policy was the provision of a prescribed period of maternity leave, guaranteeing women's return to work after the birth of a child. Maternity protection continues with new measures:

- the improvement of existing standards
- the extension of coverage to new groups
- increase in the length of leave
- higher rates of benefit.

As a report of the International Social Security Association argued in 1986: *"The extension to both parents of leave related to maternity or childcare has proceeded at a pace that has varied from country to country: this is an instructive example of the connection between social security and social custom"* (ISSA, 1986, p.45). The United Nations *Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women* (CEDAW) states: *"Parties shall take all appropriate measures to introduce maternity leave with pay or with comparable social benefits*

without loss of former employment seniority or social allowances” (p.36). Of the more than 160 countries that have signed CEDAW, only 6 countries including Australia don't have paid maternity leave. Every six months the International Reform Monitor, a project of the *Bertelsmann Foundation*, performs semi-standardized surveys which are launched among the network partners. These aim at identifying interesting reforms in the fields of social and labour market policy. Extensions of paid parental leave under the Employment Insurance Programme are just one example of this and provide a possibility for examining differences between countries regarding maternity and parental leave. The United States and Australia are the only industrialized countries that do not provide paid leave for new mothers nationally, though there are exceptions in some U.S. states. In Australia the position is a little bit better for mothers, however, with one year of job-protected leave. The U.S. Family and Medical Leave Act provides for 12 weeks of job-protected leave, but it only covers those who work in larger companies. Monash University research in 2003 has found that access to paid maternity leave in Australia is unequal within organizations and across industry sectors. Dr Susan Mayson, of the Department of Management in the Faculty of Business and Economics argued that approximately 30 per cent of Australian women who had access to paid maternity leave were well paid and highly valued workers. They were also employed in the public sector, where it was accepted as a legitimate and important entitlement (News- Medical. Net, 2004).

In Austria, for example, employed mothers are paid a maternity allowance for 16 weeks that equals 100% of prior earnings. Parental leave benefit after expiry of the maternity allowance period is granted irrespective of previous income from work until the child is 18 months old. In France as a state with a good child-care system, the maternity benefit equals the net salary up to a certain threshold (maximum FRF 386.87 (€58.92) per day, and a minimum of FRF 48.06 (€7,32) per day). It is payable for 6 weeks before and 10 weeks after confinement for the first and second child; for 8 weeks before and 18 weeks after confinement of the third child; for 34 weeks (12 before confinement) in the case of twins and 42 weeks (24 before confinement) for multiple births. At the end of the maternity leave, the mother (or the father) can take a parental leave until the child turns three and is entitled to re-integration into the

previous or a similar job. Parents receive a parental leave allowance if they interrupt their employment, totally or partly, to care for a child under 3 years and having to care for at least two children. The Canadian government is doubling the maximum length of paid maternity and parental leave to allow parents more time at home with their new born and newly adopted children. For children born or adopted after December 31 2000, the reform will double the maximum total length of paid maternity/parental leave from 25 weeks to 50, by increasing the maximum duration of parental leave from 10 weeks to 35 weeks. Due to the reform the recipients of parental benefits can work part-time (CEDAW Report, 2002). Maternity leave is funded generally through a contributory social security or social insurance scheme, paid by employees and employers with government contributions. The most developed countries provide for 2 to 6 months maternity leave, paid at 80-100% of the woman's previous earnings. In developing countries leave is most commonly 2 to 4 months paid at 60-100% of previous earnings (Table 6.4).

Table 6.4 PROVISIONS ACROSS A NUMBER OF DEVELOPED NATIONS
(over the past decade)

<i>Country</i>	<i>Length of leave</i>	<i>Cash benefits</i>	<i>Who pays</i>
Austria	16 weeks	100%	Social security
Belgium	15 weeks	82%for 30days, then 75%	Social security
France	16-26 weeks	100%	Social security
Germany	14 weeks	100%	Social security
Switzerland	8 weeks	100%	Employer
Italy	5 months	80%	Social security
UK	14-18 weeks	flat rate	Social security
Russia	140 days	100%	Social security
Israel	12 weeks	70% or fixed rate	Social security
Sweden	15 months (either parent)	75% for 12 months, then flat rate	Social security
Canada	17-18 weeks	55% for 15 weeks	

Source: http://www.bpw.com.au/index.php?option=com_content&task=category§ionid=3&id=101&Itemid=87

6.3.4 Problems of working hours of women labourers

The issue of women working night time hours is often translated into prohibition of such work for women, while the question of reduced work at night concerns some categories of male labour. Night labour of women was one of the most important issues that were regulated in the domain of legal protection of women workers. The International Association for Legal Protection of Labourers (between 1901 and 1903) made an inquiry into women's night labour in various countries, with results showing disastrous health and social consequences, not just for women themselves, but for their children also. A well-known convention of prohibition of women's night labour in industry was accepted at the first International Conference of Labour held in 1905 in Bern, which was revised as aforementioned in the text. The question of the prohibition of women's night labour can be regarded primarily as an economic and social question, and opinions vary on this, but it is clearly not a simple question (Hadziomerovic, 1959).

First of all, prohibition was intended to insure the health of women, to make their situation more comfortable with respect to their social circumstances as mothers and housewives. In this respect prohibition was justifiable because of its humane character. However, regarding the question of the equal position of women in economic and social relationships, the prohibition of night labour decreases the level of female employment, especially in developing countries where the possibility of being employed is less.

6.3.5 Pay equality between women and men in the labour market

Considering the payment of women's labour, it should be emphasized that on average pre-1939 women were paid between 30 to 40% less than men. After the Second World War, the principle of equal pay found a place in the laws of many countries, including developing countries such as Burma, Brazil, Cuba and Ecuador. The European Industrial Relations Observatory (EIRO) indicates that there are still significant wage differentials between women and men across the EU. This

remaining pay gap is of increasing concern to policy-makers and women themselves at both national and European level. The issue is especially topical at present, in the light of the EU's European employment strategy and its focus on equal opportunities. The general development of the pay gap in the EU intend to combat pay discrimination against women and improve their pay conditions; the relationship between the issue of pay equity and collective bargaining; the approach taken by the social partners; and the pay equity issue within EU Member States' National Action Plans for employment. Although a variety of factors are cited to explain the existing wage differentials between women and men, most studies conclude that, in addition to the gap arising from these factors, there is an unexplained difference in wages, which is presumed to be due to discrimination.

In the search for ways to fight wage discrimination, a considerable number of statutory measures have been in existence for a very long time both at Community level and in individual Member States. These measures concern mainly 'prohibiting' legislation, providing for the principle of equal pay for equal work or for work of equal value, while a few countries have gone a step further by passing legislation of a 'proactive' type. The issue is also addressed through collective agreements at different levels, either directly or indirectly.

Increased pay equality between women and men in the labour market is also among the main priorities identified in the EU's current European Employment Strategy. The recent Employment Guidelines for the Member States indicate that the issue of equal pay is progressively playing a more prominent part in the strategy.

The 2002 Employment Guidelines (EU0109236F) stress the equal pay issue further. They note that *“The significant level of the pay gap between women and men in many Member States has been identified as a potential disincentive for women to take up work or to remain at work.”* The request from the Stockholm European Council (EU0104208F) to develop indicators in this area equally underlines the importance of this issue. The Member States, where appropriate with the social partners, are thus called on to *“adopt a multi-faceted strategy to achieve gender pay equality in both the public and private sectors, and consider the setting of targets to*

tackle the pay gap. Such a strategy could include inter alia a review of job classification and pay systems to eliminate gender bias, improving statistical and monitoring systems, and awareness-raising and transparency as regards pay gaps” (EIRO, 2002).

The 1995 European Structure of Earnings Study (SES) showed that the average earnings of women employed full-time in industry and services in the EU were only around 75% of those of men, although there were significant variations between the countries of the EU. The gender pay gap was widest in the Netherlands and Greece, while the most egalitarian wage structures were found in Belgium, Denmark, Luxembourg, Sweden and the former East Germany.

The data provided by EIRO national centres for this comparative study very much confirm the impression that the pay gap is closing, although slowly - see table below.

Table 6.5 GENDER PAY GAP DEVELOPMENTS IN THE EU

	Current trends, according to national data (% refers to women's average pay as proportion of men's)	Current trends, according to Eurostat*
Austria	Stable or increasing, from 68% (1990) to 67% (1999) (figure refers to monthly gross earnings) (AT0103209F).	Increasing.
Belgium	No statistics available on whole economy, but narrowing in industry - falling from 75.3% (1991) to 79.4% (1996) for blue-collar workers and from 64.2% (1991) to 70.1% (1996) for white-collar workers (figures refer to gross annual earnings).	Narrowing.
Denmark	More or less stable, at around 82% in private sector (figure refers to hourly pay) (DK0006182F).	Stable.
Finland	More or less stable, narrowing from 80% (1990) to 82% (1999) (figures refer to monthly earnings).	Stable.
France	Gradually narrowing for full-time employees, from 84.2% (1991) to 88.2% (1998) (figures refer to monthly pay) (FR0109106F). Stable (at around 75%-76%) when part-time employees included.	No information.
Germany	Narrowing slowly, significant differences between the former eastern and western Germany (no total economy figures available).	Narrowing
Greece	Narrowed substantially over last decade (no total economy figures available).	Narrowing.
Ireland	Narrowing, from 80% (1987) to 84.5% (1997) (figures refer to hourly earnings) (IE0011160F).	Narrowing.
Italy	Stable, rising slightly from 82.3% (1991) to 81.7% (1998) (IT0104181N) (figures refer to annual income).	No information.
Luxembourg	Narrowing (no figures given).	Narrowing.
Netherlands	Narrowing; from 73% (1990) to 77% (1998) (figures refer to hourly pay).	Narrowing.
Norway	Stable when considering average based on major sectors, narrowing slightly from 85% (1990) to 86% (1998) (figures refer to annual pay for full-time employees).	Not included in study.
Portugal	Relatively stable over last few years, rising slightly from 77% (1997) to 76.5% (1998) (figures refer to basic monthly pay).	Increasing.
Spain	Gradually narrowing, from 74.9% (1996) to 76.9% (2000) (figures refer to monthly pay) (ES0105242F).	Narrowing.
Sweden	Stable, with small increase from 84% (1995) to 82% (2000) (figures refer to monthly pay).	Increasing.
UK	Gradually narrowing, from 76.6% (1990) to 80.6% (2000) (UK0104126F) (figures refer to hourly pay).	Narrowing.

Source: National data - EIRO; Eurostat data - Earnings of men and women in the EU: the gap narrowing but slowly, Steve Clarke, Eurostat, Statistics in focus 5/2001 - Theme 3.

Women play an important role in the economy of Eastern and Central European countries (ECEC) as they represent on average half of the labour force and are, in most countries, equally and often better educated than men. The low valued and poorly paid positions they predominantly hold, however, bear no relation to their

education. The gender division of work is also very traditional, leaving women with major household responsibilities. Women's representation within formal associations is, as yet, poorly organized, thus they have limited chances to defend their interests.

The International Labour Organization (ILO) Sub-regional Conference that was held in Bucharest in Romania in 2004 presented measures to follow up the progress in women's participation in the labour market and society in Central and Eastern Europe, following the Beijing conference. Economic transition has caused a deterioration of the economic status of women. The national actions about improving the status of women in the different countries are diverse and hardly comparable. Governments failed to promote new economic roles and opportunities for women.

Only a few governments had presented a draft for a national action plan for the improvement of women's participation in society. These plans have led to increased poverty, unemployment and jobs with lower payment also among skilled, highly educated and experienced women. Training, retraining and new vocational skills often do not reach women with obsolete skills. In most countries, rural women do not benefit from a social security system.

Although there is a constitutional and legal guarantee of equality between men and women in all countries, women face unequal treatment in practice, such as less access to the labour market and to qualified jobs, no or weaker job promotion, between 10-30% less payment compared to men, job segregation which means concentration of employment in certain industries like education, health care services, textiles and the food industry and sometimes in tourism, communication, banking and the insurance system, and mostly higher unemployment rates (Wichterich, 2004).

6.3.6 Characteristics of the general and professional education of women

The picture of women's status cannot be completed without considering some characteristics of women's education as an important precondition of having an equal

status in society. The fact that should be emphasized from this point of view is, logically, the difference between developed and developing countries, which is manifested at all levels of youth education. In principle, in almost all countries, the law ensures the equal possibilities of elementary and middle school education for both sexes. Exceptions are India, Pakistan and Afghanistan, where schooling is obligatory for male children only. The percentage of female children participants in elementary and middle schools is lower in most of the Developing World. High-school education requires greater expenses and under these circumstances, parents tend to give priority to the schooling of their male children. The number of women in universities is significant in a large number of European countries that have a well-developed educational system whilst, on the other hand, the number of women in universities was only about 12-15% in the 1950s in most African and Asian countries (ECOSOC, 1954). However, there are almost no legal differences between men and women's education nowadays. Yet, even in the most advanced developing countries, girls and women do not have free and equal access to education.

On average across developed countries, half of today's young adults now enter universities or other institutions offering similar qualifications. Almost all OECD countries have seen a rise in the education levels of their citizens over the past decade, and in some countries the increase has been spectacular. An average 32% of young people complete a first university-level degree. Low educational attainment concerns more young males than females in 19 out of the 27 countries for which statistics are available, and particularly in Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Portugal and Spain. Younger women today are far more likely to have completed a tertiary qualification than women 30 years ago: in 19 of the 30 OECD countries, more than twice as many women aged 25 to 34 have completed tertiary education than women aged 55 to 64. In 21 of 27 OECD countries with comparable data, the number of women graduating from university-level programmes is equal to or exceeds that of men. What has remained broadly unchanged, though, is that women still earn less on average than men in all OECD countries, whatever their level of education (OECD, 2004). The strategies within Millennium Development Goals and the United Nations

Girls' Education Initiative are to maximize the participation of girls and women at all levels of schooling (UNGEI, 2002).

6.4 *Economic and Social Status of Women in Former Yugoslavia and Bosnia and Herzegovina*

The former Yugoslavia in the 19th century was a country of extreme agrarian character, and the status of women was especially unfavourable. Women did not even have the most fundamental social rights or the right to vote in elections. Even though it was proclaimed in the Vidovdanski constitution that the law would regulate the question of women voting, that law never appeared. Civil rights, and especially the rights of women within a family were very limited. As a married woman, she was subordinated to her husband by the law, as he was "the head" of the family, and the authority in the family belonged to him. The husband made decisions regarding the place of residence, raising the children, took possession of belongings they shared as a married couple, and even those belongings that women would bring into the marriage.

According to the Austro-Hungarian civil law-book, a woman could not be a witness while someone created a testament. Following the inheritance law, a woman could inherit her husband's possessions only if he had no other male relatives, while daughters were excluded from inheritance for the benefit of sons. If an employed woman got pregnant, that would usually mean she would lose her job. The first congress of the Social Democrat Party (SDP) of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1909 emphasized the requirements for removing all the laws creating injustices to women in all public-private and private-judicial relations. In its programme it asserted the right of association in some unions, public meetings, shortening of labour time and increasing wages – women participated together with men in strikes, from the first one in 1890. Basically, this was the SDP's programme.

The law of social insurance was introduced as recently as 1937, and it established paying a post-birth allowance for the mother. Women labourers were paid less than men by between 20-30%. The proportion of women in the work-force

was 25% at this time of economic crisis. A lot of women were forced to work because of the low pay of their husbands or fathers, and by offering their labour, they affected the reduction of wages. This situation explains the fact of women being part of progressive currents and democratization of the country (Bozinovic, 1953).

The struggle of women for their better position, status and generally better conditions of living expressed itself at the time of the National Liberation War (World War Two), which occurred from 1941-1945. Women of Yugoslavia experienced equality with men for the first time in their history. As an outcome of victory, equality between the sexes was proclaimed amongst the first acts of parliament in the new Yugoslavia. In Act 24 of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia's constitution, it stated: *"Women are equal with men concerning all aspects of national, economic and social-political life. For equal labour, women have the right of equal pay with men and will enjoy special protection while employed. The republic will especially protect the interests of any mother and her child by founding hospitals for baby delivery, nursing schools, and fulfilling mothers' rights on paid absence before and after baby delivery."* Women who were older than 18 years had a right to participate in elections and vote in the new Yugoslavia. According to data from 1957, the percentage of women delegates in republic assemblies was between 3.4% and 8.8%.

Due to legal rights and the official communist ideology of equality, participation in traditionally male spheres, such as politics, became approachable for women. Women's political participation took place within the political framework and on the political platform of the Communist Party, i.e. the Union of Communists. During different periods, women made up 20% (1968-1975) or 27% (1980s) of the Party membership (Baranovic, 2000). Yet, speaking about the connection between the labour movement and the women's movement, Clara Zetkin (1968, p. 33) wrote: *"There is no doubt that Marx never dealt with the 'female question' 'by itself' or 'as such'"*.

While warning that materialistic understanding of history “...gives plenty of clear theoretical directions for comprehending interlaced conditions which nowadays shape the family and marriage, which is gradually developing under the influence of economical and proprietary correlations,” she says. “And this cognition does not only teach us to properly evaluate the position of woman in the past; it indeed gives us a solid bridge of understanding of the social and private-judicial position of women in the present” (p. 33). Such principles were established in the struggle of labour in the former Yugoslavia and its relation to the ‘female question’. The position of women or ways of struggling for their social equality, of course, was not the same in all the parts of the country.

In the National Liberation War, men risked their lives fighting, whilst identifying themselves with the role of defenders of the country, which was a tradition consigned to men for centuries. Women also struggled against the mutual enemy, and furthermore against tradition as well – by taking on new roles that in some aspects compromised traditionally accepted traits of femininity. This brought conflict within families and between husbands and wives over the roles that women could fulfill (Grebo, 2003).

The position of women in Bosnia-Herzegovina cannot be defined easily. The reason for that is the existence of numerous different trends, as well as a large number of myths such as tradition, culture and politics that hinder any overview of the true state of affairs. For half a century women in Bosnia-Herzegovina have enjoyed formal and legal equality to men. Yet, the reality is that the actual status of women has been under a strong patriarchal influence. Reflecting the prominent differences between the urban and rural communities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, patriarchal influence has shaped the lives of women in rural and suburban communities to a greater extent than those of women in urban society. But the values of the predominantly male culture are also present and visible in urban communities, where they are somewhat subtler and less conspicuous. Emancipation of women and declarative equality were social ideals of the post-war period, reflected in the era's education and employment policies (Bosnian Women's Initiative, 1998). The

employment of women outside the home and their professional involvement in all areas of social labour tend to be the basic component in further changes of role and position of women in Bosnian society. This has given women the greatest opportunity to influence all processes in society (which means women's position too) by their own engagement in autonomous decision-making process. Education, as another factor that significantly determines the social position of women, had some results registered as can be seen below.

During the period of socialism, when the ideological equality of women and men was instituted, the education of women was supported by legal regulations regarding obligatory and free of charge primary schooling. Also, the promotion of equal opportunities for education for both sexes was supported. But, applied to the patriarchal cultural matrix, this ideology did not grant actual equality in the opportunities available to men and women. Thanks to this, the educational structure for women was improved, but not at the same level for men. An upward trend in the education level of women can be seen and a downward trend in the difference in education level between men and women of the same age groups. Overall, though, the lower levels of general education level are associated with older age groups and the discrepancy between the educational levels of men and women is also higher in the older age groups. There remain significant differences between the urban population and people living in suburban and rural communities.

Although legal rights between men and women were proclaimed equal in 1945, women still have had relatively little input to many everyday aspects of life. Very frequently it has been forgotten that real social barriers are reinforced by patriarchal and traditional roles in society.

“Part of the communist heritage is a degree of inertia that results in women's issues not being viewed from the perspective of gender equality. The communist ideology recognized class differences only, with all other differences (including those between men and women) subordinate to class differences. Not until the post-war

period have women's issues been the subject of qualitative analysis of the hidden, but real, inequalities between men and women in BiH.” (Walter, 2003, p. 88).

The process of emancipation of women in Bosnia-Herzegovina has been much slower than in most other countries in Europe. Many indicators show that urgent intervention from government was needed in order to include women in the process of socialism and communism. It is almost possible to state that emancipation of women in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the importance of the realization of such a process in society appear to have come as a surprise for both men and women. In other words both men and women were not ready for the changes associated with emancipation and equality. Most of the inequalities between men and women in BH are manifest within the family unit. However, a large number of women claim that inequalities are also present at work and in society as a whole.

Investigating causes of divorces and the divorce rate in Bosnia and Herzegovina, a team of professors from the Faculty of Law at the University of Sarajevo examined 11 191 divorce procedures in 1946, and between 1953 and 1969. Referring to a few of the cases collected, which are related to the position of the women within marriage and the family, declarations from women indicate a certain pattern which characterizes the position of women in Bosnia-Herzegovina. First of all perceptions regarding faithfulness in marriage are one of the most important aspects of marriage, but there are different views between men and women. Women are also much more likely to be subject to aggressive behaviour from their spouse. Examples of quotes from women include:

- *“My husband had intercourse with other women in our house.” (Bihac 151/56)*
- *“He was sleeping in our bedroom with other women and I was forced to sleep in the kitchen with our son.”(Sarajevo, 649/69)*
- *“I have been married to him 35 years, giving a birth to 9 children. I can't tolerate any more to be beaten.” (Banja Luka, 752/59)*
- *“From beating while I was pregnant, I lost 3 children.” (Brcko, 283/53).*

After analyzing all cases presented it can be concluded that unbearable situations in marriage tend to occur most frequently because husbands were not prepared to fulfill their marital obligations (Silajdjic, 1980; Kozul, 1973).

The traditional ideal of 'femininity' is based on the primary role of women as the family's care provider, irrespective of whether she is in paid employment or not. A woman is expected to be housewife, mother and spouse, while men often occupy multiple roles within the wider society. The inertia of these traditions has allowed the continuation of fixed gender roles over many centuries. Men have traditionally been preferred to women for important roles in society, with women often acquiring the stigma of being undependable and, when being married, having to give up their careers. Men are given the privilege of being the principal decision-makers and of developing a sense of responsibility for directing societal affairs.

In order to understand the outline of social and political viewpoints on the issue of women's rights in Bosnia and Herzegovina, it should be recognised that in traditional Bosnian society, even the word 'feminism' has negative connotations. This negativity relates to the conception that the term 'feminist' implies a masculine and aggressive woman who does not fit in with her social milieu and certainly who is anti- men, the family, and 'traditional' social values. By use of the very word 'feminist', feminists are socially stigmatized (Walter, 2003).

Although the differentiation of social roles by gender does not ensure disagreement between the sexes about fertility goals, some literature suggests that there are several circumstances under which women and men would seem likely to hold different family size preferences (Mason and Taj, 1987; Beckman, 1983). Strongly dominant patriarchal society is one of these circumstances, and is especially pertinent in the case of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Patriarchy refers to a set of social institutions that deny women the opportunity to be self-supporting. This is discussed further in a Bosnian perspective later in the thesis.

The status of men and women in marriage is equal according to the new constitution; a woman has the right to her part of the possessions that she brought

into the marriage and those possessions she gained together with her husband. A woman's work in the household was acknowledged as a kind of labour. She makes decisions of raising the children and place of residence together with her husband. Both male and female children are equal considering inheritance. The law protecting her maternity etc. regulates the status of employed women. According to the law of work relations (National Gazette of Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, 53rd edition, 1957), employed women had a right to maternity absence for 105 days, with a right to compensation from social insurance that was the same as her monthly pay. Night work and overtime work were forbidden for pregnant women and mothers with children up to one year old. Redundancy could not be given to the pregnant women and mothers with children up to eight months old. Mothers had a right not to work full-time during a period of 6-8 months after the delivery of a baby because of the need to feed the baby.

According to special legal regulations, it was forbidden to employ women of any age in positions that were likely to prove damaging to health and dangerous for her life.

Table 6.6 PUBLICLY FUNDED CHILDCARE IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

Year	1939	1951	1990
State-run nurseries (0-3 years)	172	5 160	8 989
Kindergartens	6 845	20 531	10 856
Children's institutions	2 417	19 203	25 560
Hostels	9 906	123 988	-
School's kitchens	30 525	335 956	-
Holiday Associations	-	214 286	-

Source: M. Mitrovic-V. Tomsic: la femme et l'education en Yuslavie (UNESKO: La femme et l'education,- Paris 1953), Savezni zavod za Statistiku, bilten br. 1928, 1990/91.

An important institution in the protection of children and family are special children's incomes, which started in 1951. The right to receive these incomes was given to all persons who were employed and who were taking care of one or more children, regardless of the children being from the marriage, out of marriage, adopted, children without parents or parents incapable of raising their children.

Children's incomes represented an important part of economic assistance to the family and in raising the economic standard of families with children. The purpose of these measures was, of course, fulfilling social and economic equality of both sexes. More or less, the same levels of employment of women in Yugoslavia and Bosnia-Herzegovina occurred until 1955, after which the tendency of a secure and constant increase was established (Table 6.7).

Table 6.7 PERCENTAGE OF EMPLOYED WOMEN in 1955, 1981 and 1991
(as a % of all employees in a given sector)

Sector	Yugoslavia		Bosnia-Herzegovina	
	1955	1955	1981	1991
Industry	25.4	13.2	29.9	28.1
Agriculture	23.6	22.5	28.7	28.2
Forestry	18.4	25.0	19.3	18.4
Construction	8.1	8.5	8.3	7.9
Transport	9.9	6.8	12.5	12.9
Trade	18.4	17.4	47.6	50.1
Other activities	38.1	22.3	32.5	33.5
Total	21.8	14.7	32.6	34.5

Source: *Statistical yearbook of FNR Yugoslavia, 1956 and Statistical yearbook of BiH 1982*,

Out of the total number of 1 850 200 employed in the social sector in 1955, women accounted for 21.8% in Yugoslavia as a whole, while in Bosnia-Herzegovina that proportion was 14.7%.

Table 6.8 INDEXES OF WOMEN IN EMPLOYMENT 1931-1951

Basic year 100	1931	1935	1939	1946	1948	1950	1951
1931	100	103	127	94	253	246	230
1939	79	81	100	74	199	193	181
1946	-	-	-	100	269	261	244

Source: *Statistical yearbook of FNR Yugoslavia, 1956*.

Indexes in the table show that the absolute increase of women in employment in the post-war period was more intensive than it was before the war. The percentage of women amongst clerks was considerably increased after the war, so in 1951 it was 40.1%. In 1956, the number of women as clerks was greater than the number of women labourers. According to these data, 20.2% of women were employed as labourers, and 33.4% were clerks. A lot of different circumstances affected the increase of employment of women in the post-war period. Without doubt, the great need for labourers under the circumstances of restoration and rebuilding of the country had a significant influence on this increase of employment, and on the other hand, there were difficult circumstances that required all persons who were able to work to do so. General migration of labour from the countryside and villages to the city affected a great number of women who were moving to become industrial labourers.

The establishment of a new economic system involving the self-government of labourers in the country forced every enterprise to suspend surplus labour. This economic and political situation was unfavorable for much female labour, as women had lower levels of education and poorer qualifications than men. Over 80% of women who resigned and who came to the Bureau for Employment had no qualifications. An important influence of the decrease of female employment was the provision of children's incomes as a significant financial support for the family and a 'good excuse' for businesses to dismiss female workers.

A great number of married women and mothers who were in effect forced to work because of their poor financial circumstances had to withdraw from the workforce because they had to take care of the family (Bozinovic, 1953). What followed was a decrease in and closure of institutions for childcare that were of help to employed mothers, and which forced a certain number of women to withdraw from the paid workforce. Considering the fact that the majority of population in Bosnia-Herzegovina in the 1950's was rural, the problem of women's position as a peasant was highly significant. A great number of women did not have the opportunity to experience practically their legal entitlement to an equal position in

economic and social life. The role of the peasants' agricultural cooperative was very important as it provided similar social conditions to those of labourers and clerks who were not employed in agriculture. The fact that 40% of women over the age of 14 were illiterate in 1954 corresponded with the high numbers of poorly qualified women labourers. The percentage of illiterate men was around 15%. Mass written alphabetical courses were organized to tackle this problem and were attended mostly by women. In 1981 the percentage of illiterate women over the age of 10 was around 23% while the percentage of illiterate men was only 5.5%. Based on the census completed in 1991 the literacy rate was 91.1% and within the group of 370 000 older than 10 years who were illiterate, 305 000 were women (83%). The percentage of illiterate women increased proportionally to their age, so 84.3% of illiterate women were 50 years old and older.

No one would deny that the greatest problem in Bosnia-Herzegovina with respect to the economic and social equality of women and men is the living conditions and the position of married, employed women and mothers. The current problem is not just the question regarding the interests of employed married women and mothers, or the question of women in general, but also the question of the broad economic and social conditions. Within the framework of Bosnian law, there is an acknowledgement of the economic significance of woman's work in the household in the legally regulated conditions of divorce. Doing the housework in a mutual household is taken as part of the woman's contribution to the household, because it allows her husband to work outside the house undisturbed.

According to an inquiry taken amongst 800 women employed in healthcare institutions in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1954, 70% of women worked between 12 and 18 hours per day, counting both hours spent in the workplace and work in the household. The enquiry showed that their health suffered because of these long hours of work (Hadziomerovic, 1955). There still have not been any efforts in Bosnia-Herzegovina to eliminate or at least relieve this great economic and social problem, and to relieve this dual workload on employed women. So, the major principal

question of economic equality of women in general still exists, and especially for those in employment.

The main characteristic underlying the difference between the labour of women and men is the additional maternal role of women. It has been argued that, because of this maternal role, female workers are regularly less productive than men. However, it cannot be proved that the female sex is inferior to the male because of this difference. Such claims are confronted with two major arguments:

- Being part of or protecting the biological function of women has a great social income, representing a positive social act, which is manifest through the birth or arrival of a new human being to the world and;
- Under equal circumstances, working women can give the same results as any man, considering the fact that women can overcome men when their natural abilities respond better to certain circumstances, just as men can overcome women in other situations.

The main indicators for understanding the status of women in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1991 are the patriarchal inheritance and the socialist and communist legacy. The patriarchal cultural matrix in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which defined the role of men and women in society, was not too different from patriarchies elsewhere. According to the patriarchal system of values, women as the gentler and weaker sex were accorded the subordinate role in the private spheres of life, while being almost completely excluded from public life. The declaration of equality was one of the ideals of socialism, reflected in the “emancipation of women” where the woman’s role was seen in the promotion of class-consciousness as a mother, worker and self-manager. In this case a woman, as a ‘self-manager’, is considered as an activist in the socio-political life of the social and cultural environment. Regarding the strong influence of the patriarchal tradition, women have to prove themselves whilst the old stereotypes that men are capable, intelligent and educated still exist. *“Even though it was hidden behind the ‘social equality’ policy, male domination remained uncontested. A legacy of this period is the idea that women “can do everything if they have the will and the ability”, as there are no formal obstacles for their success!*

Such a viewing inevitably ignores all the traditional and cultural barriers that women come across, as well as all the controversies and ambivalences of the socialist ideology”(Baksic et. al., 2002, p.8).

6.5 Conclusion

This overview of women’s status and the onset of the fertility decline presented Chapter Four can be concluded by proposing the following hypothesis – Fertility transitions are generated by the improved status of women and women’s increased ability to determine their own fertility.

7 THE INCOME-FERTILITY AND URBANIZATION-FERTILITY NEXUS

7.1 Introduction

Various authors (e.g. Lesthaeghe and Wilson, 1986; Coale and Treadway, 1987) have suggested patterns of fertility change as a result of urbanization and the occupational changes that accompany industrialization and rising income per capita. Knodel (1974) suggests that urbanization may not have been the cause of fertility decline, but instead considers urbanization a response to the already changing social and economic structures within society. Sharlin (1986) argues that shift from rural living to urbanization has been one of the dominant arguments for understanding the transitions in fertility in Europe. The relationship between fertility and income has been regarded as an issue of high importance in development economics and policy. A popular concept is the idea that the fertility-income relationship takes the form of an inverted U, which is raised by Birdsall (1980) and subsequently displayed in the 1984 World Development Report. Ehrlich and Lui (1991), and Galor and Weil (2000) have provided theoretical justifications for an inverted U shaped path of fertility transition.

Table 7.1 THE LEVEL OF URBANIZATION AND TOTAL FERTILITY RATE BY MAJOR AREA

Region	Percentage urban population			Total fertility rate		
	1990	2000	2005	1990	2000	2005
WORLD	43.1	47.6	50.1	3.43	3.08	2.91
MORE DEVELOPED REGIONS	72.7	75.8	77.4	1.92	1.97	2.02
LESS DEVELOPED REGIONS	34.3	40.3	43.5	3.90	3.38	3.13

*Less developed regions comprise all regions of Africa, Latin America, Asia (excluding Japan) and Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia.

Source: *World Population Prospects, The 1992 Revision, UN New York, 1993.*, *World Population Prospects, The 200 Revision, UN New York, 2001.*

Table 7.2 GDP per capita AND FERTILITY IN LESS DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

Country	GDP \$ per capita	Total fertility rate
	2002	2002
Benin	1001	6.2
Sudan	989	5.4
Mozambique	986	4.8
Angola	974	6.5
Yemen	797	7.0
Afghanistan	783	5.8
Luxemburg	35 894	1.7
United States	35 831	2.1
Switzerland	28 421	1.5
Norway	27 557	1.8
Japan	24 848	1.4
Canada	24 521	1.6

Source: CIA World Factbook, July 1, 2002

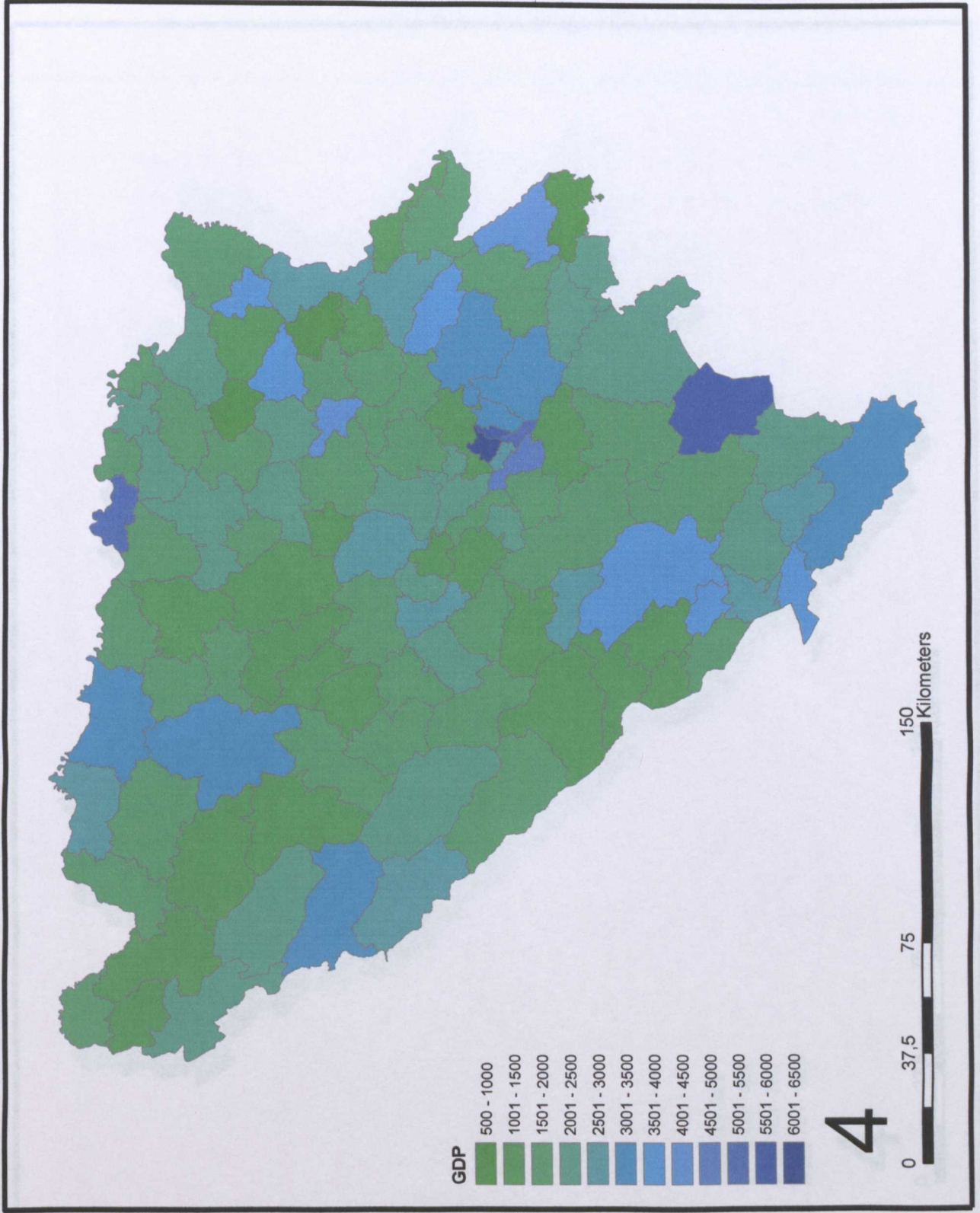
So, these contributions show the existence of stagnation equilibrium with high fertility and low per capita income on the one hand, and of growth equilibrium with increasing per capita income and low fertility on the other (Table 7.2).

The purpose of this chapter is to supplement the ongoing debate about the 'true' nature of the income-fertility and urbanization-fertility nexus with evidence from a panel dataset of 109 municipalities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, observed in 1991. So, the chapter provides an overview of this investigation, though it should be noted that analysis of this dataset focuses only on certain variables and that these possibly exclude a considerable variety of other socio-economic factors, which may possess significant explanatory power for human fertility. In the database (initially collected by Professor Bosnjovic and the author), the income variable equals the real GDP* per capita in 1991, and fertility is measured as the total fertility rate (children per woman), as compiled by the Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Federal Office of Statistics (Maps 2, 3 and 4).

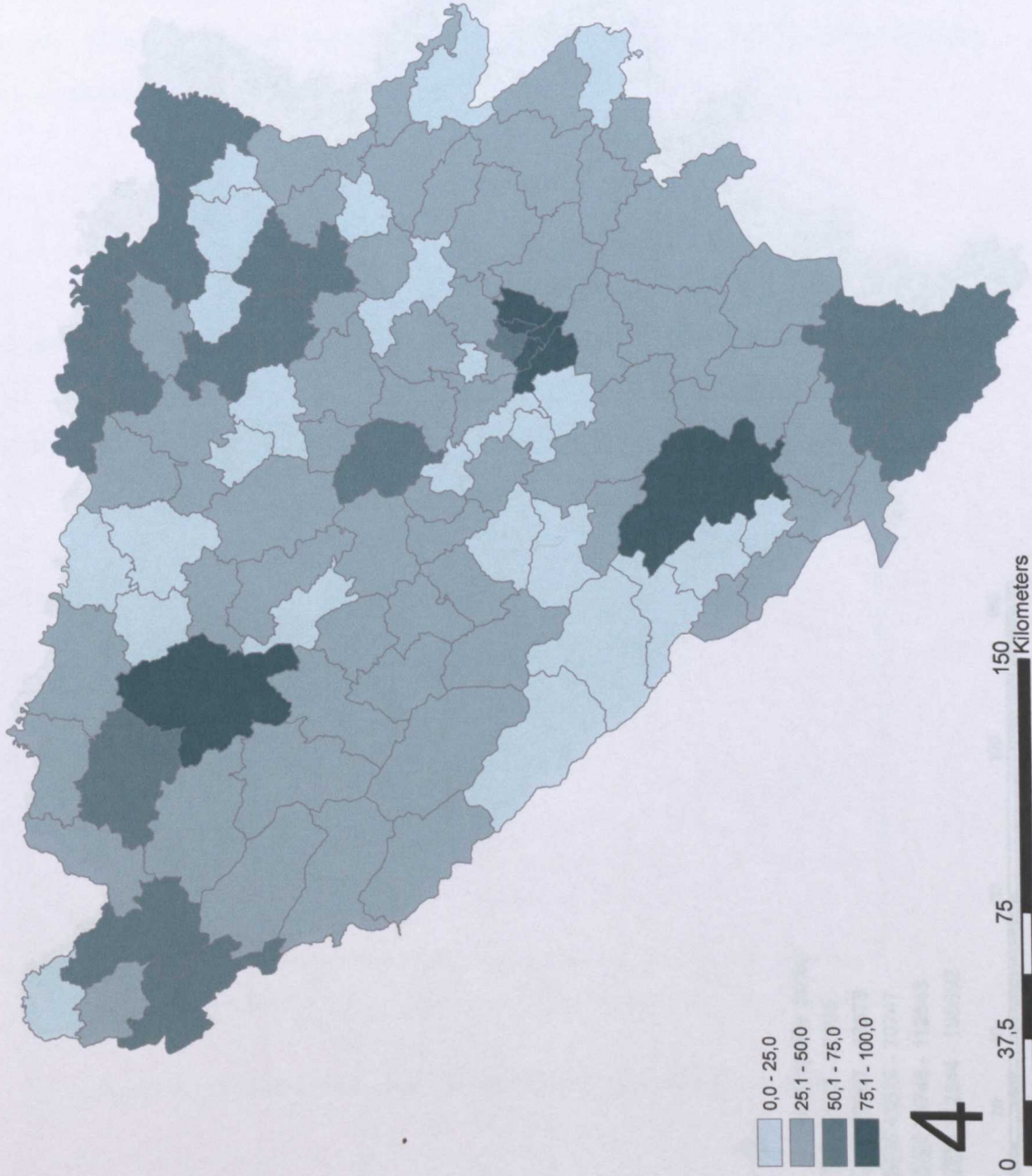
* GDP-The gross domestic product (GDP) or value of all final goods and services produced within a nation in a given year.

GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT \$ per capita in 1991

MAP 2



URBAN POPULATION 1991 (in %)

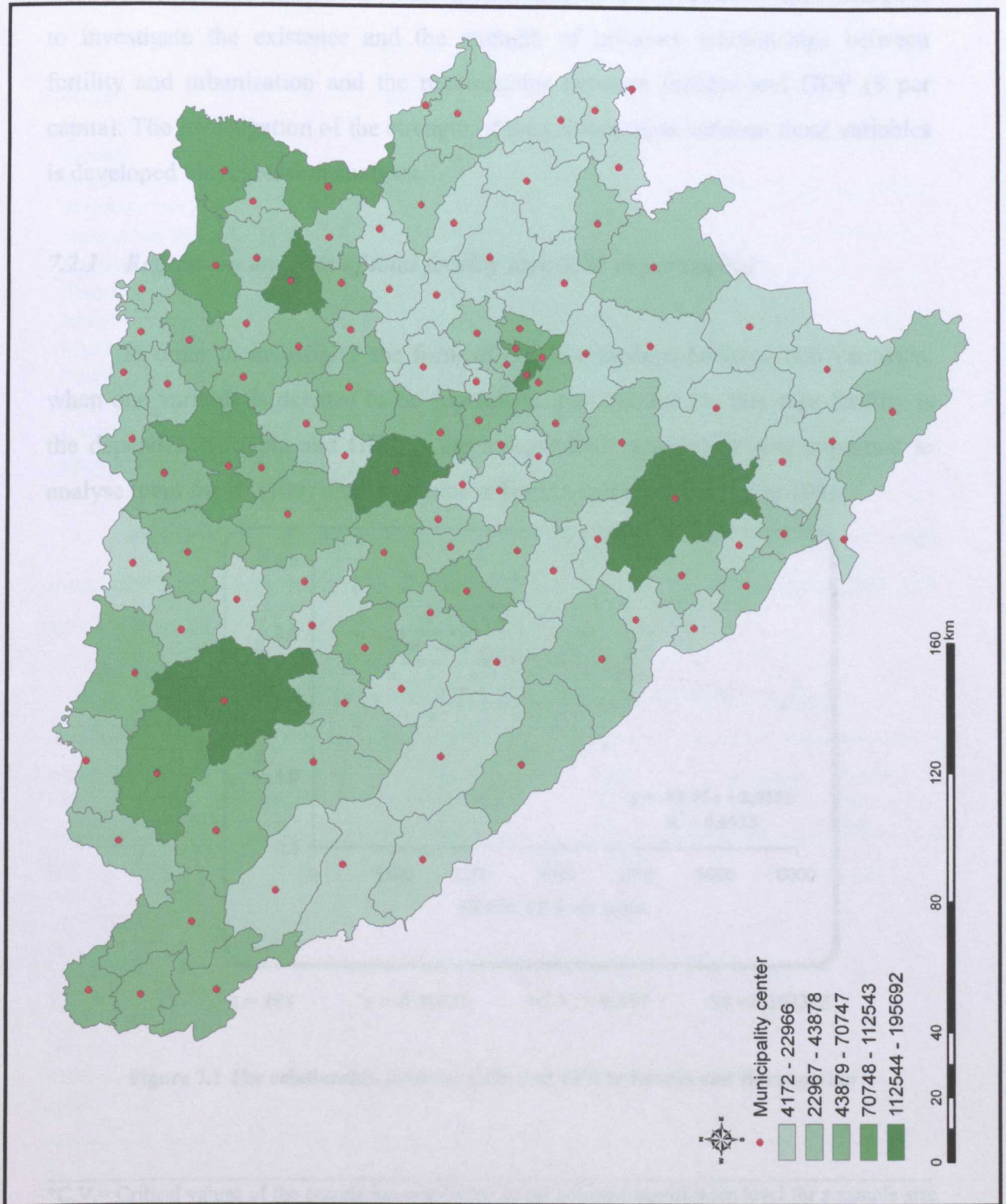


7.2 Measuring Associations

For a more precise measurement and understanding of the levels of total fertility in the municipalities in Bolivia and Venezuela, additional spatial analyses were performed. As has already been mentioned, one of the main goals of this research is to investigate the existence and the strength of relevant relationships between fertility and urbanization and the population density (inhabitants per km² or per capita). The spatial dimension of the relationships between these variables is developed

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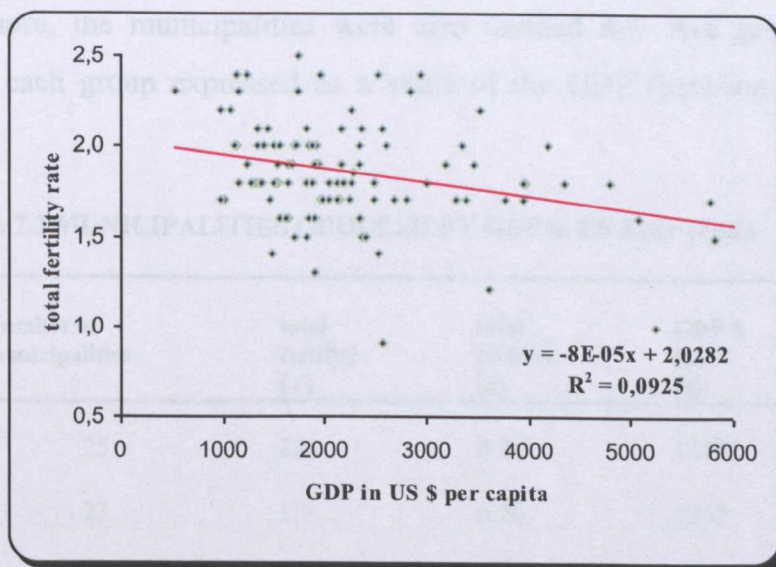


7.2 Measuring Associations

For a more precise measurement and understanding of the levels of total fertility in the municipalities in Bosnia and Herzegovina some statistical analyses were performed. As has already been mentioned, one of the aims of this research is to investigate the existence and the strength of bivariate relationships between fertility and urbanization and the relationships between fertility and GDP (\$ per capita). The investigation of the strength of the relationships between these variables is developed via regression analysis.

7.2.1 Regression analysis of total fertility and GDP (\$ per capita)

In order to investigate the form of the relationships between two variables, when one variable is deemed to be dependent upon another (in this case fertility is the dependent variable and GDP is the independent variable), it was important to analyse them for all (109) municipalities in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1991.



n = 109 r = -0.30421 *C.V. = 0.197 Sy = 0,267393

Figure 7.1 The relationship between GDP and TFR in Bosnia and Herzegovina

*C.V.= Critical values of the correlation coefficient at the selected significance level for a sample size of n.

The relationship is statistically significant at the 0.05 (95%) level indicated by calculated the correlation coefficient $r = -0.30421$ (C.V. = 0.197).

Descriptive statistics of total fertility rate for all municipalities in Bosnia and Herzegovina are as follows:

Mean	1.857407
Standard Error	0.027127
Median	1.8
Mode	1.8
Standard Deviation	0.281917
Sample Variance	0.079477
Kurtosis	1.240068
Skewness	-0.37527
Range	1.6
Minimum	0.9
Maximum	2.5
Sum	200.6
Count	109
Confidence Level (95.0%)	0.053777

Furthermore, the municipalities were also divided into five groups, with membership of each group expressed as a value of the GDP (between \$523 and \$6122 in 1991).

Table 7.3 MUNICIPALITIES GROUPED BY GDP in US \$ per capita

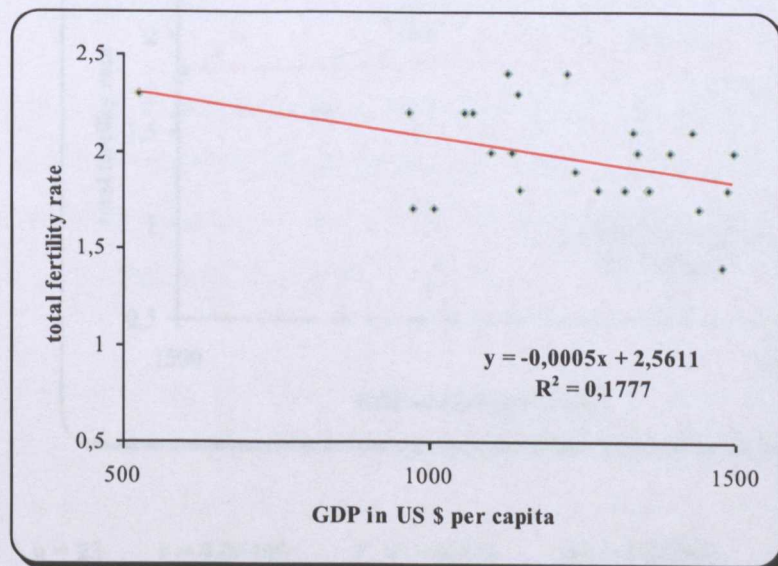
GDP \$ p.c.	Number of municipalities	total fertility (\bar{r})	total fertility (σ)	GDP \$ p.c. (x)	GDP \$ p.c. (σ)
less than 1500 (18%)	25	2.0	0.25	1217	220
1500-2000 (8%)	23	1.9	0.26	1762	145
2000-3000 (11%)	30	1.8	0.31	2396	267
3000-4000 (9%)	13	1.8	0.23	3518	311
4000 and more (13%)	8	1.6	0.30	5170	708

Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Federal Office of Statistics.

The full interpretation of the bivariate relationships begins with elementary statistical description, namely the arithmetic mean and two other commonly used measures, the mode and the median as well as the standard deviation. The values of the arithmetic mean lie in the range from 1.6 to 2.0 children per women.

It is perceived clearly that the average deviation of observations about the mean expressed as a standard deviation are the smallest for the total fertility (0.23) and GDP (\$311 or 9%) in the group of municipalities where GDP was between \$3000 and \$4000. The variation of the number of children ($\sigma = 0.31$) is highest in the group with GDP between \$2000 and \$3000.

The representation of the statistical relationships on scattergraphs, as shown in the Figures below, provides an opportunity to incorporate a visual display as an integral part of analysis together with the calculation of the correlation coefficient (Robinson, 1998).



$$n = 25 \quad r = -0.42152 \quad C.V. = 0.396 \quad S_y = 0.232012$$

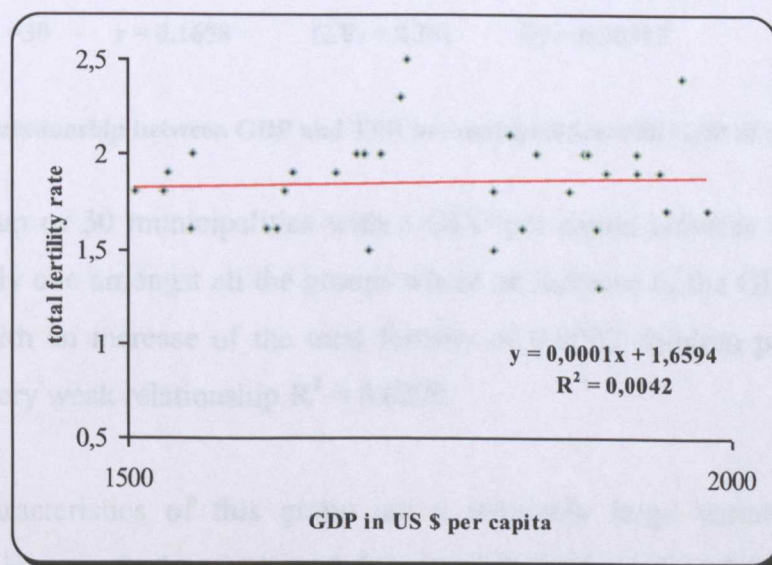
Figure 7.2 The relationship between GDP and TFR in municipalities with GDP up to \$1000

There are only three municipalities with a GDP of \$1000 or less and hence comments can only be made with great caution. So, for the first group of 25

municipalities with a GDP of \$1500 or less the increase of income within this category and its impacts on fertility decline can be observed.

The analysed data predict that if income increases by \$500, total fertility would decline by about 0.0005 children, with a relatively weak relationship $R^2 = 0.1777$. However, the standard error of the regression of about 0.23 children ($Sy = 0.232012$) is relatively small.

The relationship's strength is indicated by calculation of the correlation coefficient, in this case $r = -0.42152$, which suggests a relatively high negative association between the two variables, statistically significant at the 0.05 (95%) level.



$$n = 23 \quad r = 0.06455 \quad C.V. = 0.413 \quad Sy = 0.25966$$

Figure 7.3 The relationship between GDP and TFR in municipalities with GDP of \$1000-2000

In the group of 23 municipalities with a GDP per capita of between \$1500 and \$2000, an increase of \$500 results in an increase of total fertility of 0.0001 children, with a very weak relationship $R^2 = 0.0042$. The standard error of regression is higher than in the previous group, about 0.26 children ($Sy = 0.25966$). The

relationship is not statistically significant at the 0.05 (95%) level, and the correlation coefficient is $r = 0.06455$.

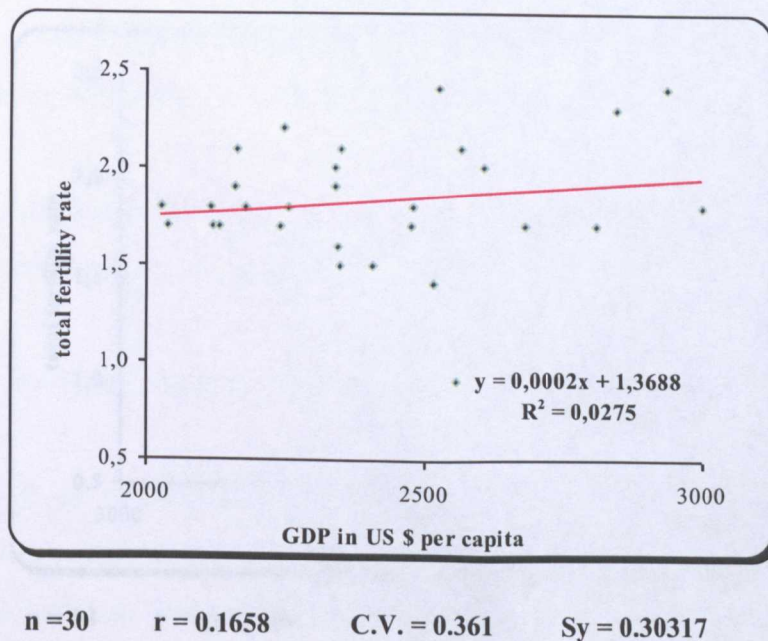


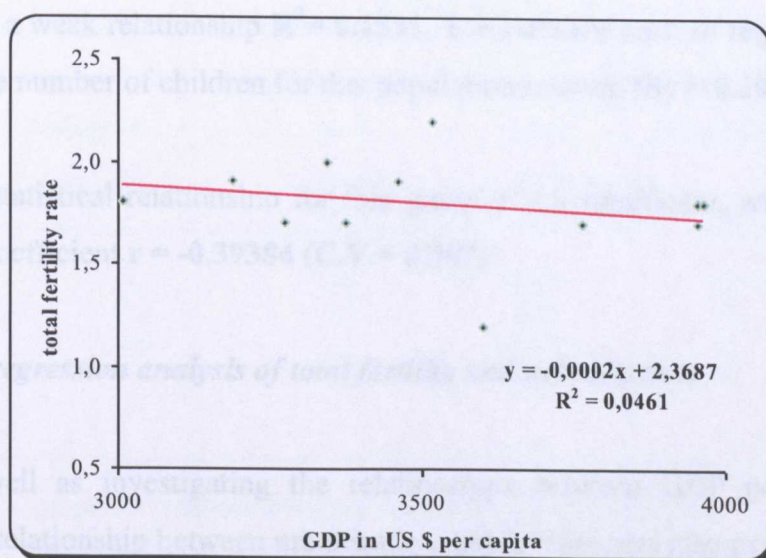
Figure 7.4 The relationship between GDP and TFR in municipalities with GDP of \$2000-3000

The group of 30 municipalities with a GDP per capita between \$2000 and \$3000 is the only one amongst all the groups where an increase of the GDP of \$500 is associated with an increase of the total fertility of 0.0002 children per woman, though with a very weak relationship $R^2 = 0.0275$.

The characteristics of this group are a relatively large variation in the tendency of the increase in the number of children (0.3 children ($S_y = 0.30317$)). The correlation ($r = 0.1658$ and $C.V. = 0.361$) between variables is weak and indicates the absence of any statistical relationship at the 0.05 (95%) level. In order to explain the positive correlation it should be noted there are two municipalities (Ljubinja with per capita GDP at \$2936 and 2.4 children per woman, and Zvornik with per capita GDP at \$2846 and 2.3 children per woman) that contributed to such a relationship.

In the group of 13 municipalities with a GDP per capita between \$3000 and \$4000, the GDP increase is associated with a decline in the number of children per woman of 0.0002, with a very weak relationship $R^2 = 0.0461$. The variation in the

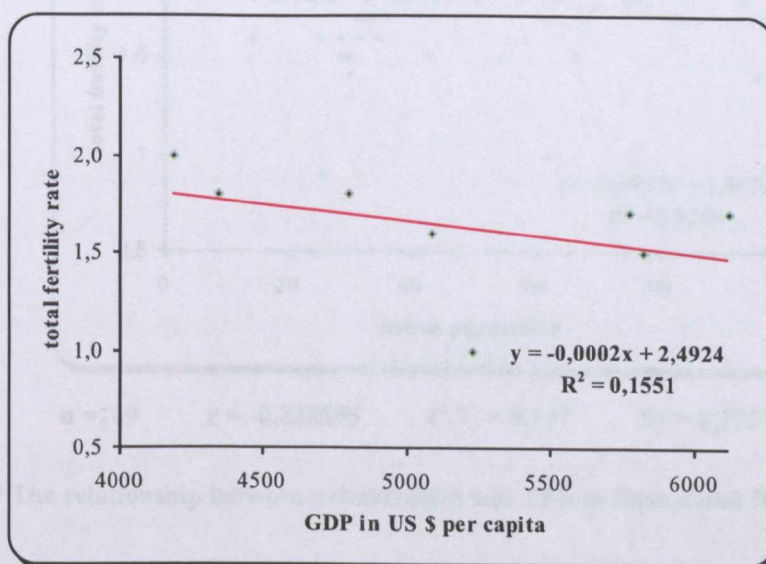
decline of the number of children is relatively smaller than in the previous group, around 0.24 children ($Sy = 0.2392$).



$n = 13$ $r = -0.21465$ $C.V. = 0.553$ $Sy = 0.2392$

Figure 7.5 The relationship between GDP and TFR in municipalities with GDP of \$3000-4000

The relationship's strength is expressed by the calculated correlation coefficient $r = -0.21465$ ($C.V. = 0.553$) and is moderate and without significance at the 0.05 (95%) level.



$n = 8$ $r = -0.39384$ $C.V. = 0.707$ $Sy = 0.29517$

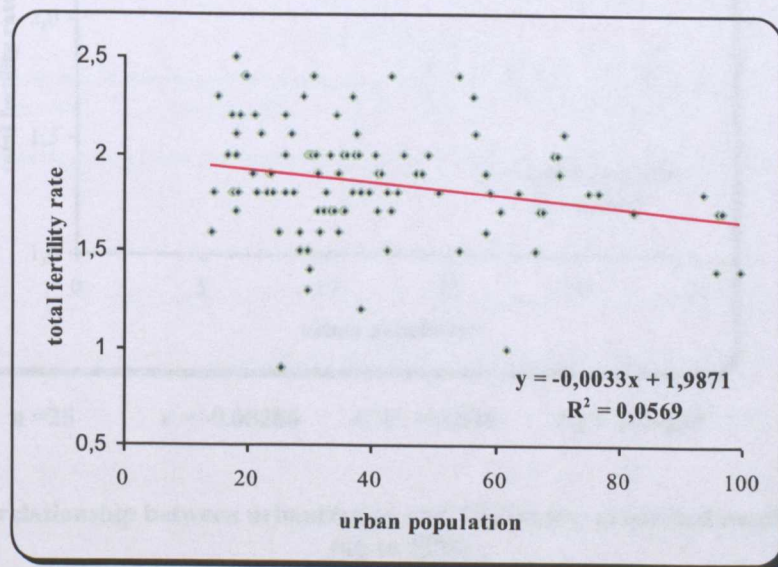
Figure 7.6 The relationship between GDP and TFR in municipalities with GDP of \$4000-6000

For the group (8 municipalities) with the highest income per capita a \$500 GDP per capita increase is followed by a decline in the number of children of about 0.0002, with a weak relationship $R^2 = 0.1551$. The standard error of regression in the decline of the number of children for this population is small ($Sy = 0.29517$).

The statistical relationship for this group is not significant, with a negative correlation coefficient $r = -0.39384$ (C.V. = 0.707).

7.2.2 The regression analysis of total fertility and urbanization

As well as investigating the relationships between GDP per capita and fertility, the relationship between urbanization and fertility was also examined within all 109 municipalities. The relationship's strength is expressed by the correlation coefficient $r = -0.238595$ (C.V. = 0.197), which suggests a relatively high negative association between these two variables.



$n = 109$ $r = -0.238595$ $C.V. = 0.197$ $Sy = 0,273732$

Figure 7.7 The relationship between urbanization and TFR in Bosnia and Herzegovina

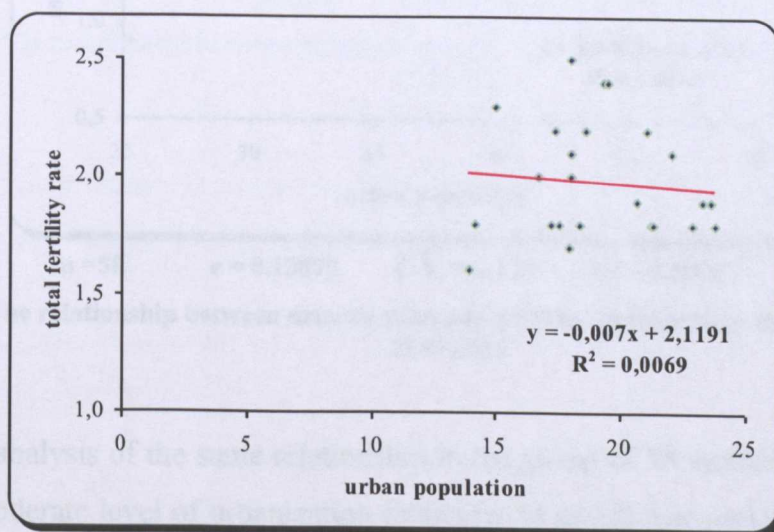
Analogous to the previous analyses of the relationships between total fertility and GDP per capita, analysis of the relationships between total fertility and urbanization on different levels shows that the smallest arithmetic mean of total

fertility (1.7) and the smallest standard deviation ($\sigma = 0.17$) were in the municipalities with the highest level of urbanization (between 75 and 100 per cent).

Table 7.4 MUNICIPALITIES GROUPED BY LEVEL OF URBANIZATION

Level of urbanization (%)	Number of municipalities	total fertility (x)	total fertility (σ)	urbanization (x)	(σ)
0-25	25	2.0	0.24	19	2.9
25-50	58	1.8	0.28	35	6
50-75	18	1.8	0.32	62	6
75-100	8	1.7	0.17	89	10

Source: Author's calculation based on data from the Federal Office of Statistics.



$n = 25$ $r = -0.08286$ $C.V. = 0.396$ $S_y = 0.24880$

Figure 7.8 The relationship between urbanization and TFR in low urbanized municipalities (up to 25%)

In the group of 25 municipalities with the lowest level of urbanization, analysis shows that increase of urbanization by up to 25 per cent has a very low impact on fertility decline. There is a slight indication that an increased level of urbanization of 5 per cent in the municipalities produces a fertility decline of 0.007

children, with a very weak relationship, $R^2 = 0.0069$. The standard error of regression is about 0.25 children ($S_y = 0.248802$).

The correlation coefficient $r = -0.08286$ (C.V. = 0.396) and the representation of this relationship on scattergraphs shows no correlation between fertility and urbanization and indicates no statistically significant relationship at the 0.05 (95%) level.

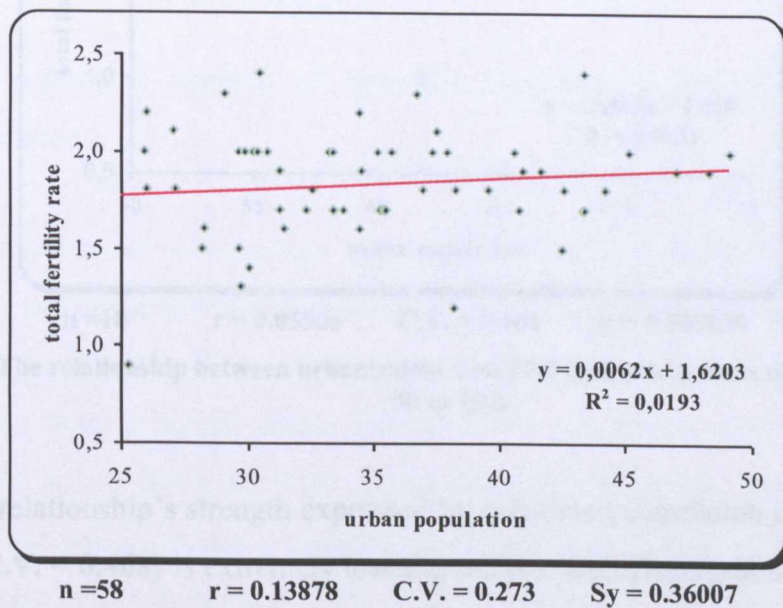


Figure 7.9 The relationship between urbanization and TFR in municipalities urbanized from 25 to 50%

The analysis of the same relationship in the group of 58 municipalities where there is a moderate level of urbanization (between 25 and 50 per cent) shows that an increase of urbanization by 5 per cent is followed by an increase of 0.0062 children, but with a weak non-significant relationship ($R^2 = 0.0193$). The standard error of regression of increase in the number of children among these populations is relatively high 0.36 ($S_y = 0.36007$), but the correlation between variables is small ($r = 0.13878$ and $C.V. = 0.273$).

In the 18 municipalities urbanized between 50 and 75 per cent the analysis shows a very small fertility decline with the increased level of urbanization, which is opposite to the relationship in the previous group. The number of children per

woman declines by 0.003 for an urbanization increase of 5 per cent, with a very weak relationship, $R^2 = 0.003$. The variation of decline in the number of children is relatively high, around 0.34 children ($Sy = 0.342836$).

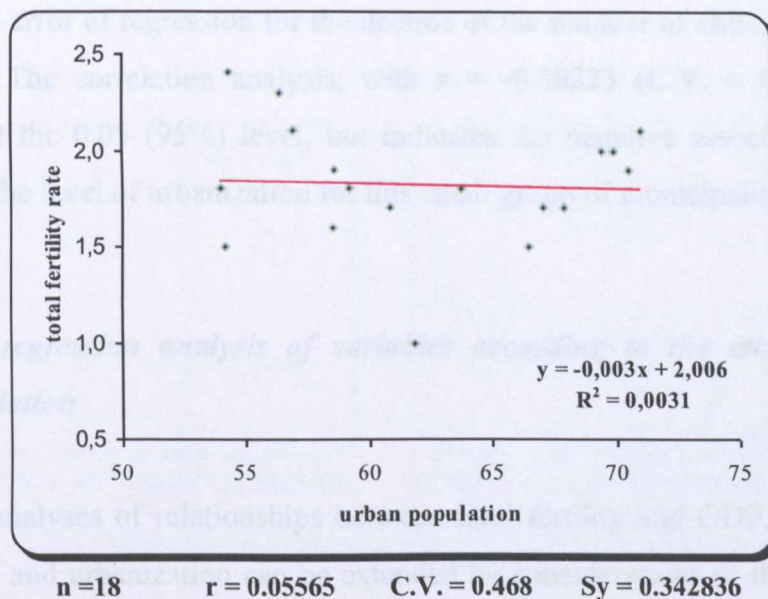


Figure 7.10 The relationship between urbanization and TFR in municipalities urbanized from 50 to 75%

The relationship’s strength expressed by calculated correlation coefficient $r = -0.05565$ ($C.V. = 0.468$) is extremely low and without significance at the 0.05 (95%) level.

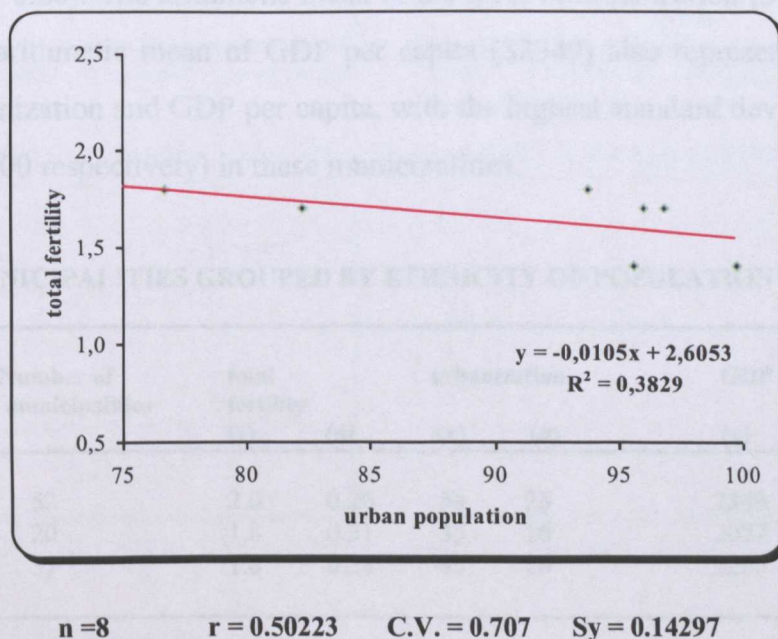


Figure 7.11 The relationship between urbanization and TFR in municipalities urbanized from 75 to 100%

In the eight municipalities with the highest level of urbanization, 75-100 per cent, the relationship between the two variables is quite strong: $R^2 = 0.3829$, and an urbanization increase of 5 per cent is followed by a fertility decline of 0.14 children. The standard error of regression for the decline of the number of children is low ($S_y = 0.14297$). The correlation analysis, with $r = -0.50223$ (C.V. = 0.707), is not significant at the 0.05 (95%) level, but indicates the negative association of total fertility and the level of urbanization for this small group of municipalities.

7.2.3 *The regression analysis of variables according to the ethnicity of the population*

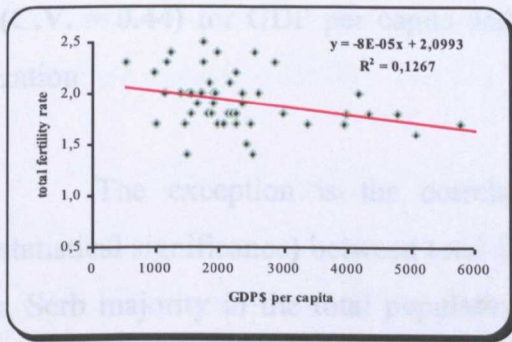
The analyses of relationships between total fertility and GDP, and between total fertility and urbanization can be extended by considerations of the ethnicity of the population. Municipalities of Bosnia and Herzegovina were classified with respect to the three principal ethnic groups in the population. This produced 52 municipalities where Bosniacs were in the majority among the total population. These were the municipalities possessing the highest total fertility per woman (an arithmetic mean of 2.0 children) and the smallest standard deviation in the number of children ($\sigma = 0.26$). The arithmetic mean of the level of urbanization (54 per cent) as well as the arithmetic mean of GDP per capita (\$2349) also represent the highest level of urbanization and GDP per capita, with the highest standard deviation (23 per cent and \$1300 respectively) in these municipalities.

Table 7.5 MUNICIPALITIES GROUPEd BY ETHNICITY OF POPULATION

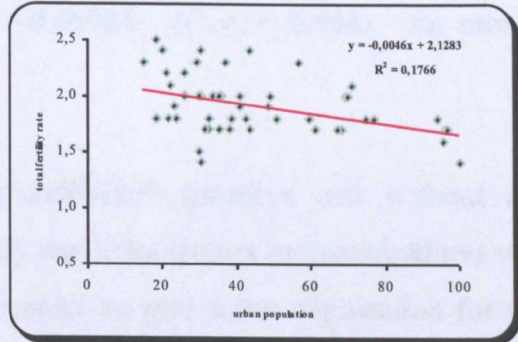
Ethnical structure (majority)	Number of municipalities	total fertility		urbanization		GDP \$ p.c.	
		(x)	(σ)	(x)	(σ)	(x)	(σ)
Bosniacs	52	2.0	0.26	54	23	2349	1300
Croats	20	1.8	0.31	35	16	2077	1046
Serbs	37	1.8	0.28	45	16	2266	1010

Source: Author's calculation based on the data from the Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Federal Office of Statistics.

The municipalities with a Croat majority (20) and a Serbian majority (37) in the total population both had arithmetic means of 1.8 children per woman with a higher standard deviation than is the case in the municipalities with mainly Bosniac population.

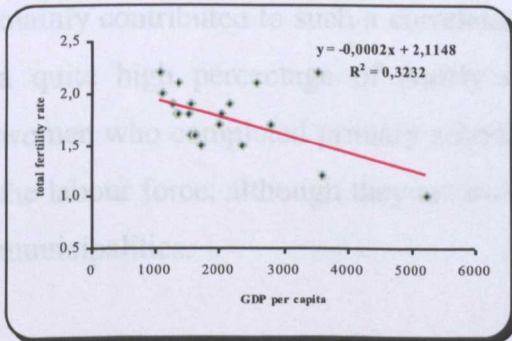


n=52 r = -0.42023 C.V.=0.279 Sy=0.24249

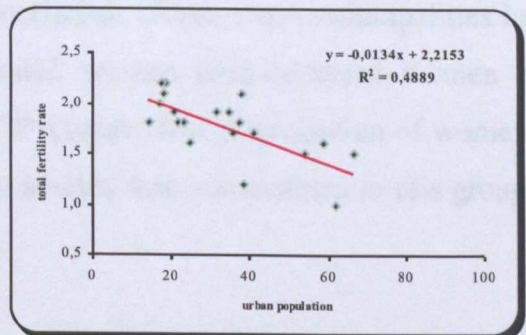


n=52 r = -0.20524 C.V.=0.279 Sy=0.23546

Figure 7.12 Municipalities with a Bosniac majority in the total population

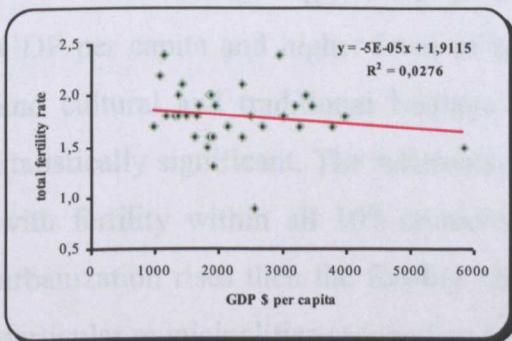


n=20 r = -0.56007 C.V.=0.444 Sy=0.261998

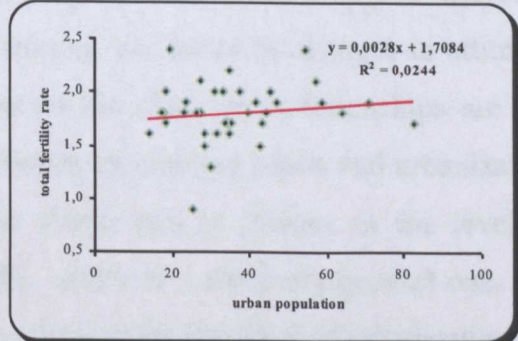


n=20 r = -0.69924 C.V.=0.444 Sy=0.2276

Figure 7.13 Municipalities with a Croat majority in the total population



n=37 r = -0.1663 C.V.=0.325 Sy=0.27799



n=37 r = 0.1561 C.V.=0.325 Sy=0.27775

Figure 7.14 Municipalities with a Serb majority in the total population

The relationship's strength expressed by calculated correlation coefficients indicates statistical significance at the 0.05 (95%) level and moderate negative association between variables within municipalities with the Bosniac or the Croat majority in the total population. The strongest relationship is for the Croat majority municipalities where correlation coefficients are statistically significant $r = -0.56007$ (C.V. = 0.44) for GDP per capita and $r = -0.69924$ (C.V. = 0.444) for urbanization.

The exception is the correlation coefficient (positive and without any statistical significance) between total fertility and urbanization in municipalities with a Serb majority in the total population. In order to give some explanation for this situation it is found that three low populated municipalities (Ljubinje: 2.4 children per woman and 54% urban population; Bileca: 2.1 children per woman and 57% urban population; and Trebinje: 1.9 children per woman and 71% urban population) mainly contributed to such a correlation coefficient. These three municipalities have a quite high percentage of poorly educated women (non-educated women and women who completed primary school = 72%) and a low participation of women in the labour force, although they are more urbanized than some others in this group of municipalities.

7.3 Conclusion

The findings suggest that the low fertility rate is not due simply to increased GDP per capita and higher level of urbanization, but rather to changes in attitudes and cultural and traditional heritage. Most of the discussed relationships are not statistically significant. The relationship between income per capita and urbanization with fertility within all 109 municipalities shows that as income or the level of urbanization rises then the fertility rate falls, which is a relatively general one. For particular municipalities grouped on the basis of income and level of urbanization the relationship with the fertility rate is statistically significant only in the group with the smallest GDP per capita.

As presented above, a popular concept is that there is stagnation equilibrium with high fertility and low per capita income, as is the case in less developed countries on the one hand, and growth equilibrium with increasing per capita income and low fertility in developed countries on the other. Bosnia and Herzegovina has some peculiarities as a country in economic transition where the shift from agriculture to urban occupations and from rural to urban residence has not had an immediate impact on fertility decline.

In order to better understand the level of fertility it seemed useful to consider the ethnicity of the population in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The importance of religion's influence on fertility also reflects historical patterns. The patterns of fertility that have developed historically have had a great effect on fertility trends in the 1990s as well as on present day fertility. The three main ethnic groups Bosniacs, Croats and Serbs are Muslims, Catholics and Orthodox Christians respectively. There seems to be a stronger relationship for the Croat majority municipalities with a more definite fall in fertility rates as both GDP per capita and per cent urban rise. In further analysis it would be possible to better perceive the contribution of ethnicity and/or religion to reproductive decision making for the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a very heterogeneous group of cultures.

Moreover, the estimates show that there exists a certain income and urbanization threshold also connected with ethnicity, above which the correlation between income and fertility as well as between urbanization and fertility is significantly negative.

8 DIFFERENTIAL FERTILITY CHARACTERISTICS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA IN 1991

8.1 Introduction

This chapter looks at a number of fertility indicators including levels and patterns in both the most commonly used measures of current fertility; the total fertility rate (TFR), a summary measure of fertility that can be interpreted as the number of births a women would have on average at the end of her reproductive life if she were subject to the currently prevailing age-specific fertility rates (ASFRs) throughout her reproductive years (15-49) and its components, and ASFRs. The intention is to elaborate and establish fertility differences depending on some background characteristics of women in Bosnia and Herzegovina according to the 1991 Population Census.

Residence, female literacy and educational attainment, and female labour force participation are the three socioeconomic variables most commonly associated with differentials in individual fertility and with variations in fertility across populations (see, for example, United Nations 1987).

Evidence is presented in this chapter on the relationship between fertility and the first of these variables – residence, and also by ethnicity. The search to find factors that account for fertility differentials among municipalities in Bosnia and Herzegovina appears to be almost without limits, but the intention is to understand and explain the relationships between fertility and some of these factors. Information on some demographic characteristics that are potential determinants of fertility is presented in this chapter.

8.2 Fertility by background characteristics

8.2.1 Fertility according to place of residence (urban-rural)

One of the sturdier generalizations concerning the social aspects of fertility level is that urban and rural fertility are not the same. Total fertility rates vary across urban-rural residence generally. Regardless of the overall level of fertility urban populations are usually less fertile than their rural counterparts. The author Carl Mosk (1980) refers to Irene Taeuber's study, that the existence of urban-rural differences offers an important indicator for determining the causes of fertility transitions. The main reason for this is the difference in the cost of living expenses, combined with income constraints in cities, as compared to these same aspects in rural areas. Urban places typically offer better educational and modern sector job opportunities, better health facilities, and more access to contraceptive information and supplies. Residents of urban areas also tend to face lower social and financial costs of fertility regulation, a somewhat lower labour value of children, and higher out-of-pocket costs of having and raising children.

In general, it is well known that urbanization and industrialization have produced many benefits for families and societies, and at the same time they have exerted pressures on the family (see United Nations, 1980). This is also the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In an urban context, women, for example, are more likely to participate in the labour market, and their role within the family changes. More generally, urban environments and labour markets make it more difficult to have large families, due to their differences in the cost of living expenses, combined with income constraints, as compared to these same aspects in rural areas (Stark, 1991).

According to the 1991 Census there are 5852 settlements in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Only 109 are urban centres of the municipalities while others are rural settlements and among them 1456 are very small rural settlements with no more than one hundred inhabitants. Considering the variation by place of residence for all (109) municipalities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the TFR for more rural areas is lower than

in urban areas as shown in Table 8.1. This is a particularly unusual case when it is known that most of the world's countries have the opposite situation. Obviously it is one of the specificities of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a country with a late demographic transition and late urbanization. The intention here is to give some explanation for this finding.

If attention is focused on the centre of an urban area, rural-urban migration needs to be taken into account, since it can contribute to particularly low yield fertility. Beyond these considerations, a further important element to consider is the impact of the evolution from rural settlement to semi-urban areas and further to the city. Most of the cities in Bosnia and Herzegovina have grown significantly in the last fifty to sixty years.

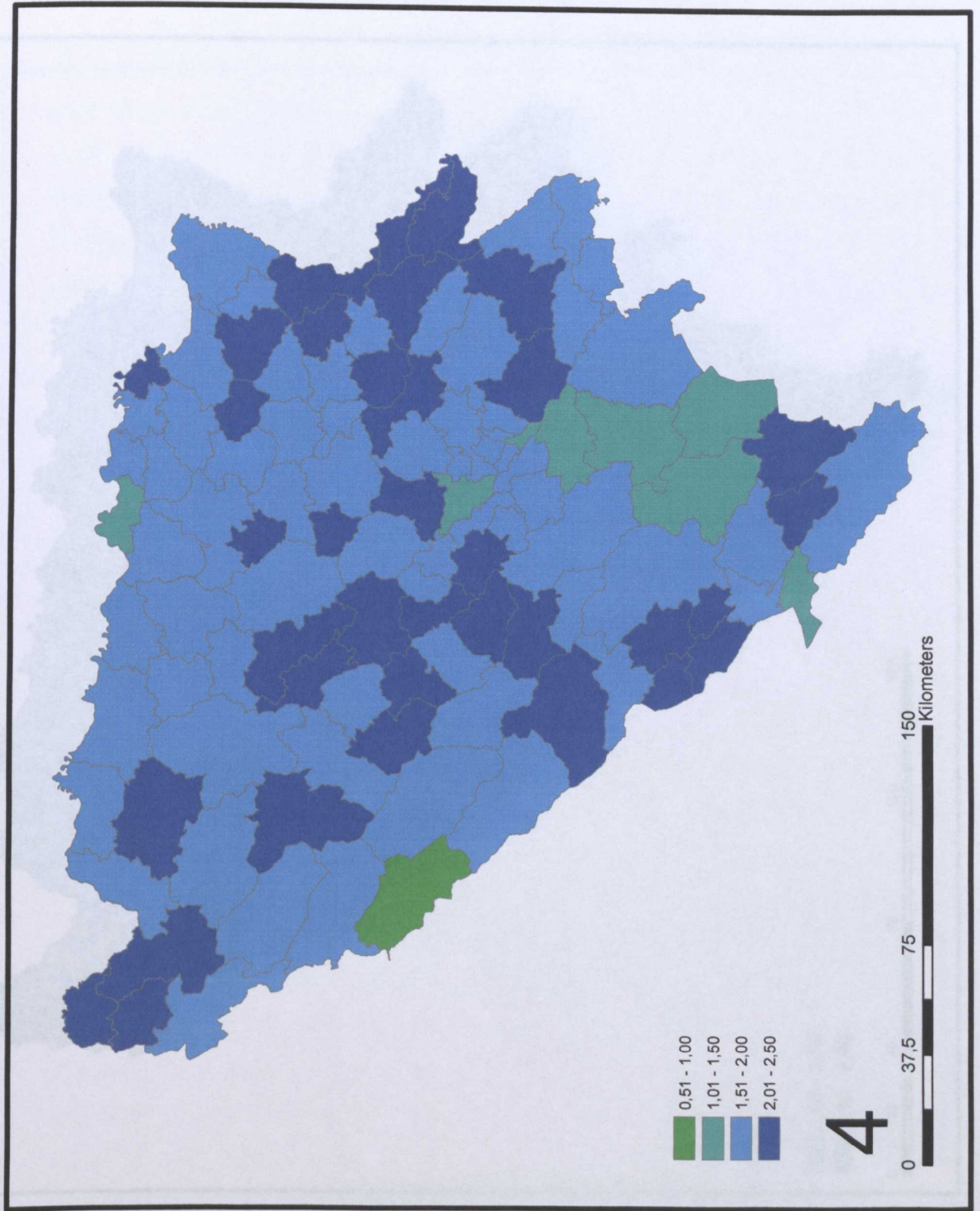
Table 8.1 shows municipalities (urban and rural areas) in Bosnia and Herzegovina divided into four groups, with membership of each group as a value of TFR (between 0.00 births per woman and 2.99 births per woman).

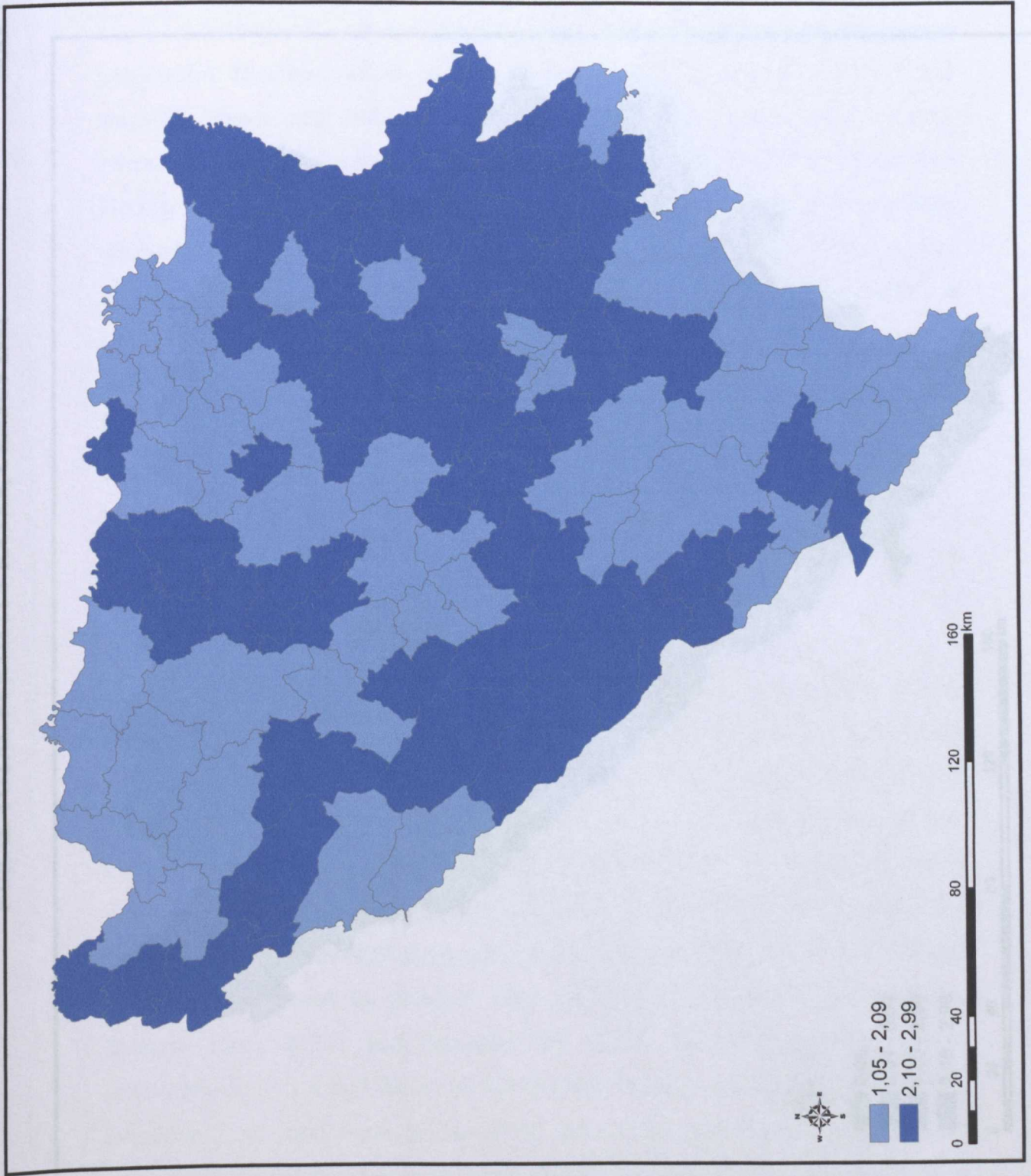
Table 8.1 TOTAL FERTILITY RATES BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE, CENSUS 1991

TFR	Number of Municipalities Area	
	URBAN	RURAL
0.00	-	1
0.01 - 0.99	-	16
1.00 - 2.09	43	75
2.10 - 2.99	66	17
	109	109

Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Federal Office of Statistics.

For the 66 urban areas total fertility rates are at the replacement level of fertility or higher than this, while only 17 rural areas have such fertility levels. According to the total fertility rates shown in Maps 5, 6 and 7 the average Bosnian woman gave birth to 1.88 children. At the same time for urban areas of Bosnia and Herzegovina the average number was 2.16 children per woman, while in rural areas the average number was 1.62 children. Sarajevo Centre is the single municipality

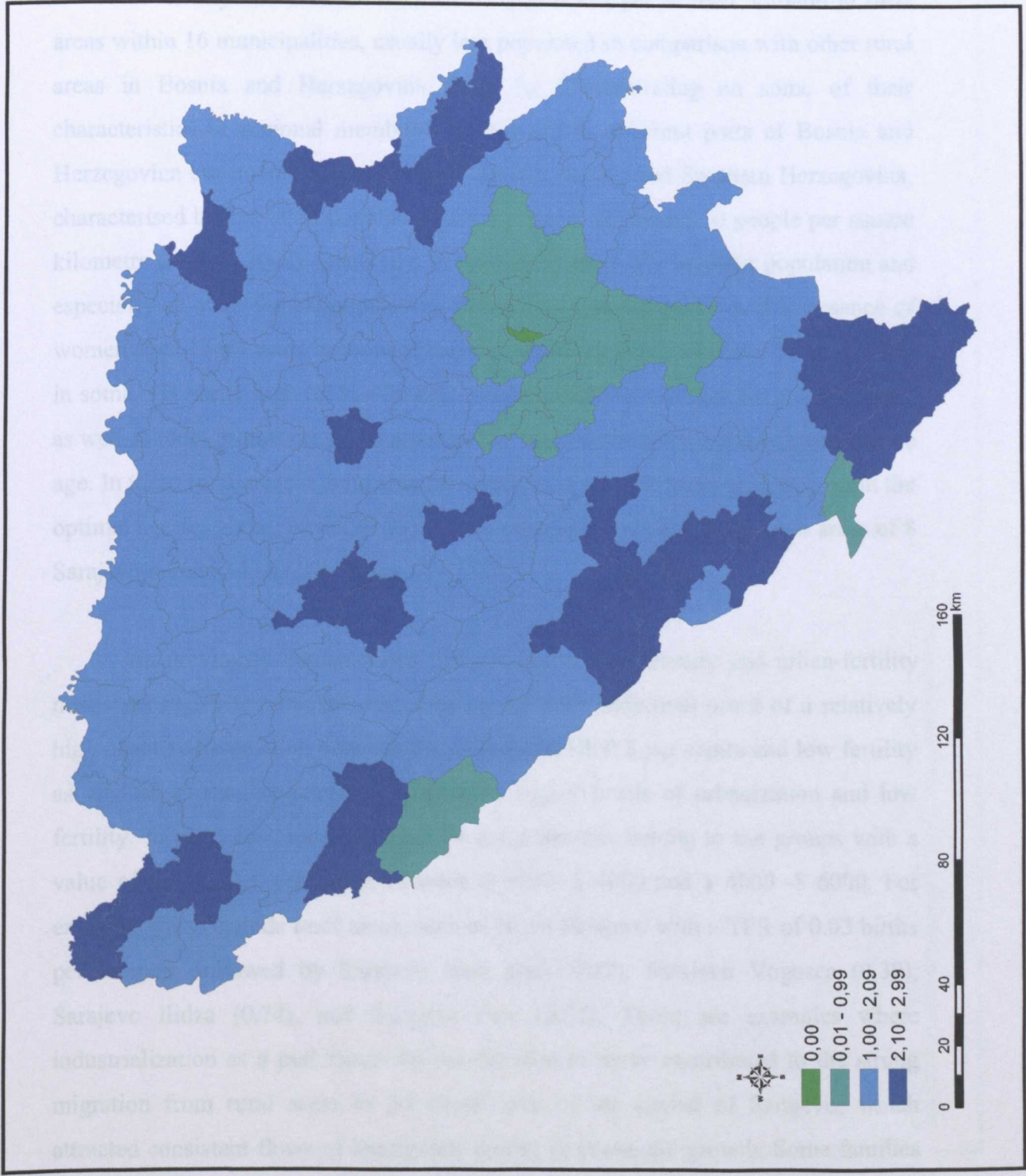




with no births in its rural area. So, the TFR is given as 0,00 children per woman. The main reason for this is the age structure of the population. Thus, the elderly population in the rural area of this municipality has more no births.

MAP 7

RURAL TOTAL FERTILITY RATES, CENSUS 1991



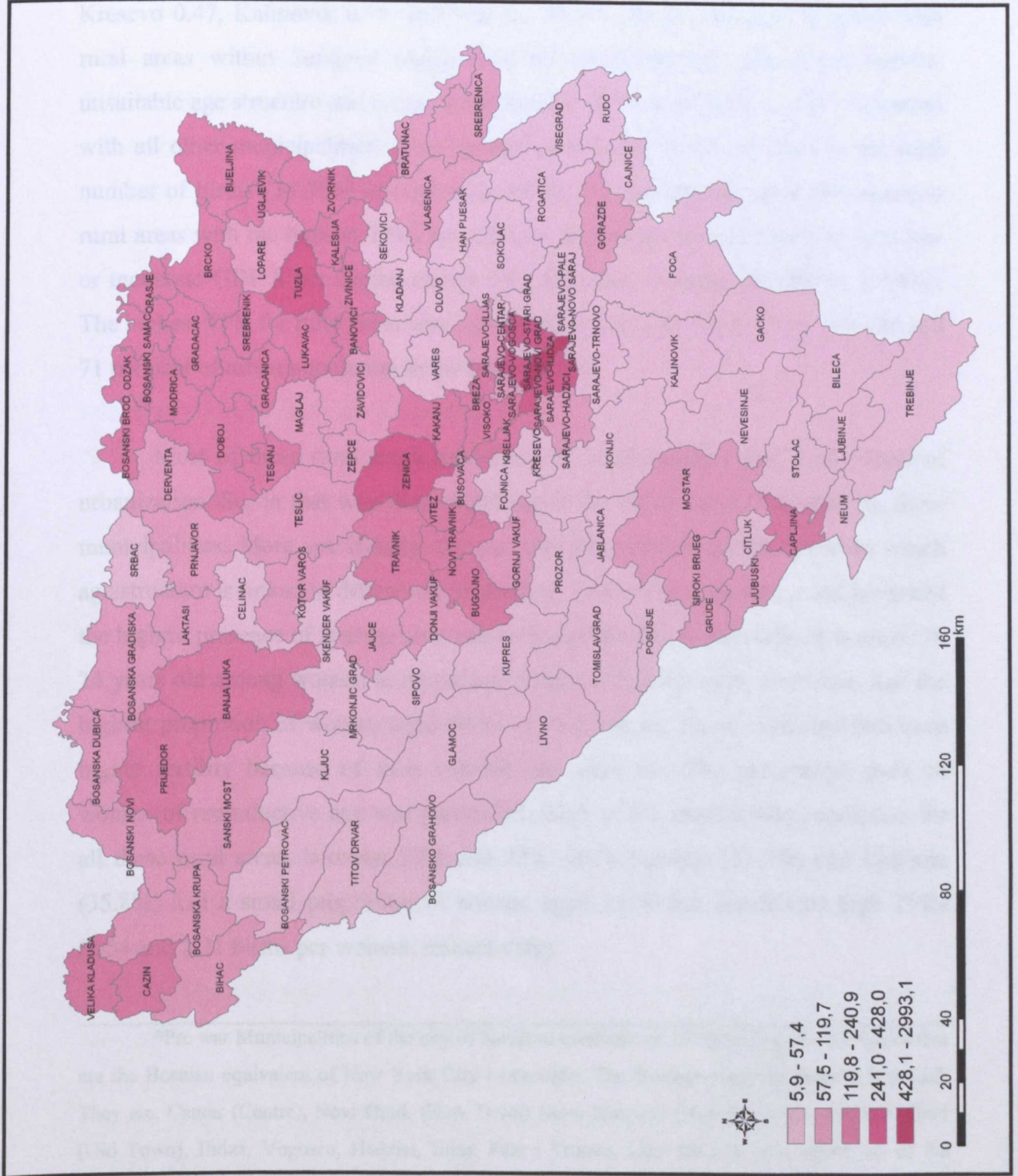
with no births in its rural area. So, the TFR is given as 0.00 children per woman. The main reason for this is the age structure of the population. Thus, the elderly population in the rural area of this municipality indicates no births.

A fertility rate between 0.01 and 0.99 children per woman is found in rural areas within 16 municipalities, usually less populated in comparison with other rural areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Map 8). Concentrating on some of their characteristics or regional membership, they are in different parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina but mainly in Eastern and Western Bosnia and Southern Herzegovina, characterised by low rural population density, under or around 30 people per square kilometre (Pobric, 2002). Generally, in these rural areas live an older population and especially an older female population. In terms of age composition, the presence of women aged 15-49 years in some of them is optimal or predictable (46 % - 61%), but in some it is pretty high (65% - 70.8%). Women in the 30-34 and 35-39 age groups, as well as older groups prevailed amongst the total number of women of reproductive age. In these rural areas it is notable that there were a lower number of women in the optimal age for giving birth (20-29). It was especially the case in the rural areas of 8 Sarajevo municipalities, all having low TFRs.

As previously demonstrated through the income-fertility and urban-fertility nexus via regression analysis, this finding provides additional proof of a relatively high negative association between the increase of GDP \$ per capita and low fertility as well as a negative relationship between higher levels of urbanization and low fertility. In particular, most of these 16 municipalities belong to the groups with a value of the GDP \$ per capita between \$ 3000- \$ 4000 and \$ 4000 -\$ 6000. For example, these include rural areas, such as Novo Sarajevo with a TFR of 0.03 births per woman, followed by Sarajevo Stari grad (0.22), Sarajevo Vogosca (0.39), Sarajevo Ilidza (0.74), and Sarajevo Pale (0.75). These are examples where industrialization as a pull factor for the decision to move contributed to the strong migration from rural areas to the urban area of the capital of Sarajevo, which attracted consistent flows of immigrants during its economic growth. Some families

POPULATION DENSITY IN 1991

MAP 8



dwelling in rural areas surrounding the city of Sarajevo* have tendency to move residence in the city of Sarajevo before they become parents.

Rural areas in different parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Neum 0.41, Kresevo 0.47, Kalinovik 0.75, and Sokolac 0.98 births per woman), together with rural areas within Sarajevo region, had an extremely low population density, unsuitable age structure and a very small number of children born in 1991 compared with all other municipalities. They ranged from 0.005 to 0.3 per cent in the total number of births (34 756) in rural areas of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The nineteen rural areas with the highest TFRs belonged to the groups of municipalities with low or moderate GDP \$ per capita, except for Citluk and Trebinje (\$ 3000 to \$ 4000). The highest TFR for rural areas was 2.54 births in Trebinje, with \$ 3461 of GDP and 71 per cent of urban population in the municipality.

Most of these rural areas constitute the municipalities with a low level of urbanization. So, in that way they contribute to the higher overall fertility for these municipalities. More specifically, we can provide evidence on the extent to which age structure is linked to differences in fertility. Ten of these nineteen rural areas had the highest presence of teenage girls and an insignificantly lower share of women 20-24 years old among women in reproductive ages, while the other nine areas had the highest proportion of women aged 20-24 or 25-29 years. These municipalities have higher fertility because of their suitable age structure. The percentage share of women of reproductive age was particularly high in the total female population for all these rural areas, between 50% and 72%. Only Trebinje (35.3%) and Ljubinje (35.8%) had a small proportion of women aged 15-49 but maintained high TFRs (2.54 and 2.21 births per woman, respectively).

*Pre war Municipalities of the city of Sarajevo consisted of 10 Municipalities, territories that are the Bosnian equivalent of New York City's boroughs. The Bosnian word for them is "Općina". They are, Centar (Centre), Novi Grad, (New Town) Novo Sarajevo (New Sarajevo), and Stari Grad (Old Town), Ilidza, Vogosca, Hadzici, Ilijas, Pale i Trnovo. Like the city as a whole, all of the Municipalities have their own regional government, including a mayor, councils, and various Municipality services.

The lowest TFR among urban areas was in Bileca (1.09 children per woman), followed by, Gacko (1.21), and Titov Drvar (1.24 children per woman). These three urban areas had in common the fact that they belonged to the groups of municipalities that had high GDP \$ per capita (\$ 3000 and more), but a low or moderate level of urbanization (less than 50%). In terms of age composition, a higher proportion of women aged 35-39 in these urban areas of municipalities is evident, with the highest share among women in reproductive age in fourteen of them, followed by women in the 30-34 age group. Only three urban areas (Bileca, Derвента and Odzak) had a somewhat younger female population with the highest proportion of women aged 25-29 years old, but followed by a high share of women in older age groups.

This chapter also provides in some detail an overview of the urban areas with total fertility rates at or above replacement level. Most of the 66 urban areas with fertility above replacement levels were relatively weakly urbanized areas. Only five of them had an urban population that comprised from 50 per cent to 75 per cent of the total population (Bihac, Bosanski Brod, Sarajevo Vogosca, Vitez, and Zivinice). These five municipalities are industrial centres in Bosnia and Herzegovina that have attracted large numbers of rural migrants. It is possible to interpret the urban fertility here as corresponding to the level of urbanization. There is clear evidence from the overview of data on urban and rural fertility that higher levels of fertility appear in small urban places, and the centres of municipalities. Actually, in most of the urban settlements there were quite a number of households in suburban areas where women were primarily housewives and engaged in agriculture at least for family demands, while their husbands had a job in a non-agricultural activity.

One of the cases is Fojnica where urban TFR was 2.82 births per woman, a rate that was higher than for any other urban or rural area in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The level of urbanization in Fojnica was only 37 per cent and GDP per capita was \$ 1318. Women of reproductive age comprised 46.5 per cent of the total number of the female population, with a similar percentage in other age groups, but the age group 30-34 was the largest (7.9%).

Concerning the behaviour of immigrants some basic hypotheses can be tested which can shed some light on the mechanism that links fertility before and after migration. In the relevant literature the principal hypotheses were adaptation, disruption and selection that describe different environmental conditions and situations. The literature has mainly tested these three hypotheses with respect to the urbanization process itself, both in developing and industrialized countries, focusing on urban and rural differentials. Stephen and Bean (1992) deem that adaptation predicts a gradual assimilation to fertility norms and behaviour of the host society. Carlson (1985) considers disruption as only a temporary effect of migration, which depresses fertility in the first period after the move, because of spousal separation or the settling-in process. According to Kahn (1994), migrants are selected through socio-economic characteristics, which in turn influence also fertility behaviour: controlling for these characteristics, no difference is expected between migrants and non-migrants.

The analysis of the migration flows in Bosnia and Herzegovina can be of major interest to understand fertility change and fertility differences. Data from surveys that have been carried out by the Institute for Statistics of BiH in the 1970s and 1980s, from censuses and demographic yearbooks, are used to examine the impact of migration on the demographic picture of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sijercic, 1976; Krivokapic, 1984) national level. Besides considerations of several key factors that are presumably contributing to rural-urban fertility differences, further findings underline migration as an important element in the impact of lower fertility in emigrational municipalities, especially in their rural settlements. According to Mulder and Hoomeijer (1999), the importance of the residential environment increases according to the rising size of the family, since married couples, and in particular those with children, invest financially more and more in the family. Therefore, the quality of the dwelling and its environment has to be high, and for the same reason, ownership is preferred to renting. Housing norms, for example, prescribe that housing should be owned by the occupants, be of an independent structure and have sufficient outdoor and indoor space, given the age and sex composition of the family (McAuley and Nutty, 1982).

When analyzing the total fertility rate among the 109 municipalities in total, the fertility value is taken as an average fertility between urban and rural. The lowest TFR among all municipalities was in Bosansko Grahovo (0.94 children per woman), a municipality with a very low population density of only 10.7 inhabitants per square kilometer. Bosansko Grahovo, a less populated municipality due to the increasing emigration characteristics, at the same time belongs to the group of low urbanized municipalities and moderate GDP \$ per capita (\$ 2556). This municipality had only 42.1 per cent of its female population in reproductive age, with a significant proportion of women aged 40-44 (5.7%) and 45-49 (4.9%) years, and a slightly higher share of women in the age group 20-24 (7.1%). The total number of children born in 1991 was very low: only 53 births. At the same time among all 109 municipalities, Velika Kladusa had the highest total fertility rate (2.46 births and 50.0 % women aged 15-49), with no more than 18 per cent of urban population and a low GDP per capita \$ 1731. Tomislavgrad (2.20 births) evidently had a more suitable age structure, with 54.0 per cent women aged 15-49 and the highest number of young women, aged 15-19 and 20-24 (10.6 % and 8.9% respectively).

8.2.2 The proportion of women of reproductive age in the female population and fertility

Levels of fertility contribute to determine the age structure of the population, and age structure also has some consequences on fertility. So, some of the key fertility indicators are the proportion of women in the total population as well as the proportion of women of reproductive age (15-49 years) in the total female population. There were 50 municipalities characterized by a proportion of the female population of less than 50 per cent in the total population (proportions ranged from 48.1% in Skender Vakuf to 49.9% in Gradacac and Gacko). The other 59 municipalities had slightly more than 50 per cent of the total population, which seems optimal or better to say, around the average number of women. At the same time 55 municipalities were characterized by a proportion of women aged 15-49 in the total female population of less than 50 per cent. Amongst the 50 municipalities where women comprised less than half of the total population 33 had proportions of

women aged 15-49 of over 50 per cent (from 50.2% in Busovaca to 54.1% in Visoko and Zivinice). On the basis of this high number of women of reproductive age, a higher fertility can be assumed (Map 9).

Table 8.2 shows that 12 of the municipalities with less than 50 per cent of their female population in reproductive ages had total fertility rates (TFR) above the replacement level of 2.1 children per woman, while the total number of municipalities in Bosnia and Herzegovina with such fertility levels was 29. The observed values of TFRs in those municipalities can be attributed to the various factors already mentioned, but also to the relatively high number of women of reproductive age. Only four municipalities with a proportion of the female population aged 15-49 and of the total female population of less than 50 per cent had TFRs of 2.1 children per woman or higher (Bosanska Krupa 2.40, Kljuc 2.20, Lopare 2.17 and Olovo 2.44). These levels of fertility may be partly due to a suitable age-group composition among women of reproductive ages in these municipalities. In particular, the proportion of young women aged 15-19 was highest in Bosanska Krupa 22.3%, Kljuc 21.1%, Lopare 17.9% and Olovo 17.6%, and followed by a high proportion of women aged 20-24 (18.5%, 16.6%, 16.3%, and 15.6% respectively) among all women of reproductive age. This was the case in rural settlements of these municipalities. On the other hand, the highest proportions among urban women of reproductive age in these municipalities had women aged 30-34 (17.1%, 16.6%, 21.4% and 20.2% respectively) or women aged 35-39 (19.0%, 16.7%, 16.0% and 21.2% respectively). Further, if one compares some of the municipalities' characteristics with TFRs above replacement level, one finds that most of them were low urbanized and low income municipalities. In addition there were not too many emigrants from these municipalities.

Table 8.1 FEMALE POPULATION AND TOTAL FERTILITY RATE, 1991

Municipality	1991	1991	1991	1991
	Female	Female	Female	Female
	1991	1991	1991	1991

MAP 9

FEMALE POPULATION AGED 15-49 (in %) AND TOTAL FERTILITY RATES, CENSUS 1991

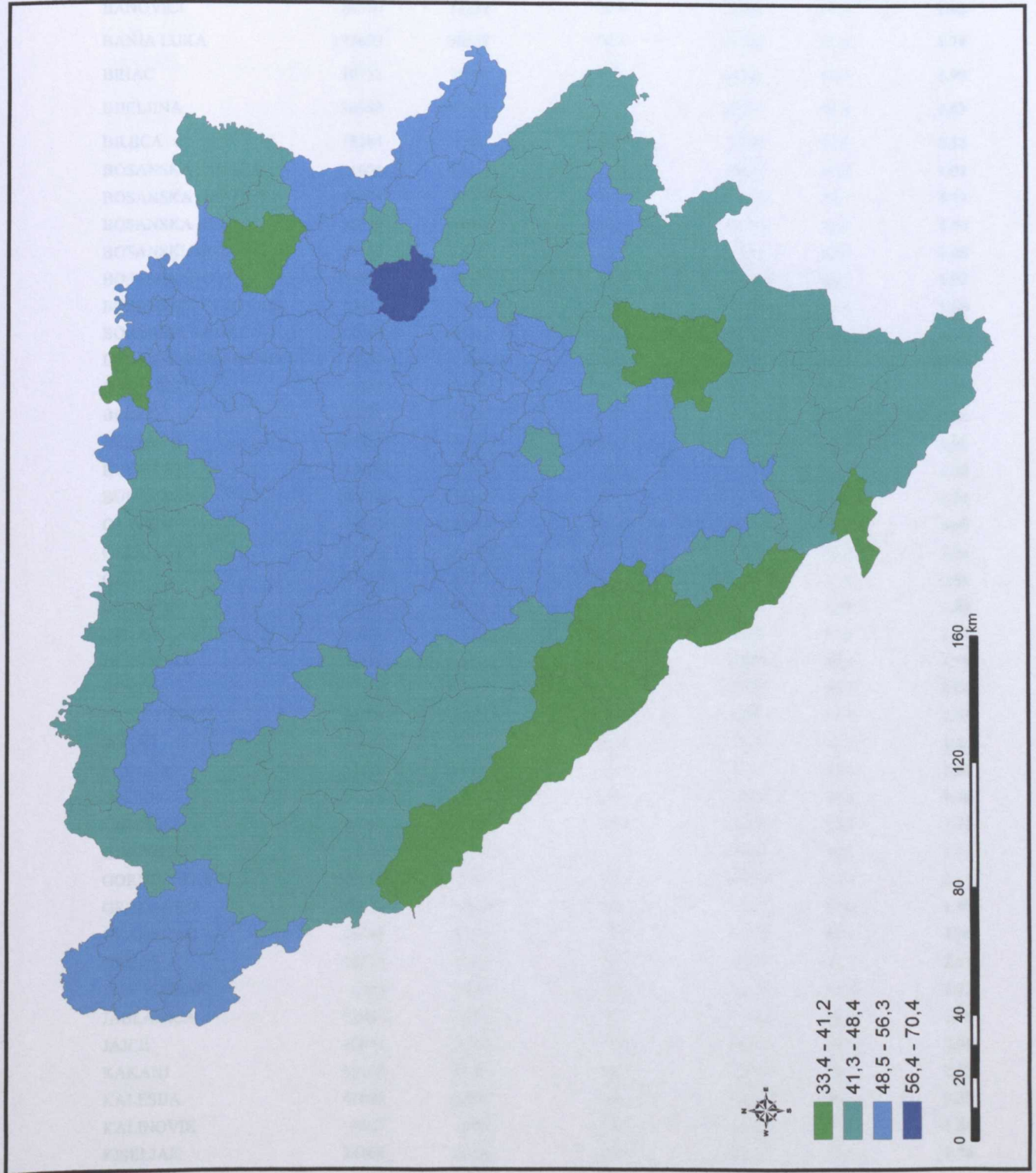


Table 8.2 FEMALE POPULATION AND TOTAL FERTILITY RATES, CENSUS 1991

Municipality	total population	female population	female population (%)	women aged 15-49	women aged 15-49 (%)	TFR
BANOVICI	26590	13237	49.8	7082	53.5	1.98
BANJA LUKA	195629	98582	50.4	51104	51.8	1.74
BIHAC	70732	35564	50.3	18349	51.6	1.99
BIJELJINA	96988	48645	50.2	23274	47.8	2.03
BILECA	13284	6732	50.7	3076	45.7	2.18
BOSANSKA DUBICA	31606	16245	51.4	7019	43.2	1.91
BOSANSKA GRADISKA	59974	30494	50.8	14550	47.7	1.87
BOSANSKA KRUPA	58320	28919	49.6	14050	48.6	2.40
BOSANSKI BROD	34138	17433	51.1	8528	48.9	1.08
BOSANSKI NOVI	41665	21193	50.9	9796	46.2	1.98
BOSANSKI PETROVAC	15621	7867	50.4	3277	41.7	1.66
BOSANSKI SAMAC	32960	16628	50.4	8278	49.8	1.81
BOSANSKO GRAHOVO	8311	4266	51.3	1757	41.2	0.94
BRATUNAC	33619	16528	49.2	8255	49.9	2.07
BRCKO	87627	43887	50.1	22142	50.5	1.96
BREZA	17317	8672	50.1	4653	53.7	1.82
BUGOJNO	46889	23507	50.1	12371	52.6	1.98
BUSOVACA	18879	9316	49.3	4675	50.2	1.86
CAJNICE	8956	4585	51.2	2143	46.7	1.69
CAPLJINA	27882	14168	50.8	6602	46.6	1.76
CAZIN	63409	31215	49.2	15913	51.0	2.04
CELINAC	18713	9213	49.2	4594	49.9	1.83
CITLUK	15083	7840	52.0	3289	42.0	2.42
DERVENTA	56489	28563	50.6	13814	48.4	1.76
DOBOJ	102549	51405	50.1	25812	50.2	1.86
DONJI VAKUF	24544	12221	49.8	6320	51.7	2.03
FOCA	40513	20161	49.8	9511	47.2	1.68
FOJNICA	16296	7958	48.8	4151	52.2	2.04
GACKO	10788	5383	49.9	2457	45.6	1.46
GLAMOC	12593	6249	49.6	2728	43.7	1.71
GORAZDE	37573	19023	50.6	9364	49.2	1.74
GORNJI VAKUF	25181	12407	49.3	6419	51.7	2.11
GRACANICA	59134	29640	50.1	15418	52.0	1.97
GRADACAC	56581	28243	49.9	14141	50.1	1.96
GRUDE	16358	8287	50.7	3425	41.3	2.11
HAN PIJESAK	6348	3230	50.9	1430	44.3	1.73
JABLANICA	12691	6375	50.2	3202	50.2	1.98
JAJCE	45007	22204	49.3	11587	52.2	2.01
KAKANJ	55950	27464	49.1	14132	51.5	2.32
KALESIJA	41809	20387	48.8	10619	52.1	2.39
KALINOVIK	4667	2399	51.4	1049	43.7	1.34
KISELJAK	24164	11956	49.5	6134	51.3	1.96
KLADANJ	16070	7957	49.5	4101	51.5	2.04
KLJUC	37391	18430	49.3	8728	47.4	2.16

Municipality	total population	female population	female population (%)	women aged 15-49	women aged 15-49 (%)	TFR
KONJIC	43878	22135	50.4	11117	50.2	1.80
KOTOR VAROS	36853	17885	48.5	9222	51.6	2.31
KRESEVO	6731	3379	50.2	1596	47.2	1.92
KUPRES	9618	4752	49.4	2247	47.3	1.75
LAKTASI	29832	15019	50.3	7167	47.7	1.91
LIVNO	40600	20448	50.4	10507	51.4	1.93
LOPARE	32537	16000	49.2	7380	46.1	2.17
LUKAVAC	57070	28494	49.9	14800	51.9	1.82
LJUBINJE	4142	2137	51.6	906	42.4	2.45
LJUBUSKI	28340	14399	50.8	6142	42.7	2.22
MAGLAJ	43388	21470	49.5	11104	51.7	1.84
MODRICA	35613	17811	50.0	8734	49.0	1.75
MOSTAR	126628	64337	50.8	32631	50.7	1.84
MRKONJIC GRAD	27395	13623	49.7	6397	47.0	1.98
NEUM	4325	2207	51.0	888	40.2	1.34
NEVESINJE	14448	7341	50.8	3190	43.5	1.51
NOVI TRAVNIK	30713	15143	49.3	8026	53.0	2.09
NOVO SARAJEVO	95089	49445	52.0	25047	50.7	1.57
ODZAK	30056	15016	50.0	7317	48.7	2.32
OLOVO	16956	8387	49.5	4181	49.9	2.44
ORASJE	28367	14064	49.6	7221	51.3	1.78
POSUSJE	17134	8541	49.8	4530	53.0	2.08
PRIJEDOR	112543	56451	50.2	28029	49.7	1.86
PRNJAVOR	47055	23249	49.4	10303	44.3	2.05
PROZOR	19760	9891	50.1	4953	50.1	2.09
ROGATICA	21978	11097	50.5	5006	45.1	2.00
RUDO	11571	5825	50.3	2618	44.9	1.69
SANSKI MOST	60307	29812	49.4	13919	46.7	1.81
SARAJEVO-CENTAR	79286	41411	52.2	20986	50.7	1.73
SARAJEVO-HADZICI	24200	11901	49.2	6245	52.5	1.89
SARAJEVO-ILIDZA	67937	34014	50.1	18618	54.7	1.82
SARAJEVO-ILIJAS	25184	12536	49.8	6470	51.6	1.78
SARAJEVO-NOVI G.	136616	69387	50.8	39033	56.3	1.38
SARAJEVO-PALE	16355	8240	50.4	3850	46.7	2.07
SARAJEVO-STARI G.	50744	25994	51.2	12990	50.0	1.73
SARAJEVO-TRNOVO	6991	3507	50.2	1667	47.5	1.37
SARAJEVO-VOGOSCA	24647	12330	50.0	6668	54.1	1.68
SEKOVICI	9629	4819	50.0	2211	45.9	1.99
SIPOVO	15579	7670	49.2	3588	46.8	2.09
SIROKI BRIJEG	27180	13840	50.9	6150	44.4	2.53
SKENDER VAKUF	19418	9342	48.1	4724	50.6	2.46
SOKOLAC	14883	7520	50.5	3376	44.9	1.99

Municipality	total population	female population	female population (%)	women aged 15-49	women aged 15-49 (%)	TFR
SRBAC	21840	11051	50.6	4975	45.0	1.61
SREBRENICA	36666	17790	48.5	8960	50.4	2.29
SREBRENIK	40896	20374	49.8	10572	51.9	2.31
STOLAC	18681	9646	51.6	4230	43.9	1.97
TESANJ	48480	23983	49.5	12815	53.4	2.08
TESLIC	59854	29496	49.3	14993	50.8	1.89
TITOV DRVAR	17126	8695	50.8	3808	43.8	1.87
TOMISLAVGRAD	30009	14967	49.9	7897	52.8	2.20
TRAVNIK	70747	35403	50.0	18052	51.0	2.03
TREBINJE	30996	15951	51.5	7246	45.4	1.90
TUZLA	131618	66804	50.8	35096	52.5	1.72
UGLJEVIK	25587	12537	49.0	6003	47.9	1.98
VARES	22203	11101	50.0	5524	49.8	1.79
VELIKA Kladusa	52908	26252	49.6	13126	50.0	2.46
VISEGRAD	21199	10799	50.9	5194	48.1	1.84
VISOKO	46160	23012	49.9	12448	54.1	1.52
VITEZ	27859	13768	49.4	7334	53.3	1.94
VLASENICA	33942	16944	49.9	8359	49.3	2.42
ZAVIDOVICI	57164	28206	49.3	14947	53.0	1.95
ZENICA	145517	72532	49.8	38574	53.2	1.87
ZEPCE	22966	11381	49.6	5936	52.2	2.37
ZIVINICE	54783	26963	49.2	14574	54.1	2.03
ZVORNIK	81295	40036	49.2	20451	51.1	2.30
BOSNA I HERCEGOVINA	4377033	2193238	50.1	1100625	50.2	1.86

Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Federal Office of Statistics.

8.2.3 Adolescent fertility

In order to elaborate adolescent fertility the percentage of births by women in particular age group in different (urban or rural) areas of residence is analyzed as relevant. The proportion of women giving birth in their teens is generally higher in rural areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Women who had begun childbearing are more likely than other women to live in rural areas and have elementary schooling. Table 8.3 shows that 85 per cent of rural areas had more than 5 per cent of women

aged 15-19 having had a child, while the proportion of urban areas with these women is 74 per cent. The proportion of rural areas where adolescent women had had a child and whose share of births was between 10 and 20 per cent of births for all women of reproductive age, was double that of urban areas.

Table 8.3 SHARE OF ADOLESCENT FERTILITY (in %) BY RESIDENCE

Share of adolescent fertility	Number of municipalities	
	URBAN	RURAL
0-4.9%	28	16
5-9.9%	37	34
10-20%	43	58
more than 20%	1	1
	109	109

Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Federal Office of Statistics.

Generally, women in rural areas had a higher proportion of the total number of births (54%). On the other hand, Table 8.4 shows that age specific fertility rates were higher in some urban areas, with peaks in twenty-one of them at between 70 and 100 births per thousand women. However, these urban areas were also characterized by high ASFRs for each age group of women as well as by TFRs from 2.33 to 2.70 births per woman. In addition, these particular urban areas are actually small urban centres within municipalities with a low level of urbanization and low GDP \$ per capita. So, these areas possess more semi-urban or rural-urban than urban characteristics and infrastructure; they were inhabited by people that migrated from neighbouring rural areas but who maintained more traditional living arrangements, with a more rural way of family life and habits. Given the relatively small number of municipalities under consideration here, where urban adolescent women had quite high fertility, a common factor was the unsuitable educational structure of the population. Some of these municipalities had illiteracy rates in excess of 20 per cent within their female population (Neum 26.1%, Srebrenica 26.5%, Srebrenik 21.6%

and Skender Vakuf with 31.5%). It is true that many of the women were elderly, but 1-2 per cent of illiterate youths (10-19 years) should also be noted.

TABLE 8.4 ADOLESCENTS' AGE SPECIFIC FERTILITY RATES (ASFR) BY RESIDENCE

ASFR	Number of municipalities	
	URBAN	RURAL
0	-	6
0-4.9	1	4
5-9.9	4	2
10-14.9	12	7
15-19.9	11	8
20-29.9	15	15
30-39.9	14	23
40-49.9	13	19
50-59.9	7	21
60-69.9	11	4
70-79.9	10	-
80-89.9	8	-
90-100	3	-
	109	109

Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Federal Office of Statistics.

8.2.4 Levels of Urban and Rural Fertility according to ethnic majority

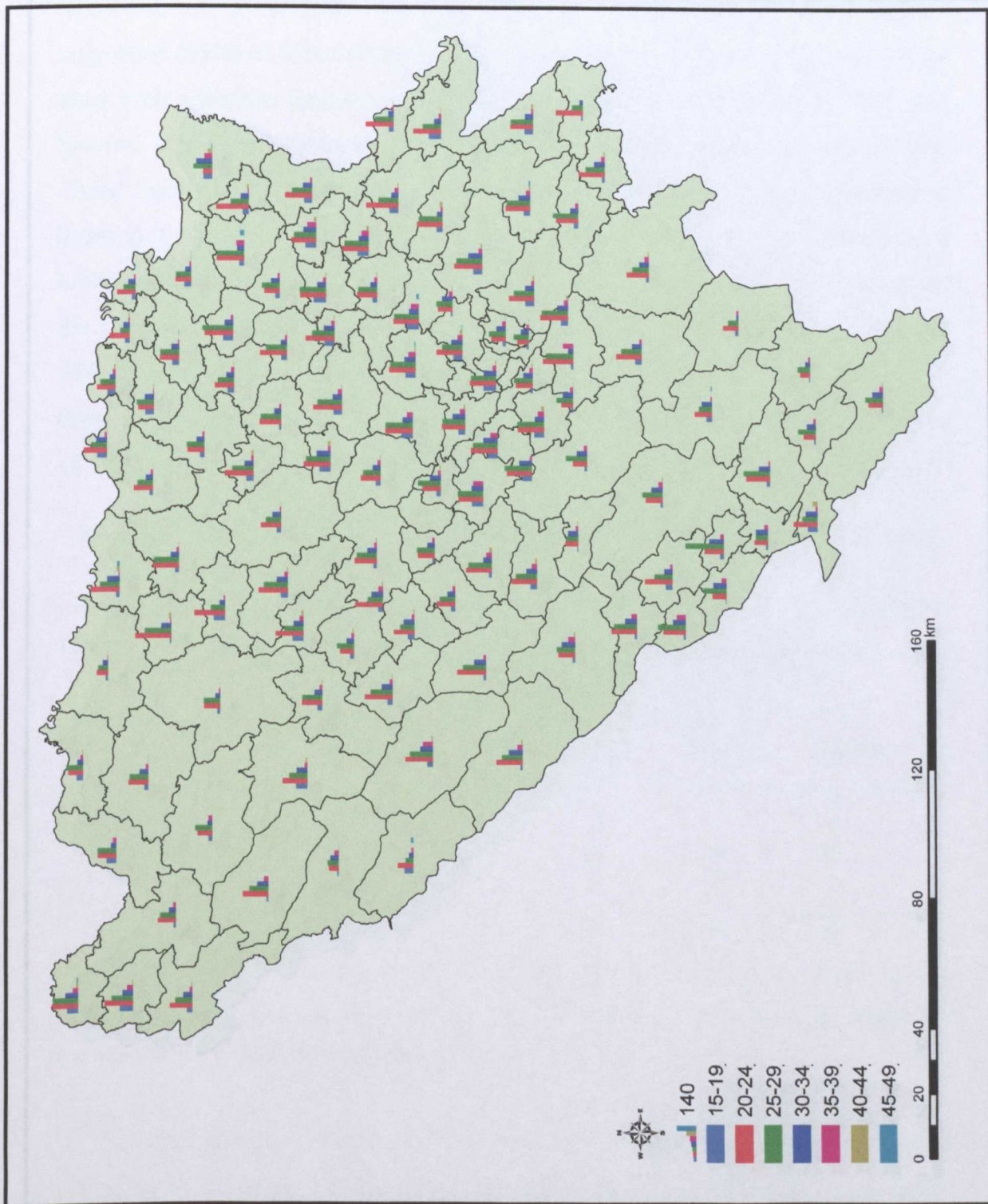
Within social demography, ethnicity and religion are cited as important parts of the explanation of group variation in reproductive attitudes and behaviour. Ethnic-religious affiliation as a determinant of demographic behaviour is now receiving renewed attention in demography. Interests in the role of cultural factors in affecting fertility and a specific concern with the role of religion in many countries have helped reinvigorate research on the role of religion. On the other hand, virtually no researcher disagrees with the need to control for differing socioeconomic and

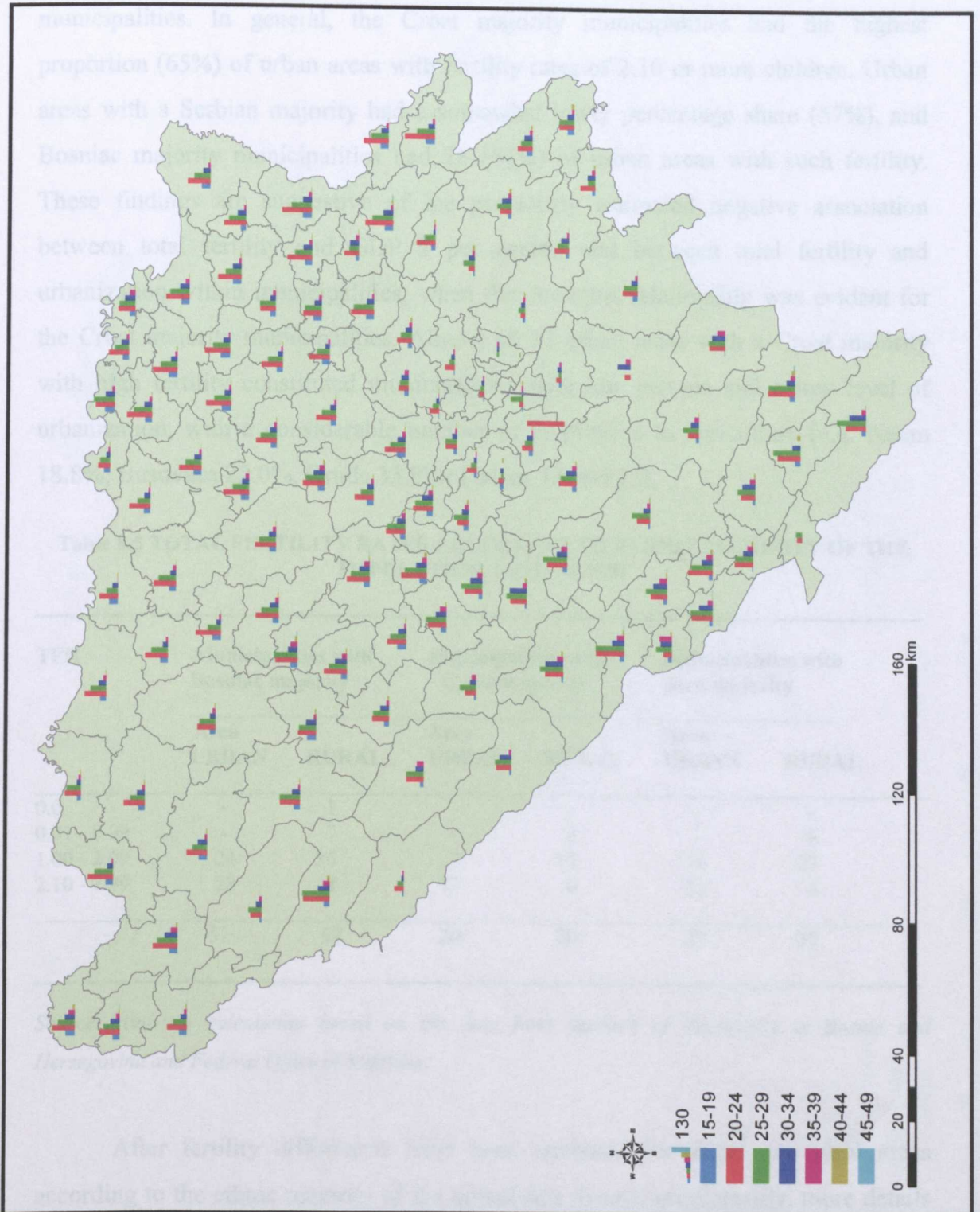
demographic characteristics of individuals when studying reproductive differentials between ethnic and religious groups (Knodel et.al., 1999). Most significantly, there is considerable support for the hypothesis that ethnic-religious affiliation itself has a particular influence on levels of fertility in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

This chapter explores in some detail urban-rural differences by examining data on levels of fertility extended by considerations of the ethnicity of the population. Municipalities of Bosnia and Herzegovina were classified with respect to the three principal ethnic groups in the population. The number of municipalities where Bosniacs were in the majority among their population was 52. Furthermore, the number of municipalities with a Croat majority was 20, and 37 municipalities had a Serbian majority. In addition, after previously describing the overview of fertility differences separately for urban and rural places, Table 8.5 shows the number of urban and rural areas with different levels of total fertility rates according to the ethnic majority in the total population. Among all urban and rural areas, TFR was 0.00 children per woman in just one rural area with a Bosniac majority. Fertility levels between 0.01 and 0.99 children per woman were found in the 7 rural areas with a Bosniac majority, and in the 3 with a Croat majority and in the 5 rural areas with a Serbian majority of the population. On the other hand there were no urban areas at all with such low fertility values. A fertility level between 1.00 and 2.10 births per woman was found in more rural than urban areas, for the 69 per cent of rural areas with a Bosniac majority, for the 55 per cent of rural areas with a Croat majority and for the 73 per cent rural areas with Serbs as the principal ethnic group of the population in municipalities. So, there was notably a higher number of rural areas with high fertility levels amongst all 109 municipalities. At the same time the proportion of the rural areas with TFR from 2.10 to 2.99 was smaller than for the urban areas irrespective of which of the ethnic groups of the population was in the majority. The number of such rural areas ranged from 5 (13%) of the municipalities where Serbs were the major ethnic group, followed by 8 (15%) rural areas with mainly a Bosniac population, and 6 (30%) rural areas with Croat majority municipalities (Maps 10 and 11).

URBAN AGE SPECIFIC FERTILITY RATES IN 1991

MAP 10





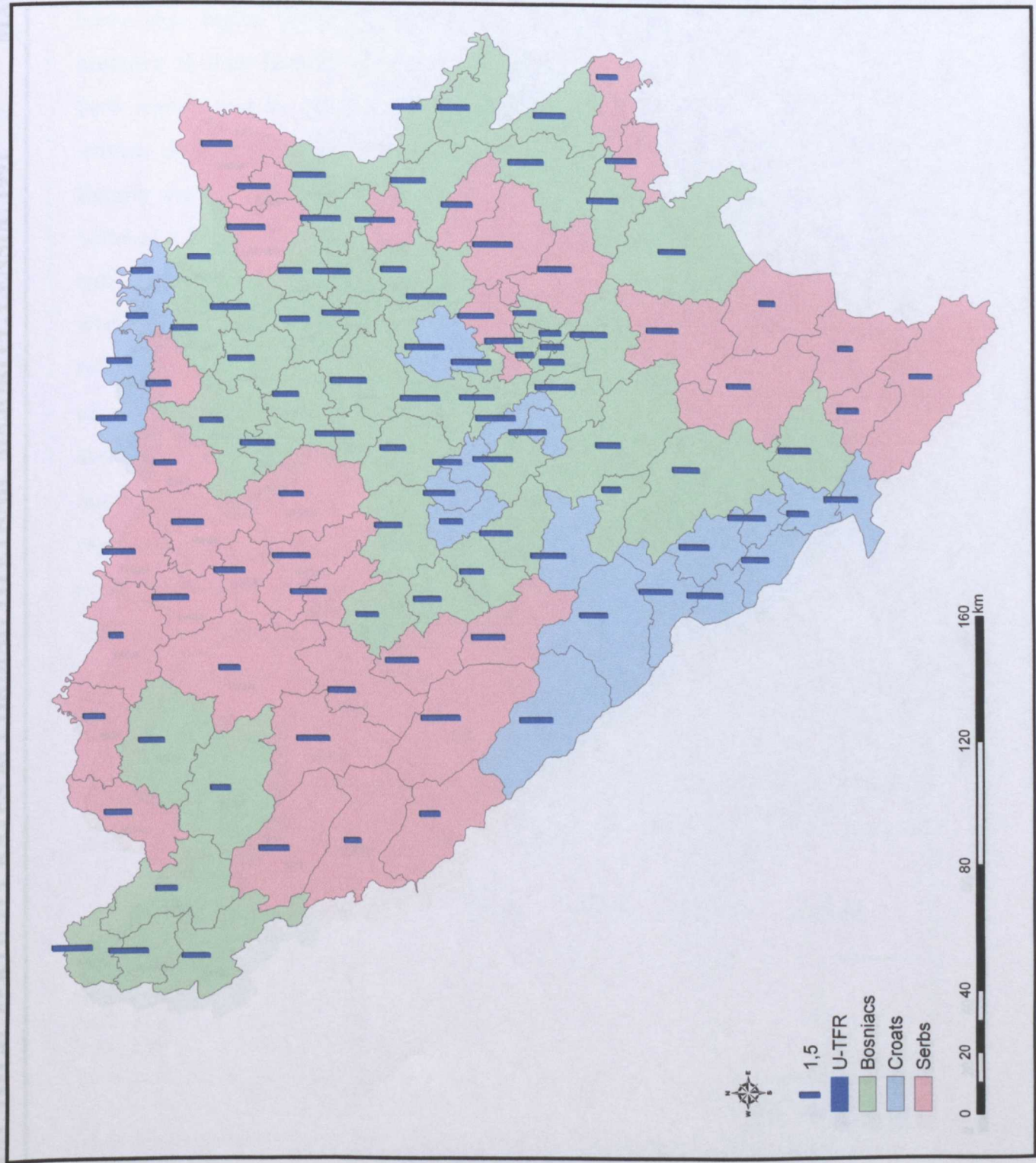
The data show the highest proportion of urban areas with fertility above replacement in each of these three municipality groups. However, there was not a single urban area with TFRs below 1.00 births per woman, though Table 8.5 shows some differences are evident with respect to ethnic characteristics within municipalities. In general, the Croat majority municipalities had the highest proportion (65%) of urban areas with fertility rates of 2.10 or more children. Urban areas with a Serbian majority had a somewhat lower percentage share (57%), and Bosniac majority municipalities had 28 (54%) of urban areas with such fertility. These findings are suggestive of the previously estimated negative association between total fertility and GDP \$ per capita, and between total fertility and urbanization within municipalities, when the strongest relationship was evident for the Croat majority municipalities. Almost all 13 urban areas with a Croat majority with high fertility constituted municipalities with low income and a low level of urbanization, with a considerable number of employees in agriculture (e.g. Neum 18.8%, Busovaca 22.0%, Grude 33.8%) (Maps 12 and 13).

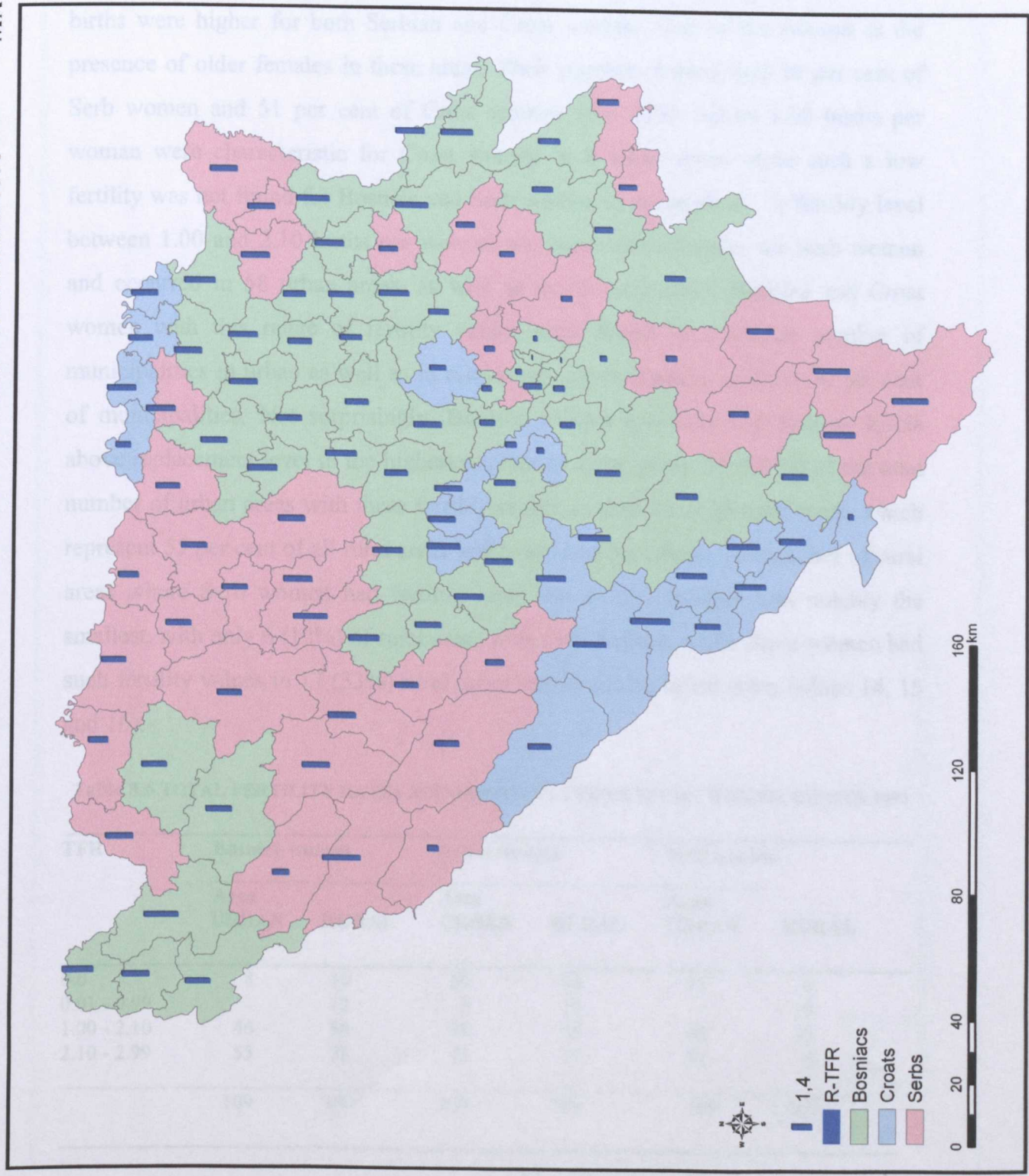
Table 8.5 TOTAL FERTILITY RATES ACCORDING TO ETHNIC MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION, CENSUS 1991

TFR	Municipalities with Bosniac majority		Municipalities with Croat majority		Municipalities with Serb majority	
	Area URBAN	RURAL	Area URBAN	RURAL	Area URBAN	RURAL
0.0	-	1	-	-	-	-
0.01 - 0.99	-	7	-	3	-	6
1.00 - 2.09	24	36	7	11	16	27
2.10 - 2.99	28	8	13	6	21	4
	52	52	20	20	37	37

Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Federal Office of Statistics.

After fertility differences have been analyzed for urban and rural areas according to the ethnic majority of the population in each municipality, more details are given in Table 8.6. The data consider ethnicity of women and total fertility rates regarding place of residence. As Table 8.6 shows, some differences are evident





Differential Fertility Classifications by Ethnicity and Region, 1991

among the three ethnic groupings of women. In the rural areas, women from municipalities Bosniac women had an average fertility rate of 0.00 births. In these municipalities there were also a significant number of some very old females as well as elderly males. The fertility rates were higher for both Serbs and Croats.

presence of older females in these municipalities. The fertility rate per cent of Serb women and 51 per cent of Croats. The fertility rate per woman was 1.00 for Bosniacs and 1.00 for Croats. The fertility rate between 1.00 and 1.40 was 1.00 for Bosniacs and 1.00 for Croats.

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of the number of women. The fertility rate per woman was 1.00 for Bosniacs and 1.00 for Croats. The fertility rate between 1.00 and 1.40 was 1.00 for Bosniacs and 1.00 for Croats.

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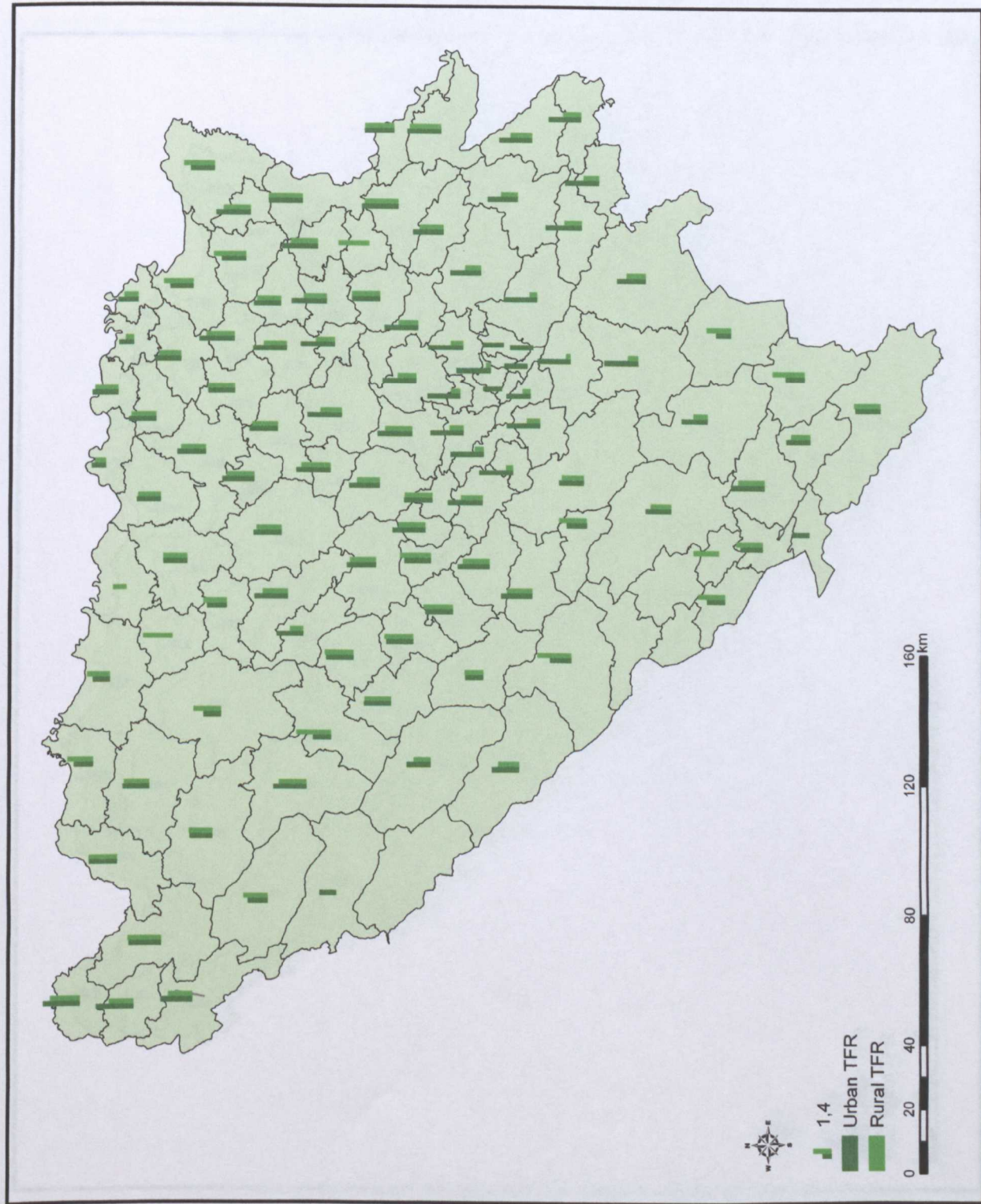
of the number of women. The fertility rate per woman was 1.00 for Bosniacs and 1.00 for Croats. The fertility rate between 1.00 and 1.40 was 1.00 for Bosniacs and 1.00 for Croats.

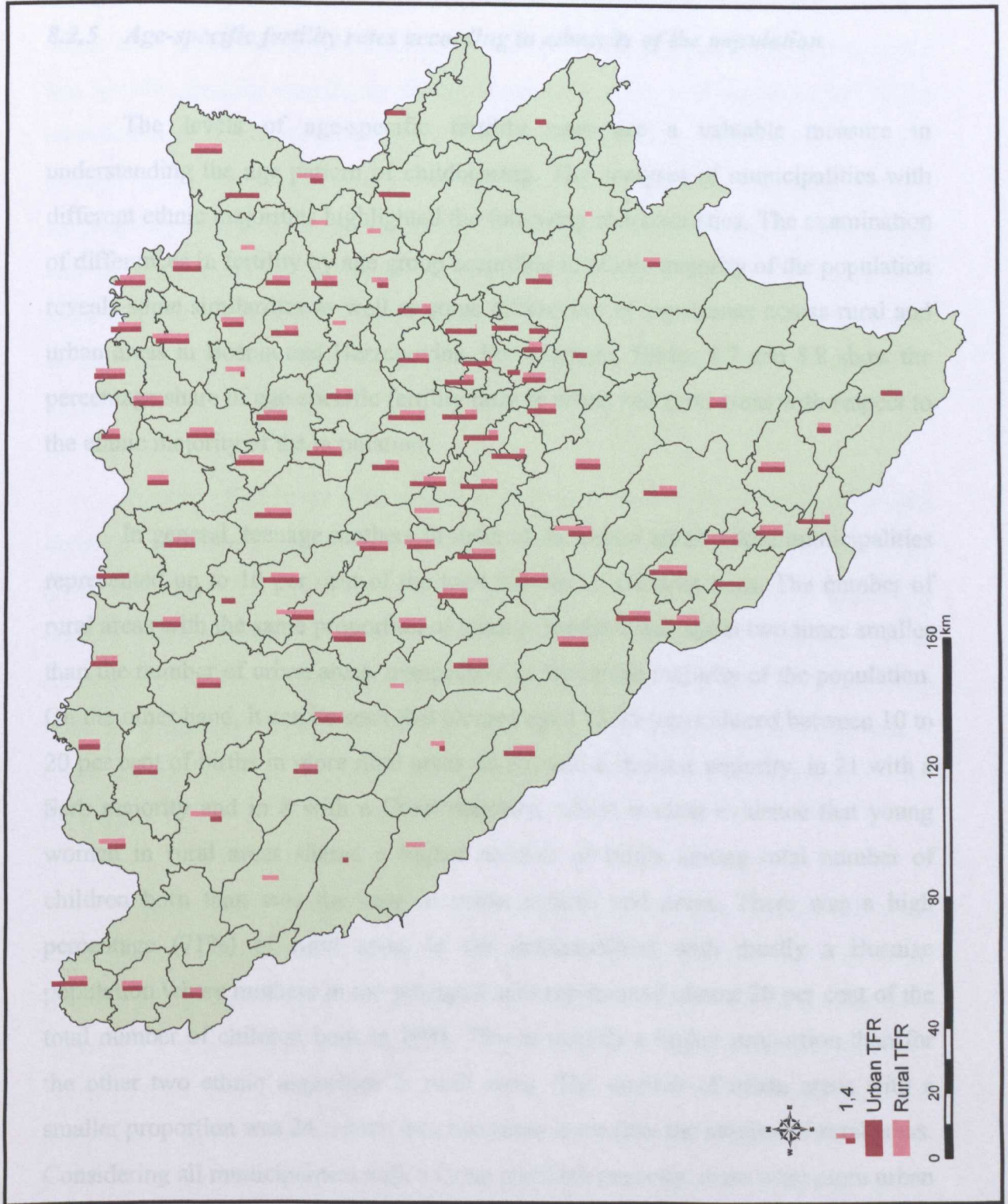
among the three ethnic groupings of women. In only eight urban areas of municipalities Bosniac women had no children born and hence a total fertility rates of 0.00 births. In these municipalities there were with almost no Bosniacs, except some very old females as well as elderly males. The numbers of urban areas with no births were higher for both Serbian and Croat women. One of the reasons is the presence of older females in these areas. Their numbers represented 30 per cent of Serb women and 51 per cent of Croat women. The TFRs below 1.00 births per woman were characteristic for Croat women in 8 urban areas while such a low fertility was not found for Bosniac and Serb women in urban areas. A fertility level between 1.00 and 2.10 births per woman was more characteristic for Serb women and occurred in 58 urban areas, as well as in 75 rural areas. Bosniac and Croat women with this range of fertility values were found in a smaller number of municipalities in urban as well as in rural areas, approximately in about 30 per cent of municipalities. Not surprisingly, Bosniac women generally had fertility levels above replacement level in the highest number of urban areas, 55 (40 %) of the total number of urban areas with these fertility levels, as well as in 28 rural areas, which represent 55 per cent of all rural areas with such fertility values. The number of rural areas where Serb women had fertility rates above 2.10 children was notably the smallest, with only 6 (12%) of rural areas with such fertility, while Croat women had such fertility values in 17 (33%) rural areas and 42 (31%) urban areas (Maps 14, 15 and 16).

Table 8.6 TOTAL FERTILITY RATES ACCORDING TO ETHNICITY OF WOMEN, CENSUS 1991.

TFR	Bosniac women		Croat women		Serb women	
	Area URBAN	RURAL	Area URBAN	RURAL	Area URBAN	RURAL
0.0	8	10	20	23	11	9
0.01 - 0.99	-	12	8	13	-	19
1.00 - 2.10	46	59	39	56	58	75
2.10 - 2.99	55	28	42	17	41	6
	109	109	109	109	109	109

Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Federal Office of Statistics.





These findings support the view that ethnic-religious affiliation in particular influences child bearing behaviour and effective reproductive decision making and offers the opportunity to mark some differences among women of the three major ethnic groups.

8.2.5 Age-specific fertility rates according to ethnicity of the population

The levels of age-specific fertility rates are a valuable measure in understanding the age pattern of childbearing. The analyses of municipalities with different ethnic majorities highlighted the following characteristics. The examination of differences in fertility by age group according to ethnic majority of the population reveals some similarities as well as some differences of experience across rural and urban areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina. For example, Tables 8.7 and 8.8 show the percentage share of age-specific fertility rates in urban and rural areas with respect to the ethnic majority of the population.

In general, teenage mothers in most of the urban areas within municipalities represented up to 10 per cent of the total number of children born. The number of rural areas with the same proportion of teenage mothers was about two times smaller than the number of urban areas, irrespective of the ethnic majority of the population. On the other hand, it can be seen that women aged 15-19 years shared between 10 to 20 per cent of births in more rural areas: in 37 with a Bosniac majority, in 21 with a Serb majority and in 8 with a Croat majority, which is clear evidence that young women in rural areas shared a higher number of births among total number of children born than was the case in urban centres and areas. There was a high percentage (71%) of rural areas in the municipalities with mostly a Bosniac population where mothers in the youngest ages represented almost 20 per cent of the total number of children born in 1991. This is notably a higher proportion than for the other two ethnic majorities in rural areas. The number of urban areas with a smaller proportion was 24, which was two times more than the number of rural areas. Considering all municipalities with a Croat and Serb majority, there were more urban and rural areas where women in the 15-19 age group had a lower proportion (up to

10%) in giving birth. In the municipalities with a Serb majority, young mothers in more rural (21) than urban (5) areas accounted for between 10-20 per cent of births.

However, women aged 20-24 had a high percentage (from 20 to 50 per cent or more) of the total number of births. Tables 8.7 and 8.8 show more urban areas where each ethnic majority shared 20-30 per cent or 30-40 per cent of births, while age specific fertility was higher in the more rural areas, and women aged 20-24 represented more than 40 per cent of births. The situation was somewhat different for women aged 25-29, depending on the ethnic majority in the municipalities. In the municipalities with a Bosniac majority, women aged 25-29 accounted for between 30 and 40 per cent in 45 (87%) urban areas, with a lower share (10-30%) in more rural areas 47 (91%). Women in some urban areas, about 20 per cent of them with a Croat or Serb majority, had a higher percentage share (40-50%) of the total number of births.

In more urban areas with a Bosniac majority, women 25-29 years old were a higher proportion than those aged 20-24, while in rural areas women in younger age groups accounted for more births (between 40 and 50% of total births) than older ones. A similar situation occurred in urban and rural areas for the two other ethnic majorities in the population, but urban fertility was higher where Serbs were the majority population. The most optimal ages for giving birth in urban areas with a Croat majority were 25-29, while the age group 20-24 was the most reproductive for rural areas.

Croat majority municipalities had a smaller urban fertility decline than other municipalities for women aged 30-34. There is a narrowing of fertility differences evident among those aged 30-34 and 35-39 in urban areas with Croat and Serb majorities. On the other hand fertility declined among older women (40-44 and 45-49 years) in both urban and rural areas with the same majority of the population as in those with a Bosniac majority. These results are suggestive of a shorter life span of fertility for Croat and Serb women than for Bosniac women. A somewhat longer fertility life span was the case especially for Bosniac women in rural areas.

Women aged 30-34 years in both urban and rural areas (65% and 25% respectively) within Croat majority municipalities had a higher share (between 20 and 40 per cent) of the total number of births compared with Serb and Bosniac women in urban and rural areas. In the municipalities where Bosniacs and Serbs were in the majority, women aged 30-34 had a higher representation in urban than in rural areas. Women in the 35-39 age group had a slightly higher share in child bearing in urban areas with a Serb majority. Women aged 40-44 and 45-49 in municipalities with a Bosniac majority were represented in more urban and rural areas than was the case in other municipalities. The lower share of births was more emphasized in urban than in rural areas. In the municipalities with a Serbian majority, the fertility decline among women by the end of the reproductive period was the most obvious.

Table 8.7 AGE SPECIFIC FERTILITY RATES ACCORDING TO ETHNIC MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION (% of areas)

%	Municipalities with Bosniac majority		Municipalities with Croat majority		Municipalities with Serb majority	
	Area		Area		Area	
	URBAN	RURAL	URBAN	RURAL	URBAN	RURAL
15-19						
0	-	8	-	10	-	3
0-9.9	65	21	75	45	86	40
10-19.9	35	71	25	40	14	57
20-29.9	-	-	-	5	-	-
30-39.9	-	-	-	-	-	-
40-49.9	-	-	-	-	-	-
50 <	-	-	-	-	-	-
20-24						
0	-	6	-	-	-	-
0-9.9	-	-	-	5	-	-
10-19.9	-	2	-	-	-	-
20-29.9	29	8	40	10	16	11
30-39.9	69	46	60	60	62	43
40-49.9	2	37	-	20	22	43
50 <	-	2	-	5	-	3
25-29						
0	-	4	-	-	-	3
0-9.9	-	-	-	-	-	-
10-19.9	-	54	-	5	3	3
20-29.9	12	37	30	15	19	43
30-39.9	87	2	45	75	65	46
40-49.9	2	4	20	-	14	5
50 <	-	-	5	5	-	-
30-34						
0	-	6	-	5	-	-
0-9.9	4	12	-	10	3	30
10-19.9	69	71	35	60	62	57
20-29.9	25	10	60	20	35	11
30-39.9	2	2	5	5	-	-
40-49.9	-	-	-	-	-	-
50 <	-	-	-	-	-	3
35-39						
0	-	6	-	11	-	3
0-9.9	98	90	80	79	62	91
10-19.9	2	2	20	5	38	6
20-29.9	-	2	-	5	-	-
30-39.9	-	-	-	-	-	-
40-49.9	-	-	-	-	-	-
50 <	-	-	-	-	-	-
40-44						
0	13	13	45	15	30	22
0-9.9	87	87	55	85	70	78
10-19.9	-	-	-	-	-	-
20-29.9	-	-	-	-	-	-
30-39.9	-	-	-	-	-	-
40-49.9	-	-	-	-	-	-
50 <	-	-	-	-	-	-
45-49						
0	81	71	85	75	84	84
0-9.9	19	29	15	25	16	16
10-19.9	-	-	-	-	-	-
20-29.9	-	-	-	-	-	-
30-39.9	-	-	-	-	-	-
40-49.9	-	-	-	-	-	-
50 <	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 8.8 AGE SPECIFIC FERTILITY RATES ACCORDING TO ETHNIC MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION (number of areas)

%	Municipalities with Bosniac majority		Municipalities with Croat majority		Municipalities with Serb majority	
	Area		Area		Area	
	URBAN	RURAL	URBAN	RURAL	URBAN	RURAL
15-19						
0	-	4	-	2	-	1
0-9.9	24	11	15	9	32	15
10-19.9	18	37	6	8	5	21
20-29.9	-	-	-	1	-	-
30-39.9	-	-	-	-	-	-
40-49.9	-	-	-	-	-	-
50 <	-	-	-	-	-	-
20-24						
0	-	3	-	-	-	-
0-9.9	-	-	-	1	-	-
10-19.9	-	1	-	-	-	-
20-29.9	15	4	8	2	6	4
30-39.9	36	24	12	12	23	16
40-49.9	1	19	-	4	8	16
50 <	-	1	-	1	-	1
25-29						
0	-	2	-	-	-	1
0-9.9	-	-	-	-	-	-
10-19.9	-	28	-	1	1	1
20-29.9	6	19	6	3	7	16
30-39.9	45	1	9	15	24	17
40-49.9	1	2	4	-	5	2
50 <	-	-	1	1	-	-
30-34						
0	-	3	-	1	-	-
0-9.9	2	6	-	2	1	11
10-19.9	36	37	7	12	23	21
20-29.9	13	5	12	4	13	4
30-39.9	1	1	1	1	-	-
40-49.9	-	-	-	-	-	-
50 <	-	-	-	-	-	1
35-39						
0	-	3	-	2	-	1
0-9.9	51	47	16	15	23	34
10-19.9	1	1	4	1	14	2
20-29.9	-	1	-	1	-	-
30-39.9	-	-	-	-	-	-
40-49.9	-	-	-	-	-	-
50 <	-	-	-	-	-	-
40-44						
0	7	7	9	3	11	8
0-9.9	45	45	11	17	26	29
10-19.9	-	-	-	-	-	-
20-29.9	-	-	-	-	-	-
30-39.9	-	-	-	-	-	-
40-49.9	-	-	-	-	-	-
50 <	-	-	-	-	-	-
45-49						
0	42	37	17	15	31	31
0-9.9	10	15	3	5	6	6
10-19.9	-	-	-	-	-	-
20-29.9	-	-	-	-	-	-
30-39.9	-	-	-	-	-	-
40-49.9	-	-	-	-	-	-
50 <	-	-	-	-	-	-
	52	52	20	20	37	37

Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Federal Office of Statistics.

8.2.6 Age structure of women and women's share of births according to age and place of residence

As noted earlier, place of residence is usually associated with number of children. Table 8.9 presents the differentials in age structure by one of the women's background characteristics, which is in this case is place of residence. The population age structure is an important demographic characteristic that affects total fertility rate as well as age specific fertility rates (ASFRs). The data show a very high proportion of adolescent and young women aged 20-24 as well as women aged 25-29 in the rural female population.

Table 8.9 THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE SHARE OF PARTICULAR AGE GROUP AMONGST WOMEN AGED 15-49

Age groups	Municipalities Area	
	URBAN	RURAL
15-19	2	46
20-24	-	29
25-29	13	21
30-34	69	11
35-39	25	2
40-44	-	-
45-49	-	-
	109	109

Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Federal Office of Statistics.

The number of rural areas with the highest proportion of women in the 15-19 age group was 46, while there were 29 rural areas where women aged 20-24 had the highest share. Among these rural areas 17 of them had a total fertility rate above replacement level (from 2.12 to 2.81 respectively). This appears to have been alongside some other and various conditions, a consequence of the notably high number of women in their twenties, which are the optimal years for child bearing.

In contrast, the number of women who were in the age groups 15-19 and 20-24 and living in urban areas was much smaller than was the case with older women. Urban women aged 15-19 comprised 6.2 per cent of the fertile female population in Neum, ranging to 21.4 per cent in Ljubuski (with TFR 2.52 and 2.06, respectively), while women aged between 20-24 years represented 9.7 per cent of the total number of fertile women in Srbac, ranging to 18.2 per cent in Cazin (with TFR 2.41 and 2.94 respectively).

As can be seen, the dominant age group amongst urban women was those aged 30-34. This was the situation in 69 municipalities, with 20 of these municipalities having 20 per cent or more women in this age group. In the urban area of Neum they comprised 29.5 per cent of the female population and accounted for 28.9 per cent of the births (the highest share was 36.8 per cent of births by women aged 25-29). This highest share was accounted for women aged 35-39 in 25 urban areas of the municipalities where the proportion ranged from 17.0 per cent in Glamoc to 21.2 per cent in Olovo. On average, women in the age group 35-39 did not produce a high percentage of births among women in reproductive ages (slightly more than 5 % in 39 rural areas and in 59 urban areas). However, the proportion between 5 and 10 per cent among all births can be considerable. This share of births with more than 10 per cent appears to have been a consequence of the higher proportion of women in the same age group in these municipalities. On the other hand, women aged 30-34 had the highest proportion in only 11 rural areas, while those in the age group 35-39 in only two rural areas with low TFRs (Sarajevo Sari grad 0.22 and Tuzla 1.56). As can be seen in Table 8.9 women in the age groups 40-44 and 45-49 were not numerous in either in urban or rural areas.

Table 8.10 shows the proportion of women in child bearing according to their age and place of residence. The estimated proportion of births for young women was more significant in rural than in urban areas. Women aged 15-19 in about 60 per cent of rural areas had a high proportion (10-20%) of the total number of births. In contrast, women in the optimal ages for child bearing (20-24 and 25-29 years) shared a high (30-50%) percentage of births in twice as many urban areas as rural areas.

Although there were more urban than rural areas where women aged 30-34 and 35-39 years participated in child bearing with a high percentage, the fertility life span is longer in rural areas. In fact, women above the age of 40 had more births in rural than urban areas.

Table 8.10 BIRTHS ACCORDING TO AGE OF WOMEN AND PLACE OF RESIDENCE

Age group		Per cent %								
		0	0-5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-30	30-40	40-50	more than 50
		Number of areas								
15-19	U	-	35	43	25	6	-	-	-	-
	R	7	10	26	41	25	-	-	-	-
20-24	U	-	-	-	-	-	29	72	8	-
	R	3	1	-	1	10	54	38	2	-
25-29	U	-	-	-	-	1	19	79	10	-
	R	3	-	-	-	3	45	52	4	2
30-34	U	-	-	4	26	14	39	-	-	-
	R	4	-	19	49	21	16	-	-	-
35-39	U	-	49	54	6	-	-	-	-	-
	R	6	62	35	6	-	-	-	-	-
40-44	U	29	80	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	R	19	88	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
45-49	U	91	18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	R	84	25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Federal Office of Statistics.

Table 8.11 shows the number of urban and rural areas where women of different ethnicity had the highest age specific fertility rates, as well as the number of areas with no births by women of particular ethnicity. It appears that Bosniac women had the highest age specific fertility rates among women aged 20-24 in more than 70 per cent of urban areas and in an even higher percentage of rural areas. Age specific fertility rates were more similar among Croat and Serb women in the two age groups from 20-24 and 25-29 years, the optimal ages for child bearing. On the other hand, the presence of more areas with higher age specific fertility rates for Croat and Serb women aged 25-29 years compared with women aged 20-24 years direct a conclusion that women belonging to these two ethnicities gave birth at a later age in more municipalities than Bosniac women.

Table 8.11 NUMBER OF URBAN AND RURAL AREAS ACCORDING TO THE HIGHEST ASFRs

Age group	Total		Bosniac women		Croat women		Serb women	
	Area URBAN	Area RURAL	Area URBAN	Area RURAL	Area URBAN	Area RURAL	Area URBAN	Area RURAL
15-19	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
20-24	77	76	76	80	44	43	49	62
25-29	32	31	25	17	42	38	47	35
30-34	-	2	-	3	2	2	2	4
35-39	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-
40-44	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
45-49	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TFR=0	-	-	8	10	19	24	1	8
	109	109	109	109	109	109	109	109

Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Federal Office of Statistics.

8.3 Conclusion

By analyzing the data and possible factors that have contributed to fertility values, particular differences depending on socio-economic variables are marked. The aim was to establish the relationship between fertility and place of residence, but ethnicity is also cited as an important part of the explanation of group variation in reproductive behaviour. Beside the differences in total fertility rates that were found, there was considerable diversity across the country in terms of urban-rural differences in age specific fertility rates. While there was some evidence of regional patterns to the differences by place of residence, it does appear, at least broadly, that there were some systematic differences in fertility levels according to where a municipality was with respect to the fertility transition. In particular, those municipalities in which overall fertility was above replacement level (e.g., TFR of 2.10 or greater) frequently experienced little change in fertility over time.

More generally, factors relevant to understanding the differences by place of residence presumably play an important role as well in contributing to fertility levels. That is, the proportion of women of reproductive age in the total female population, age structure, ethno-religious affiliation and the extent of urbanization combined with income constraints and others should all impact on fertility.

Differential fertility patterns in 1991 can be related to the demographic transition in Bosnia and Herzegovina and its phenomena which have the following characteristics. The demographic transition has changed many of the characteristics of the population: the population age structure, migration flows and their intensity, economic structure of the population, the level of urbanization etc. During the 1953-1991 period the proportion of the young population (0-14 years) declined from 37 per cent to 23 per cent in the total population. Bosnia and Herzegovina had the fastest aging of the population among the former Yugoslav republics during the same period.

The process of intensive de-ruralization or decline in the total rural population of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the second half of the 20th century came

exclusively as a result of migration from rural to urban areas. In particular, this weakened overall demographic development especially in rural areas. Due to the characteristic migration patterns by age and sex, migration had a substantial impact on the change to the age structure of the rural population towards rapid demographic ageing (Avramov 1993; Antonovic, 1999).

As noted, higher total fertility rates in more urban than rural areas as well as a higher average number of children per woman in urban areas (+0.54) was characteristic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In fact, migration and fertility as (potentially) interrelated processes lead us to suggest that migration has had a notable impact on lower fertility in rural areas. Long (1972) demonstrated that married couples without children are more geographically mobile than married couples with children, where mobility is even more restricted during school ages. Children create ties with a current location and within the members of the family itself, and this can hamper migration. If a family has to move, the net family gain will be evaluated, instead of personal gain (Mincer, 1978).

Mass migration by the rural population to cities and the transition from agricultural to non-agricultural activities has had a series of negative demographic, sociological, cultural and economic consequences. Urban population during the period 1953-1991 increased from 16.3 per cent to 39.5 per cent. At the same time the migrant population from rural areas kept some of their traditional family lifestyle and fertility behaviour. So, in many cases migrant wives were unemployed and stayed at home with the children while husbands earned money for the family. In some ways these families had 'relief circumstances' in organizing their living conditions. Generally, they moved from the village to small towns or city suburbs, and only very rarely to inner urban areas, and hence they were able to continue with some agricultural activity (e.g. growing vegetables), at least enough for the family itself. On the other hand they also had benefits reflected in high quality agricultural products they received from their relatives who had remained in the countryside. So, this contributed to the difference in the cost of living expenses for rural-urban migrants compared with urban residents. The important role of economic resources

and lifecycle events in such a context seems to guide fertility behaviour and contributed to narrowing the differences in fertility levels between the urban and rural population.

Differentiation of rural settlements was caused not only by the physical and geographical specificities and the inherited social characteristics, but also by very significant changes in the process of depopulation, and spatial and demographic polarization. The common feature of most of the rural settlements in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the period from 1953 to 1991 was a strong increase in population decline due to long-term migratory movements and unfavourable trends in natural movement (rapid decline in fertility and increase in mortality). The number of rural settlements with population decline increased, and in 1991 reached almost 50 per cent of the total number of settlements in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The seriousness of the problem initiated by relocation of the rural population was aggravated by many years of insufficient child bearing and depopulation in some parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina. So, there were 21 municipalities with a very small number of children born in 1991 (less than 100 children in each) in rural areas. The common characteristics of these municipalities were regional membership of those areas experiencing the process of intensive de-ruralization and rural-urban migration (Western Bosnia, Eastern Bosnia and Southern Herzegovina). Low fertility in the afore-mentioned rural areas led in general to rural areas having lower fertility than urban areas.

The findings underline the important role of industrialization and de-agrarianization in strongly influencing the changes in rural fertility behaviour and population structure. Abandonment of agriculture was emphasized, and the share of the agricultural population in the total population declined from 62.2 per cent in 1953 to 9.8 per cent in 1991. As a result of socio-economic transformation rural settlements were exposed to a strong demographic transformation, which was most readily observed in ageing and feminization of the population and the narrowing down of family structure to families made up of aged parents without an heir. Mass

relocation of rural population changed the age structure of the population. So, according to the 1991 Census, the proportion of women aged 20-49 in urban areas was 46.2 per cent, while in rural areas they comprised 41.7 per cent of the female population, but women aged 50 and over constituted 24.3 per cent of urban women and 29.0 per cent of rural women in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

There is clear evidence from the overview of data on fertility according to the ethnicity of women that significant differences exist. Ethnic affiliation to some extent corresponds with other socio-economic factors impacting on fertility level. The rate recorded for Bosniac women was higher than those registered for other ethnic groups. There was somewhat lower fertility recorded among Serb women than among Bosniac and Croat women, a more or less long-term characteristic in Bosnia and Herzegovina. On the other hand, a traditionally longer lifespan of fertility was related to Bosniac women. The effect of the socio-economic development on changes in fertility was conditional on the perceptions and customs of individual ethnic groups and their susceptibility to change.

In brief, then, a preferential treatment of industry created a discrepancy in the level of industrial and agricultural development leading to mass migration to urban areas. We know very little about if, and how, family planning and medical services function in small rural settlements far from urban places because the promotion of family planning has not been subjected to systematic or interdisciplinary research. However, the analysis of fertility rates points to the possible implementation of family planning programs in rural locations and to the adoption of such programs not only in cities but in rural settlements as well. In order to fully understand the fertility values, beyond the factors discussed above, we need to consider that such rural-urban fertility differences are the result of a strong upward tendency in population decline due to long-term migratory movements from rural areas to cities and the rapid increase in the number of small rural settlements. Unfortunately, that has contributed to the decline in the number of women of reproductive age in a huge number of small villages.

The main traditional incentives for high fertility, such as high infant mortality or economic advantages of a large number of children, have lost their significance in rural households. Thus, the analysis points the process of transformation in respect of the traditional reproduction behaviour and position of women.

9 THE EDUCATION-FERTILITY RELATIONSHIP IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA IN 1991

9.1 Introduction

Education has long been recognized as a crucial determinant influencing women's childbearing behaviour and fertility patterns. An extensive demographic literature is devoted to examining the role of female education in promoting sustained fertility decline (Cochrane, 1979; Becker, 1991). Women's education has been one of the most thoroughly studied determinants of fertility, with the perspective now often extended to include the closely related 'women's position', but the research area is still far from being exhausted.

The possible importance of 'mass education' was discussed by Caldwell (1980) many years ago, and has occasionally been touched on in more recent reviews (see e.g. Cleland and Jejeebhoy, 1996; Axinn and Barber, 2001; Jejeebhoy, 1992), but little empirical evidence has so far been accumulated. There is a need to assess how expansion of education influences fertility, and to estimate the effects of a woman's own education. The timing of childbearing is also an increasingly important aspect of fertility patterns in low fertility contexts. Most analyses of the timing of fertility - including those in Kohler et al. (2002) - emphasize the role of human capital investments in early adulthood, and in particular the substantial increases in females' investments in higher or professional education, in response to increased returns to human capital, improved access to the labour market and more effective contraception (see for instance Gustafsson, 2001; Goldin and Katz, 2002). Kohler et al. (2002) have argued in their analyses of declines of the total fertility rate (TFR) below 1.3 — or to lowest-low fertility levels — that the postponement of fertility in connection with these TFR declines is due to two factors: first, socio-economic incentives such as increased returns to education or high levels of youth unemployment that make late childbearing a rational decision for couples or individuals, and second, social interaction effects that reinforce the trends towards delayed childbearing through social learning, social influence and other feedback effects that affect the timing of fertility (Skirbekk et al., 2003).

Although the association between education and fertility was a constant theme in the early literature, the availability of data for the large number of countries that participated in the World Fertility Surveys (WFS) in the 1970s considerably improved our understanding of the relationship. The documentation of empirical patterns for a wide variety of settings inspired increasingly complex views: demographers no longer regarded the impact of education on fertility as automatic, but as conditioned by the level of development, social organization, gender stratification and cultural milieu of the surrounding society (Martin and Juarez, 1995).

Education is typically used as an index of the socio-economic position of women having on mind the difficulty of collecting data on income, occupation or social status. Moreover, education is frequently the only available indicator for the more comprehensive concept of women's status, which positions women vis-à-vis men in both the family and society (Mason, 1984; 1986). In explanations of the demographic transition, education has been used as an indicator of socio-economic progress: at the macro social level and at the micro social level educated women present forerunners of fertility patterns and smaller families. Martin and Juarez (1995) inspired by the research of Inkeless (1973) and Eisemon (1987) examine the three key dimensions of education and explore their implications for fertility behaviour.

- *Education as a "source" of knowledge.* They found knowledge transmission as probably the most explicit goal of schools. Schooling gives - literacy skills, enables pupils to process a wide range of information, and stimulates cognitive changes that shape an individual's interaction with the surrounding world.

- *Education as a "vehicle" of socio-economic advancement.* Education not only enhances cognitive abilities, it opens up economic opportunities and social mobility. In most societies, educational credentials are the primary criteria for entry into formal employment and for sorting individuals into the hierarchy of occupations.

- *Education as a "transformer" of attitudes.* Schooling's role in attitude formation goes far beyond the enhancement of conceptual reasoning and may lead to crucial

transformations in aspirations and, eventually, to questioning traditional beliefs and authority structures.

Educational attainment is linked to wealth and hence to the ability to "afford" more children but, more importantly, education is associated with greater perceived costs of children. Higher standard-of-living goals and higher educational aspirations for children usually lead to the decision to have a small family so that more resources can be allocated to each child. Further, education raises the opportunity costs of children by enhancing women's opportunities to pursue wage-earning activities, which are likely to compete with domestic and childrearing responsibilities.

So, there is no global relationship between education and fertility; rather, the linkages are both variable and complex. Before the discussion of these associations proceeds, however, some common associations between different levels of education and reduced fertility can be identified. First, the education to which we refer is formal academic schooling received by children and young people. The suggested associations with fertility should not be generalized to special adult education programs or training within the workplace. The discussion focuses on female education, although it is recognized that the influence of men is extremely important in reproductive decision making. Finally, this chapter focuses primarily on the linkages between education and fertility at the individual level, while bearing in mind that the education system also helps shape societal norms that can affect the fertility of women who do not themselves receive formal education.

9.2 The Education Attainment and Fertility in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1991

In order to investigate the relationship between education attainment and reproductive attitudes and behaviour in Bosnia and Herzegovina, analysis of the fertility rates among women with different education degrees at the municipality level is provided. The intention is to review the existing hypothesis that attributes reproductive differences to specific differences between higher educated and lower educated women in association with socio-economic changes and the fertility

transition. So, in this chapter this hypothesis is explored by examining data on levels of fertility extended by considerations of the education of the female population.

9.2.1 Illiterates in the Female Population

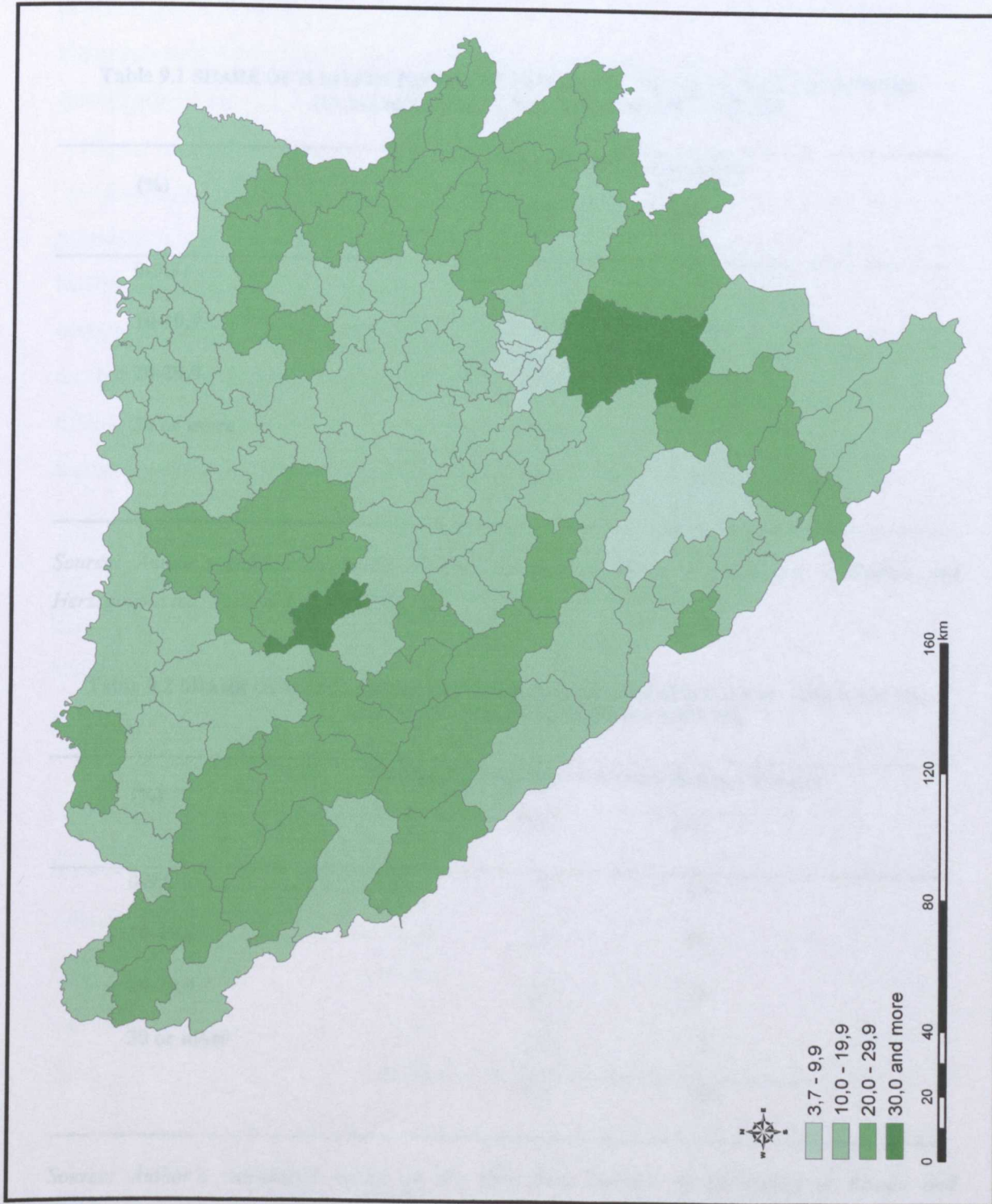
Within the post-socialist countries Bosnia and Herzegovina ranks relatively high in educational achievement. The efforts aimed at eliminating illiteracy have been quite successful, and primary schooling, though not universal, is widespread. However, the region is far from homogeneous, and a country's level of socio-economic development continues to influence the availability of educational resources and women's access to them.

The literacy issue has been mentioned and partly discussed previously, and it was observed that there was an obvious and sharp decline in the number of illiterate women during the thirty-year (1961-1991) period, by about 40 per cent in the total female population aged 15 or more. So, in 1991 about 80 per cent of women with no education were aged 50 and more. As explained earlier the situations among women with different educational attainments and among women in different age groups slightly vary (Map 17).

According to the 1981 Census there were 60 municipalities with a share of illiterates in the female population aged 10 or more of between 20-29.9 per cent. This means that more than 50 per cent of municipalities had such a high illiteracy rate in 1981, compared with slightly more than 30 per cent in 1991. The number of municipalities with more than 30 per cent of illiterate females dropped from 35 to 3 municipalities, which reflects the obvious efforts to acquire greater literacy in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the 1980s (Table 9.1). Somehow, though, the situation is different among the female population aged 10 to 49. In fact the number of municipalities with the highest percentage (more than 30 per cent) of illiterate women in those ages is much lower in 1991 (only 3) than in 1981 (70), as can be seen in Table 9.2. We can provide evidence on the extent to which illiteracy and high fertility are linked. Indeed, the 35 municipalities with an illiteracy rate of 30 or more

SHARE OF ILLITERATES IN THE FEMALE POPULATION AGED 10 OR MORE (in %), CENSUS 1991

MAP 17



per cent in 1981 maintained a fertility level close to or above replacement level in 1991, even with increased literacy in the ten-year period. Some of those municipalities with high TFRs in 1991 are Skender vakuf 2.46, Kalesija 2.39, Kotor Varos 2.31, Srebrenica 2.29 and Bratunac 2.07.

Table 9.1 SHARE OF ILLITERATES IN THE FEMALE POPULATION AGED 10 OR MORE (IN %), ACCORDING TO CENSUSES 1981 AND 1991

(%)	Number of municipalities	
	1981	1991
0-9.9	3	8
10-19.9	11	60
20-29.9	60	38
30 or more	35	3
	109	109

Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Federal Office of Statistics.

Table 9.2 SHARE OF ILLITERATES IN THE FEMALE POPULATION AGED 10 to 49 (IN %), ACCORDING TO CENSUSES 1981 AND 1991

(%)	Number of municipalities according to Censuses	
	1981	1991
0-9.9	5	29
10-19.9	12	59
20-29.9	22	18
30 or more	70	3
	109	109

Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Federal Office of Statistics.

According to the 1991 Census, at the municipality level the educational structure of the female population in Bosnia and Herzegovina looked as follows. Women who had no education represented 25.8 per cent of the total; women who completed primary school had the highest share (42 per cent) of the female population, while those with completed secondary school represented 25 per cent. At the same time women with university educational attainment accounted for 4.9 per cent (Table 9.3).

The expected consequence is a low number of live births among the female population with no schooling: only 915 or 1.4 per cent of the total number of live births. The compulsory education contributed to a higher number of mothers with completed primary and secondary education. So, the number of live births by those mothers was increased and participation in the total number of live births reached 45.4 per cent and 44.7 per cent respectively. At the same time the number of live births given by university educated mothers was 3 877 (5.9%).

Table 9.3 FEMALE POPULATION BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, CENSUS 1991

Women by level of education	Area		
	MUNICIPALITY	URBAN	RURAL
No schooling	417 246	81 399	335 847
Primary schooling	679 273	253 433	425 840
Secondary schooling	404 426	254 960	149 466
University education	79 423	66 925	12 498
Total	1 614 703	669 060	945 643

Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Federal Office of Statistics.

In 1991 in urban areas the percentage share of women with various educational attainments is somewhat different. Women with no schooling represented 12.2 per cent and most of them were aged 50 and above (81.5%), while women with completed primary and secondary schooling had shares of 37.8 and 38.1 respectively. University-educated women accounted for 10.0 per cent. The share of women aged 50 and above was smaller by increased educational attainment. So, 32.2 per cent of them were women educated only at primary level while 13.5 per cent and 14.4 per cent of them respectively were within secondary and university educated groups. The number of live births by female population with no schooling in urban areas was only 381 or 1.3 per cent. Women who had completed only primary school accounted for 8 417 live births or 29.1 per cent; 16 431 live births or 56.8 per cent were born by secondary-educated women and 3 219 or 11.1 per cent by women with university education (Table 9.4).

Table 9.4 LIVE BIRTHS BY MOTHERS WITH DIFFERENT EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, CENSUS 1991

Women by level of education	Area		
	MUNICIPALITY	URBAN	RURAL
No schooling	915	381	530
Primary schooling	29 417	8 417	20 752
Secondary schooling	28 978	16 431	12 378
University education	3 877	3 219	646
Total	64 769	28 913	34 756

Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Federal Office of Statistics.

9.2.2 Female Population by age according to educational attainment

An important concern is the age structure of females among each educational group. The situation is different at every educational level regarding the participation of women aged 50 and above, who usually do not participate in giving birth. In fact, 335 428 women (which is slightly more than 80 per cent) of those ages constituted female population who had no education. On the other hand, the situation is much different among females with primary and secondary education where women over 50 years of age accounted for 141 855 and 36 789 (20.8 per cent and 9 per cent) respectively. The smallest share was for those women with university education: only 10 271 or 2.5 per cent.

This educational age structure of women is a product of compulsory education and is notably different in comparison with the educational age structure in previous Census years. So, with no regard to place of residence (urban or rural) the number of women aged 15 to 30 years with no schooling comprised only 0.5% of the total female population and 2% of all women with no schooling. As the level of education increases until secondary level the number of women aged 15 to 30 is higher among the female population. So, women of those ages who completed primary education accounted for 35.3 per cent, whilst women with secondary educational level accounted for 54.5 per cent. Finally, university-educated women represented 24.0 per cent.

The female population with no schooling was mostly in the older age groups, as mentioned before. The smallest proportion of women with no education was aged from 15 to 30 years in both urban and rural areas. The number of live births was somewhat higher by mothers under 30 years old, than the number of live births by mothers aged from 30 to 49 years in urban areas while rural areas had the opposite situation (Table 9.6). This can be considered as a consequence of the longer fertility lifespan of women in rural areas.

Women aged 15-30 years with completed primary schooling in urban areas account for only 26.1% of women in urban areas. The main reason for such a small share is that women mainly have increased their number of years of schooling and most of them have at least a secondary level of education. The number of live births by those mothers is notably high (76.0%). In rural areas the numbers of women with completed primary schooling in both age groups were similar, but the number of live births is much higher by younger mothers (Tables 9.5 and 9.6).

Table 9.5 FEMALE POPULATION BY AGE (in %), CENSUS 1991

Women by level of education	Area (%)			
	URBAN		RURAL	
	15-30 age	30-49 age	15-30 age	30-49 age
No schooling	3.0	13.3	1.9	15.6
Primary schooling	26.1	40.3	40.8	43.4
Secondary schooling	42.4	42.9	75.0	21.9
University education	20.0	64.5	45.3	47.5
Total	28.9	40.0	32.2	29.7

Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Federal Office of Statistics.

In urban areas the percentage share of younger women as well as of older ones with completed secondary schooling is around 40%, with notably higher numbers of live births by younger mothers. The share of rural younger females who completed secondary schooling was much higher as well as the number of given live births. The higher percentage share of women aged from 30 to 49 years than the percentage of live births given by those mothers indicates that the duration of the period in which births occur declined by increasing level of mother's education. Among mothers with no education and mothers with primary or secondary

education, the shortest fertility lifespan was for women with the highest educational level.

Table 9.6 LIVE BIRTHS ACCORDING TO AGE OF MOTHERS (in %), ACCORDING TO 1991 CENSUS

Women by level of education	Area (%)			
	URBAN		RURAL	
	15-30 ages	30-49 ages	15-30 ages	30-49 ages
No schooling	56.7	38.3	45.7	52.8
Primary schooling	76.0	23.7	79.8	20.0
Secondary schooling	78.3	21.6	88.5	11.4
University education	49.0	50.9	65.2	34.4
Total	73.6	25.7	81.8	17.7

Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Federal Office of Statistics.

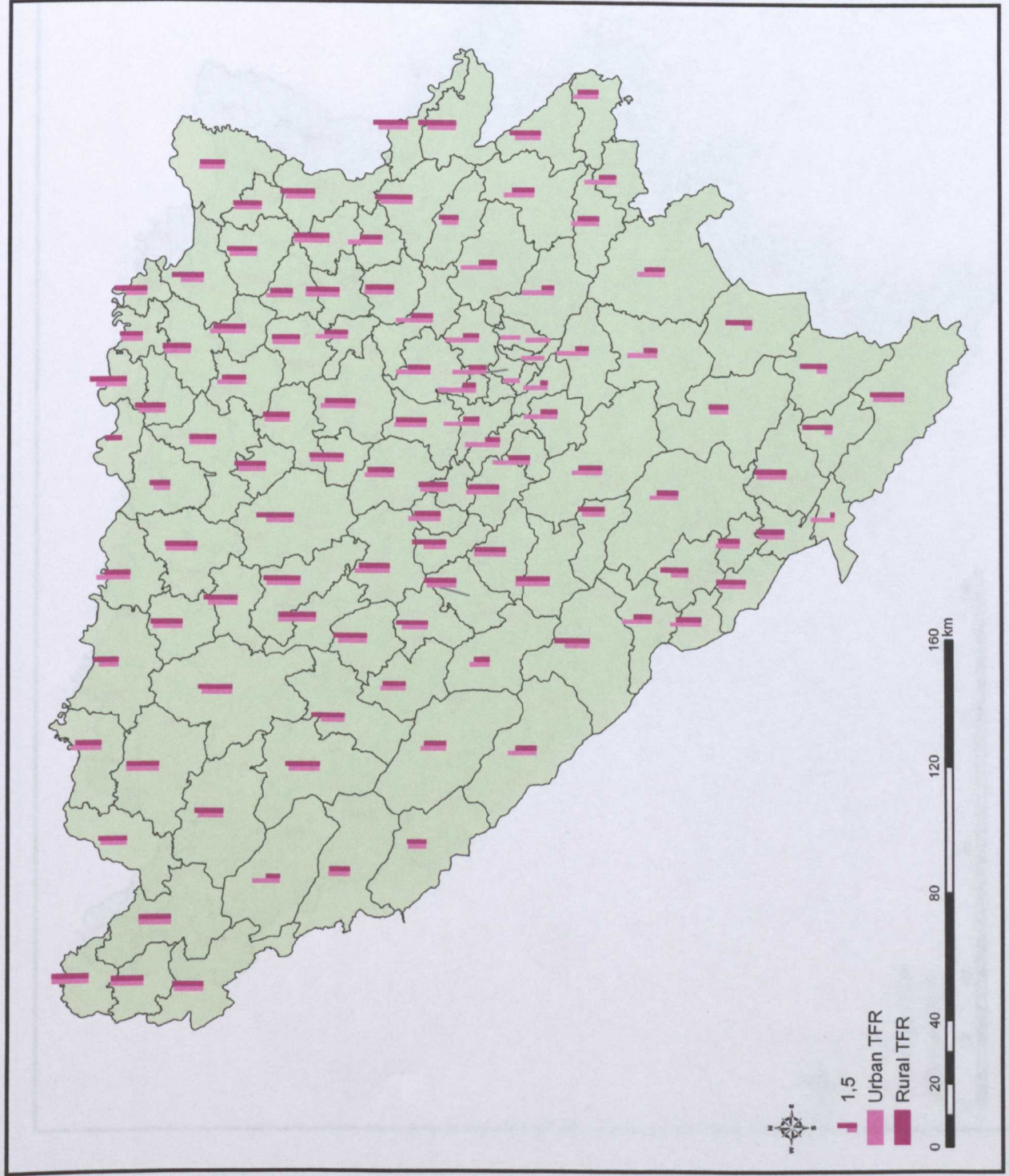
On the other hand, the university-educated urban female population aged from 30 to 49 years had a much higher share (64.5%) than those in younger age groups (20.0%), while the percentage share of both age groups of women with the same educational attainment in rural areas is almost the same. The higher number of university-educated women in the older age group is a consequence of the initiation and widespread launch of higher education in Bosnia and Herzegovina around two decades ago. It is also important to note that the number of these women was much higher among urban dwellers than among rural dwellers. So, the numbers of women (43 164) in the age group 30-49 who did receive tertiary education was more than seven times higher in urban than in rural areas (5 938). However, since educating women to the tertiary level continued to spread, the number of women aged 15-30 who had a rural place of residence was only around two times lower than the number of those women with an urban place of residence (5 659 and 13 379 respectively).

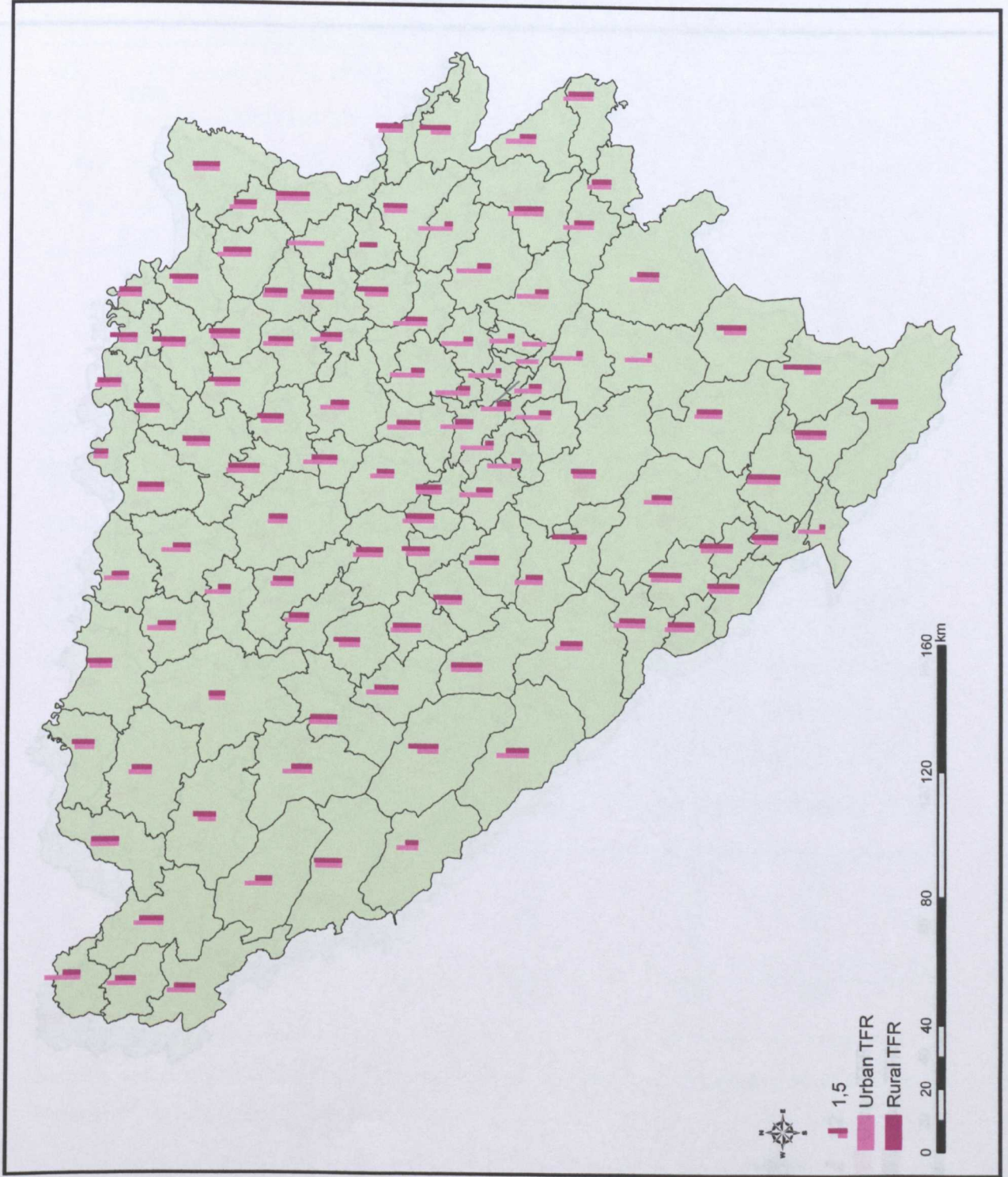
9.2.3 Fertility according to education of women (urban-rural)

Table 9.7 shows municipalities (urban and rural areas) in Bosnia and Herzegovina divided into four groups, with membership of each group as a value of TFR (between 0.00 births per woman and 2.99 births per woman). As can be seen there are 43 urban areas with no births by uneducated women, while there are 30 rural areas where TFR is 0.00 children per woman with no schooling. The main reason for this situation is the downward tendency in the number of uneducated women, especially in urban areas. At the same time urban areas with TFRs above the replacement level of women with no schooling represented 28 per cent within all municipalities, while rural areas accounted for only 2.8 per cent.

It has to be stressed that higher TFRs in more urban areas apply to only a very small number of women. In most of the urban areas just a few women were in no more than one or two age groups within the fertility span. This has an adverse effect on the true picture of fertility rates, because such a small number is insufficient from which to reach a general conclusion. This situation is also due to the lack of clear boundaries between urban and semi-urban or rural settlements as well as the absence of clear criteria regarding the classification of settlements (Maps 18,19 and 20).

Women with primary schooling have TFRs from 1.00-2.09 children per woman in the 59 rural areas, and fertility above replacement level in the 28 rural areas. On the other hand, there are 73 urban areas where women with the same educational level have fertility above replacement level. In addition there are a high number of urban areas with TFRs of more than two children per primary-educated woman. In 54 per cent of urban areas women with completed secondary schooling also have more than two children, which is a higher number than the number of rural areas (27). As was argued previously rural-urban migration needs to be taken into consideration, since it contributed to the high elderly population in rural areas as well as depopulation in some parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In rural areas within Sarajevo region and in some other parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, such as



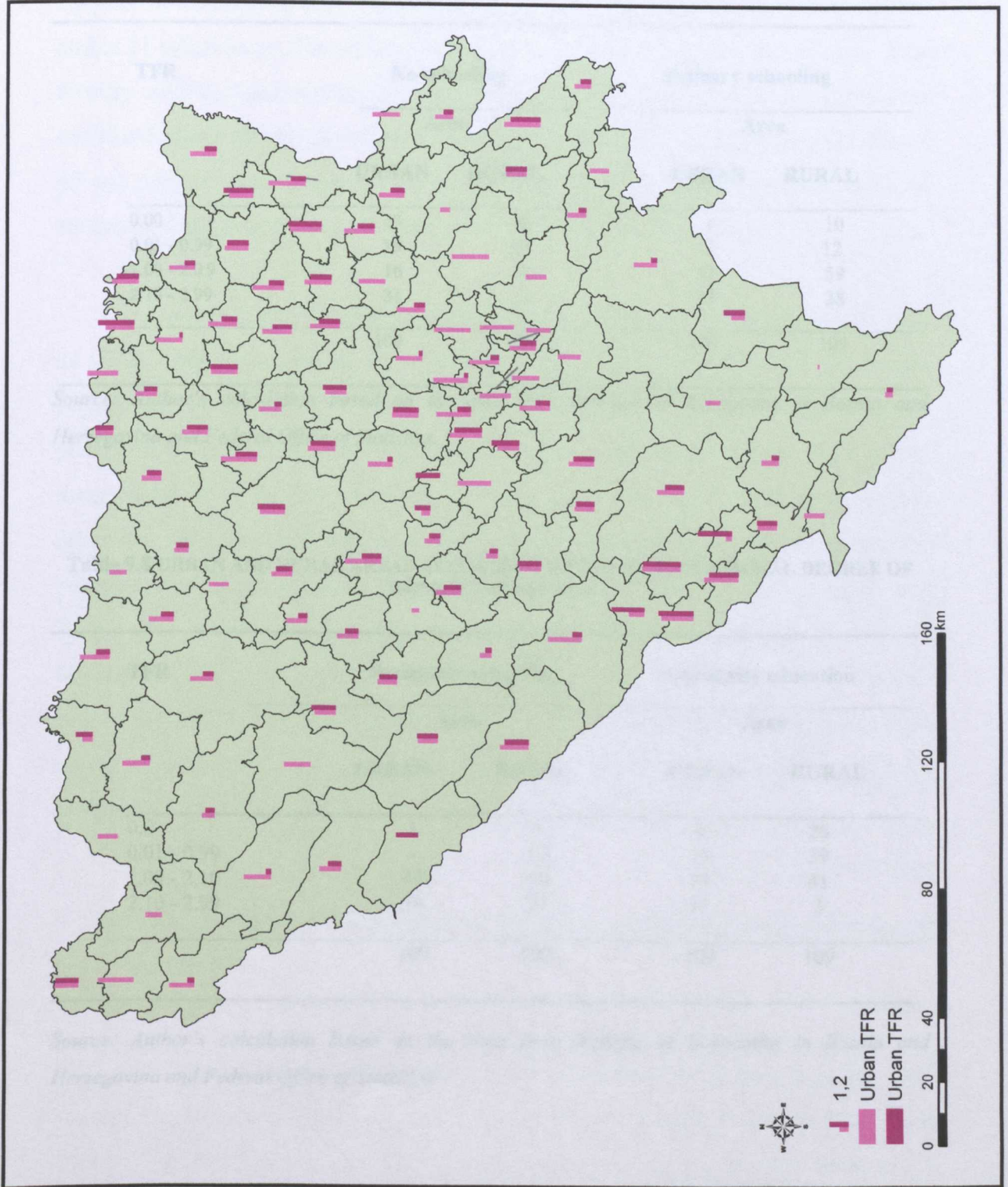


Southern and Western Herzegovina, where strong ethnic polarization existed and the age structure was unsuitable, the number of children born in 1990 was very small.

TABLE 9.7 URBAN AND RURAL AREAS AND CHANGE IN TOTAL FERTILITY RATES OF WOMEN, 1990-2009

MAP 20

TOTAL FERTILITY RATES OF WOMEN WITH UNIVERSITY EDUCATION – Urban and Rural Areas



Southern and Western Herzegovina, where depopulation was intensive and the age structure was unsuitable, the number of children born in 1991 was very small.

Table 9.7 URBAN AND RURAL AREAS ACCORDING TO TFR BY EDUCATIONAL DEGREE OF WOMEN, CENSUS 1991

TFR	No schooling		Primary schooling	
	Area		Area	
	URBAN	RURAL	URBAN	RURAL
0.00	43	30	1	10
0.01 - 0.99	19	54	3	12
1.00 - 2.09	16	22	32	59
2.10 - 2.99	31	3	73	28
	109	109	109	109

Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Federal Office of Statistics.

Table 9.8 URBAN AND RURAL AREAS ACCORDING TO TFR BY EDUCATIONAL DEGREE OF WOMEN, CENSUS 1991

TFR	Secondary schooling		University education	
	Area		Area	
	URBAN	RURAL	URBAN	RURAL
0.0	1	3	4	26
0.01 - 0.99	-	13	15	39
1.00 - 2.10	49	66	79	41
2.10 - 2.99	59	27	11	3
	109	109	109	109

Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Federal Office of Statistics.

The situation is slightly different with university-educated mothers. The small number (4) of urban areas where university educated women do not participate in fertility is expected, while women with university education have no fertility in 26 rural areas, which is also explicable bearing in mind that higher education usually can be obtained only in cities. TFRs are above replacement level in only 3 rural areas and in 11 urban areas. The smallest proportion of rural as well as of urban areas with fertility above replacement level by university-educated women confirms that fertility declines sharply in response to an increase in women's education. In almost 40 per cent of rural areas and 72 per cent of urban areas women with such an educational attainment have between 1 and 2.10 children per woman.

Attention can be focused on some of the characteristics of municipalities such as GDP \$ per capita, levels of urbanization and share of illiterates of the female population. Municipalities with a higher number of children per woman mainly possess low GDP \$ and urbanization level and a high illiteracy rate. Most of the urban areas with fertility close to or above the replacement level were weakly urbanized. The higher levels of fertility appear in small urban places where the percentage of illiterate female population is between 20-29.9 per cent or more than 30 per cent in 1991. In fact, 19 municipalities with over 30 per cent of illiterate females in 1981 had a decline in illiteracy rates of more than 10 per cent in the ten-year (1981-1991) period. At the same time 13 of those municipalities had TFRs at or above replacement level (for example Gradacac 2.11, Citluk 2.44, Gornji Vakuf 2.11, Srebrenik 2.31, Vlasenica 2.42).

9.2.4 Total Fertility rate according to mother's educational level and place of residence

It is obvious that women with a lower educational level have a higher than average number of children per woman (Table 9.9). Uneducated women have small TFRs (1.36 children per woman) in urban areas as well as in rural areas (1.73 children per woman) mainly as a consequence of the reduced number of women who

themselves had little or no education in 1991. Smaller representation of those women in the total female population was especially among women in younger ages as mentioned before. In accordance with the general ageing of the rural population and the depopulation tendency that occurs within rural settlements, especially in Western Bosnia and Eastern Herzegovina, the total fertility rates are notably lower in rural areas.

Table 9.9 TOTAL FERTILITY RATE ACCORDING TO MOTHER'S EDUCATIONAL LEVEL, CENSUS 1991

Women by level of education	average TFR	
	URBAN	RURAL
No schooling	1.36	1.73
Primary schooling	2.40	2.50
Secondary schooling	2.29	1.95
University education	1.61	1.20

Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Federal Office of Statistics.

Based on some interviews with staff in several non-governmental organizations ("Zene Zenama", "Lara", and "Medica") it can be assumed that uneducated women who live in a societal environment where a large proportion are literate, or where the average educational attainment is high, may have a fertility different from that of uneducated women elsewhere.

Differences in fertility levels among women with primary and university education are 0.8 children per woman in urban and 1.3 children per woman in rural areas. Further, there is a more emphasized decline in the number of children per woman among the female population with secondary and university educational attainment (0.68 in urban and 0.75 in rural areas) than among those with primary and

secondary attainment (0.11 and 0.55 respectively) of the female population (Table 9.9).

Change in reproductive models across educational attainment includes a significant fall of fertility for better-educated women. Analysis of the fertility behaviour among urban and rural women according to educational level shows that Bosnia and Herzegovina is affected by profound change in both the manner of family formation and in the type of structure within the family. However, that change has not occurred everywhere in the country in the same way or with the same timing.

9.3 Conclusion

The data presented above show some differences in the proportion of urban and rural areas with respect to female schooling level and fertility rates. Total fertility rates vary across urban and rural place of residence generally, but higher fertility rates in urban areas in addition could be explained by taking into consideration the facts that during data gathering some settlements with semi-urban or even rural features were classified as urban areas. In other words, the clear boundaries and criteria between urban and semi-urban settlements in Bosnia and Herzegovina do not exist so far. So, this situation also contributes to the fact that fertility is higher in urban than rural areas of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

On the other hand, the process of de-ruralization occurs ahead of urbanization, and rural populations situated in cities are connected in different ways with their place of origin, which is rural. So, necessarily these have some influence on the general demographic image of urban places, because some of its inhabitants maintain rural habits and type of family size as well as lifestyle.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, as in almost all European countries, more educated women have the lower numbers of children ever born than are found among uneducated women. The country as a whole is characterized by falling fertility, but also by significant differences in fertility levels in urban and rural areas, influenced by differences in educational attainment. Both completed secondary and tertiary

education tend to be associated with trends towards later age at marriage. In contrast with those who have only completed primary education, at the secondary level or above the relationship with fertility is always negative, and a marked decline in total fertility rates (TFRs) for women with higher levels of education is shown. Nevertheless, it is demonstrated clearly that for women with just a few years of education, there is little evidence of a systematic relationship between education and fertility.

There are several plausible reasons why women with education usually display a lower fertility than the uneducated. To summarize without pretending to produce a complete list of mechanisms, fertility desires have been thought to be affected by the individual woman's education because of several reasons:

- children's reduced contribution to domestic and agricultural work as a result of children's schooling, that might be encouraged by educated mothers;
- a stronger desire to spend more time caring for a child and to invest more in each child, not only in terms of education;
- educated women have greater economic power and gain more say in household decisions;
- the higher age at marriage among the better educated;
- women have more say in fertility, which they generally use to curb it;
- their knowledge about and acceptance of modern contraception, and their ability to use it efficiently, and also their more efficient use of traditional methods from the point view of better knowledge about their own body;
- women gain more equality and control over their own lives and control life options (e.g. marriage, divorce, sexuality, fertility patterns, freedom of movement);
- increased income controlled by women gives them self-confidence which helps them to obtain a voice in household decisions;
- the benefits of female education are enormously positive and affect the whole society (e.g. age of marriage, contraception, fertility, infant/child mortality, female paid modern sector employment, female earnings;

In sum, economically empowered females promoting their daughters' education comprise another effect that enhances development and national income growth, while freeing these daughters from a black future as ignorant "baby-making machines"(Blumberg,2005; King and Mason,2001).

An important pathway through which secondary education as well as the university educational level possibly can influence declines in fertility is by delaying marriage. The lower fertility of university educated women corresponds to the fact that they usually delay having children until after they have finished their educational careers. This strong effect of enrolment in education on the timing of fertility is caused by several factors, including:

- The incompatibility of education and childrearing,
- Increased risk of not completing education due to a birth and the high opportunity costs of failing to complete education,
- The desire to "establish" oneself in a career after completing education and entrance into the labour market before having a child, and
- Social norms that discourage childbearing while women (or couples) are still in education.

This effect of educational enrolment toward delaying childbirth has also been reinforced because the increase in the length of education occurred at the same time as other fundamental cultural and societal changes took place during the Demographic Transition that have resulted in a different status for women, a shift from traditional to individualistic values, and an increased focus on self-realization (Van de Kaa and Dirk 1987; Lesthaege 1998; Becker 1991; Schultz 1993). More educated women belong to groups with slightly different social norms than those of the less educated. Each of these factors can be described as 'women's autonomy' and has implications for it.

An important concern can be the impact of national but also of regional and local norms and culture. Bosnia and Herzegovina had no particularly strong and widespread state impact that alters childbearing norms across all social strata. One

could argue that Bosnia and Hercegovina provides an example of individual choice. Moreover, the individuals are affected by their normative and cultural context and impacts of such contextual factors vary with the individual's level of educational attainment.

As Lesthaeghe (1998) argued it can be concluded that in Bosnia and Herzegovina individual behaviours are not only influenced by factors strictly linked to current personal characteristics and life conditions and educational attainment, but are also the consequence of a decades-long change in customs and in social and economic development, that has transformed the background in which individuals form and implement their choices regarding the timing of marriage and childbearing.

After all, it is difficult to be sure whether the lower fertility of highly educated women can be ascribed to their education per se or to their other characteristics. However, it must be noted that education does not work in isolation to affect fertility. Indeed, increased education rarely occurs without concomitant changes to a society, as was the case in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The increase in educational attainment was followed by increased health services, enhanced communication, and better infrastructure that scaled down the difference between urban and rural living conditions. These factors occur but their effects cannot easily be disentangled.

10 THE EMPLOYMENT – FERTILITY RELATIONSHIP IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA IN 1991

10.1 Introduction

The relationship between fertility and female labour force participation is a longstanding question in demography. With recent theoretical literature in mind, my approach is based on trying to identify and present facts that will be useful in the challenge of modelling fertility decisions. Thus, I will, whenever possible, use variables that are closely linked to individual decisions of optimizing the number of children given the information that women have. Although limitations in the data restricted the ability to do this, the findings are of considerable interest. For example, only outcomes of planned fertility are available, not the plans themselves.

Researchers have argued that the life-cycle labour force participation of women is highly associated with their family choices. Traditionally, attempts at understanding the association of interrelationships of changes in the incidence and timing of marriage, the increase in female labour supply, and changes in the timing of births, and large increase in the investment in children through education have been conducted in both Sociology and Demography (Hareven, 1991; Galor and Weil, 2000). According to Moen and Wethington (1992) women's decisions about work might be viewed both on the macro- level because there are differences in the incidence, duration, rate, and timing in different cultures, and on a micro-level as individual agents making decisions. By delaying fertility, women are more likely to achieve higher education and occupational attainments (Elder, 1998). Family decision-making appears not to be guided exclusively by economic needs, but by cultural values as well, influenced by factors such as family history and ethnic origins (Hareven, 1991). Therefore, a number of factors must be considered in any study of the employment-fertility relationship.

In particular, conventional economic theory predicts that increases in the wage rates of women lead to increases in women's labour force participation on the one side, and decreases of fertility on the other side due to increased opportunity costs of children in combination with a low income elasticity of the number of

children (Becker 1981; Cigno 1991; Willis 1973). At the macro-level, this relation has been translated into the hypothesis that the total fertility and female labour force participation ratio (*FLFPR*) should be inversely related in cross-country studies. For instance, Ahn and Mira (2002), Engelhardt et al. (2004) and Kögel (2004) have shown that the cross-country correlation between the total fertility level and the *FLFPR* changed its sign in OECD countries during the mid 1980s and early 1990s. This finding is also confirmed in regression-based analyses (Brewster and Rindfuss 2000; Esping-Andersen 1999), where the labour force participation of women had a positive (and significant) influence on the total fertility in cross-sectional analyses of OECD countries in the 1990s, while comparable analyses for the 1970s revealed a negative influence.

Further, it can be argued that women's economic activity leads to a decrease in fertility of those working in higher prestigious occupations due to the conflict between the mother and work roles being less well perceived by working women in less prestigious occupations. The existing sociological hypothesis is drawn on the basis of this role incompatibility where emphasis is placed on the woman as a mother and as a worker. The more incompatible the two roles are, the more negative the employment-fertility relationship will be (Standing 1983). On the basis of various research findings, it is noted that the inverse relationship between work and fertility was more pronounced in the case of women engaged in more prestigious jobs. The authors attributed the decrease in fertility to the incompatibility with the maternal role. Their model is based on the hypothesis stating that if her two roles as mother and as worker are not compatible, an inverse relationship exists between work participation and fertility (El-Safety, 1993).

Due to a fixed time of work and no feasible way to raise children at the same time in the case of working women, a negative relationship between work and fertility exists. Where mothers engaged in a job can leave their child with relatives or in a day-care centre, the inverse relationship is weakened to some extent. From the other side, mothers working in agriculture who are self-employed may find little problem in raising their children. The reason is that they can adopt flexible working

hours or even may carry their young children to their work. So, the relationship between work and fertility may be further weakened by such arrangements (Galor, 2005).

Parts of Cramer's (1980) paper are a very useful addition to literature about the relationship between fertility and female labour force participation. He specified a dynamic model of fertility and female employment and found that child bearing has large short-range effects on work, while employment has small long-range effects on fertility. According to Budig (2003) evidence is clear that women in the paid labour force face lower fertility outcomes. The negative employment/fertility relationship is commonly explained by Becker's (1981) theory that the opportunity costs of women taking time out of the labour force in terms of time and lost wages discourage child bearing.

In all European countries the growth in female labour market participation has been accompanied by notable declines in fertility. European countries have adopted different combinations of policies that necessarily impact on work and fertility decisions, which enable comparison of similar families that are subject to different policy environments. Some countries have adopted a long optional parental leave period. In that case women can take care of their children full-time during the first three years after birth (e.g. France and Germany).

10.2 The Characteristics of Employment and Fertility level

The purpose in this chapter is to examine the relationship between female employment and fertility in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The aim is to determine whether females face a conflict between their reproductive and professional roles and if so, to assess the possibly varying forms of this conflict according to place of residence and occupation. In Bosnia and Herzegovina women engaged in jobs have similar possibilities for the child rearing practices as elsewhere. Bosnia and Herzegovina has not adopted such a long maternity leave period as that already mentioned. Usually mothers have had the possibility to stay at home for one year after childbearing. Cultural attitudes need to be considered, as well as traditional

behaviour, and also financial matters. It is a fact that a notable proportion of households still prefer informal child care, even when formal services are affordable. The most popular arrangement to take care of the young child when the mother is at work in the case of lower educated women is leaving the baby with the parents of the mother or of the father. In some cases it is the same arrangement even when the mother is highly educated and engaged in more prestigious occupations. Moreover, a nursery is the preferred solution in the case of better educated women. Day-care centres are also a popular arrangement for women, or better to say for parents that can afford it. This difference in child-rearing practices leads to a variation in the degree of satisfaction derived from the child-care arrangements which may strengthen or weaken the relationship of the role incompatibility with fertility in two different groups of women.

The rates of women in the paid labour force have increased over the second half of the twentieth century, from 14.9 per cent in 1953 to 33.1 per cent in 1991. The marked increase reached to the point where now the majority of all women and mothers are employed (Federal Office of Statistics 1996). At the same time, in Bosnia and Herzegovina women are postponing childbearing to later ages than ever before. In 1991 the average age of women giving childbirth was 26.1 years, and the fertility life span has become shorter. Despite a well-documented negative employment fertility relationship and continuing increases in the age at first birth for women, little is known about how work affects women's childbearing decisions. Do some occupational characteristics demand fertility postponement or discourage women from wanting (additional) children altogether?

Specifically, this chapter proposes to assess the relationship between economic activity and occupational characteristics and fertility levels. Also, it examines how occupational characteristics differ for women who live in urban and rural areas. Due to the substantial lack of information regarding ethnic differences on these topics despite widely varying labour force participation and family formation patterns, an emphasis is placed on examining these patterns for women of differing place of residence.

Further, important evidence is presented regarding trends in women's participation within the economically active population in 1991, and several interpretations of the differences in fertility across the country are presented as well as its rural-urban difference.

10.2.1 Economic Activity of the Population and Fertility Level

The participation of women and all the economically active population is considered, even if those results do not necessarily and directly impact on fertility preferences. However, the economic activity rate of the population contributes to better overviews of the economic development in each municipality that more or less influence the fertility level (Map 21).

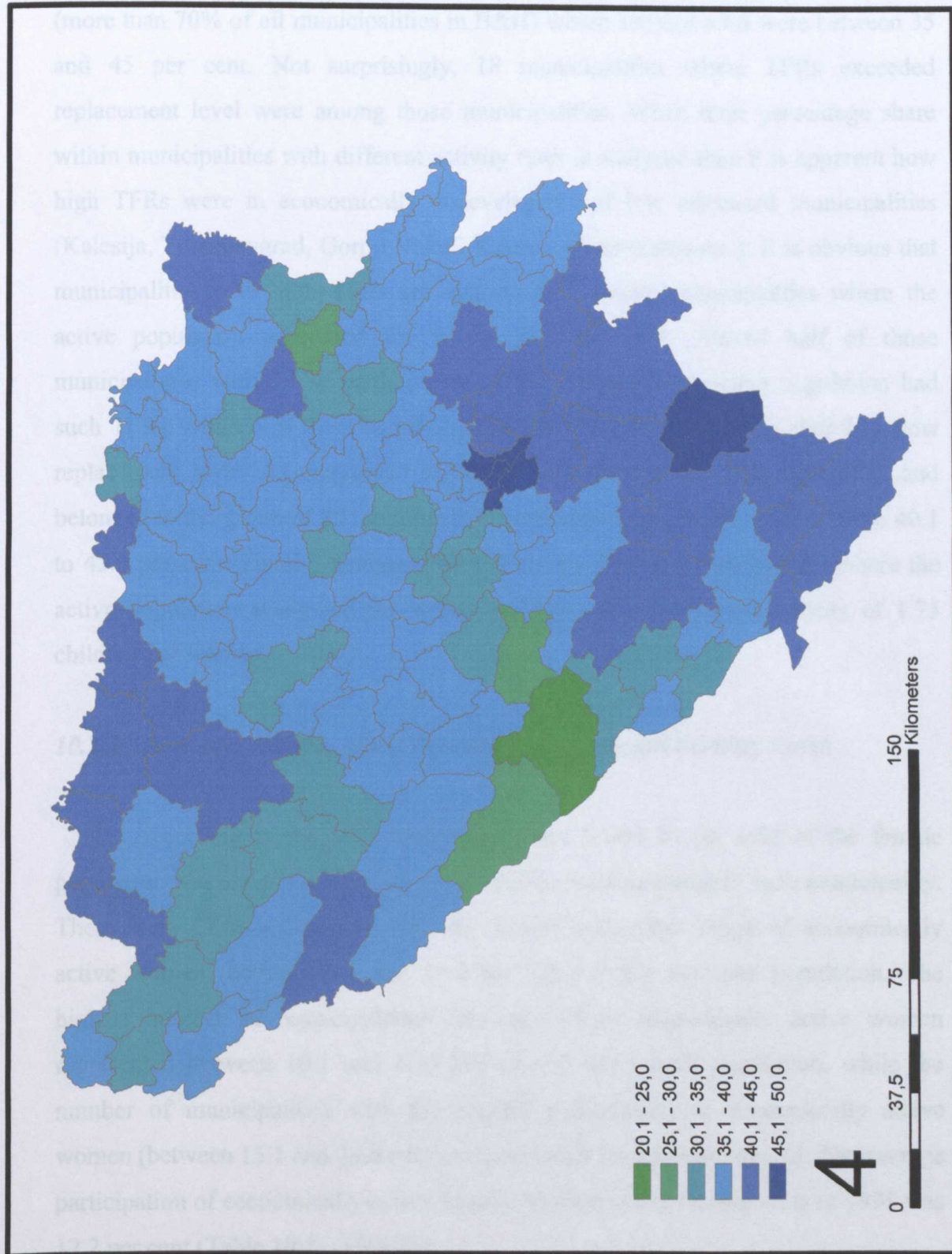
Table 10.1 MUNICIPALITIES ACCORDING TO PERCENTAGE SHARE OF ACTIVE POPULATION IN TOTAL POPULATION AND TOTAL FERTILITY RATES, CENSUS 1991

Economically active population (%)	Number of municipalities	Number of municipalities where TFR is 2.1 or more
20.1-25.0	1	1
25.1-30.0	3	1
30.1-35.0	20	9
35.1-40.0	55	9
40.1-45.0	25	2
45.1-50.0	5	-

Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Federal Office of Statistics.

In 1991 in Bosnia and Herzegovina the economically active population on average represented 37.9 per cent of the total population, with a range from 20 to 50 per cent in different municipalities (Table 10.1).

Tomislavgrad was the municipality with the lowest activity rate: no more than 21.2. Mostly, municipalities with a small proportion of active population (up to 30.0%) were areas of emigration. Some of them were experiencing the onset of the



process of depopulation and had low fertility (like Sanski Most 1.67 and Odzak 1.57 children per woman). In only 4 municipalities of Bosnia and Herzegovina did the active population account for less than 30.0 per cent. There were 80 municipalities (more than 70% of all municipalities in B&H) where activity rates were between 35 and 45 per cent. Not surprisingly, 18 municipalities where TFRs exceeded replacement level were among those municipalities. When their percentage share within municipalities with different activity rates is analyzed then it is apparent how high TFRs were in economically undeveloped and low urbanized municipalities (Kalesija, Tomislavgrad, Gornji Vakuf, Kakanj, Kotor Varos etc.). It is obvious that municipalities with high TFRs are concentrated among municipalities where the active population accounted for up to 35.0 per cent. Almost half of those municipalities with a low participation of the economically active population had such TFRs, while 6 of them had the number of children per woman slightly below replacement level. As mentioned earlier, Bileca and Ljubinje had high TFRs and belonged to the group of 25 municipalities with a pretty high activity rate, from 40.1 to 45.0 per cent. Finally, Sarajevo-Novigrad was the only municipality where the active population accounted for more than 45.1 per cent, with a fertility of 1.75 children per woman.

10.2.2 Economic Activity of the Female Population and Fertility Level

According to the 1991 Census between 5 and 20 per cent of the female population was economically active within the total population in each municipality. There were 27 municipalities with the lowest percentage range of economically active women (between 5.1 and 10.0 per cent) within the total population. The highest number of municipalities (59) was where economically active women represented between 10.1 and 15.0 per cent of the female population, while the number of municipalities with the highest participation of economically active women (between 15.1 and 20.0 per cent) accounted for no more than 23. The average participation of economically active females in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1991 was 12.2 per cent (Table 10.2) (Map 22).

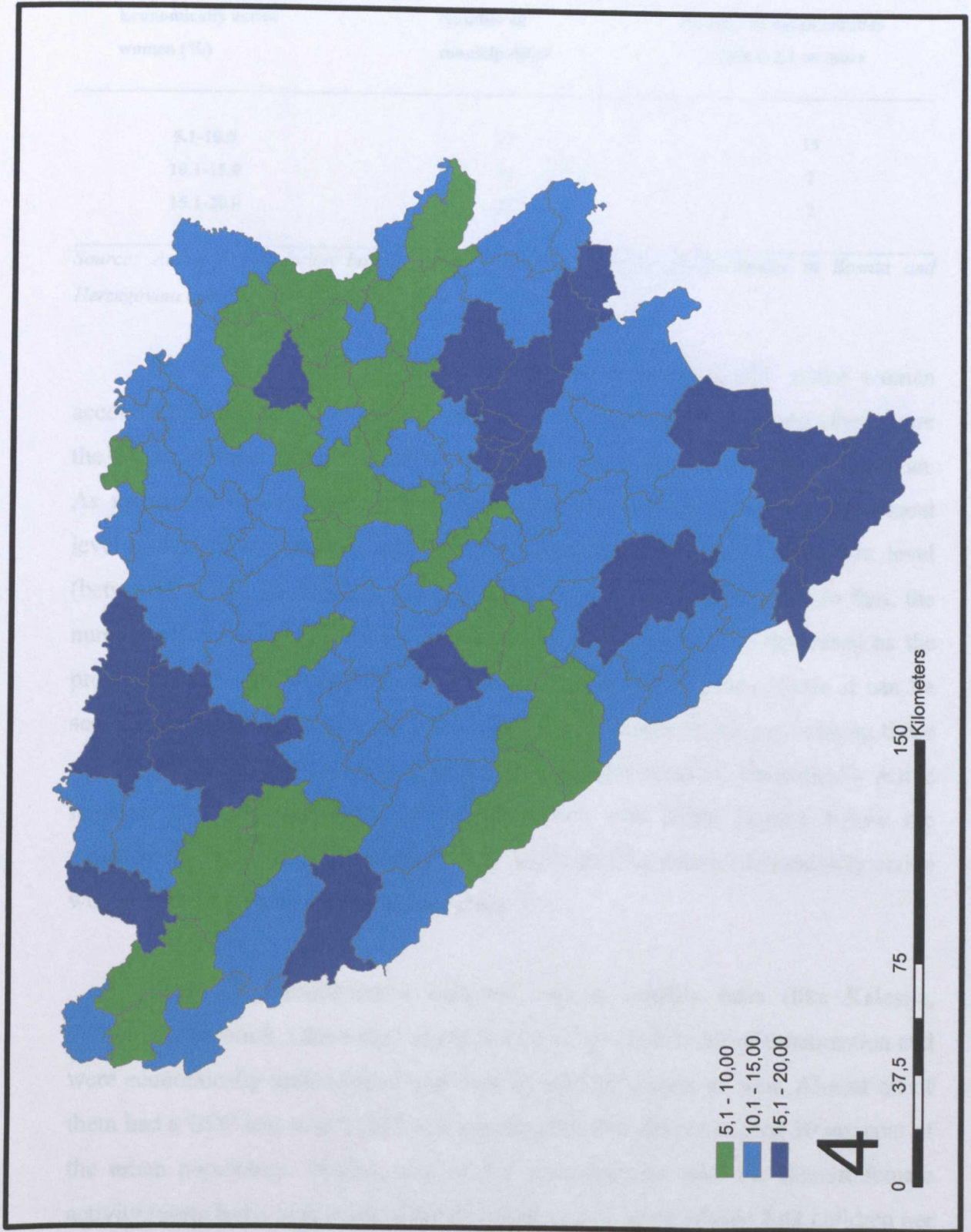


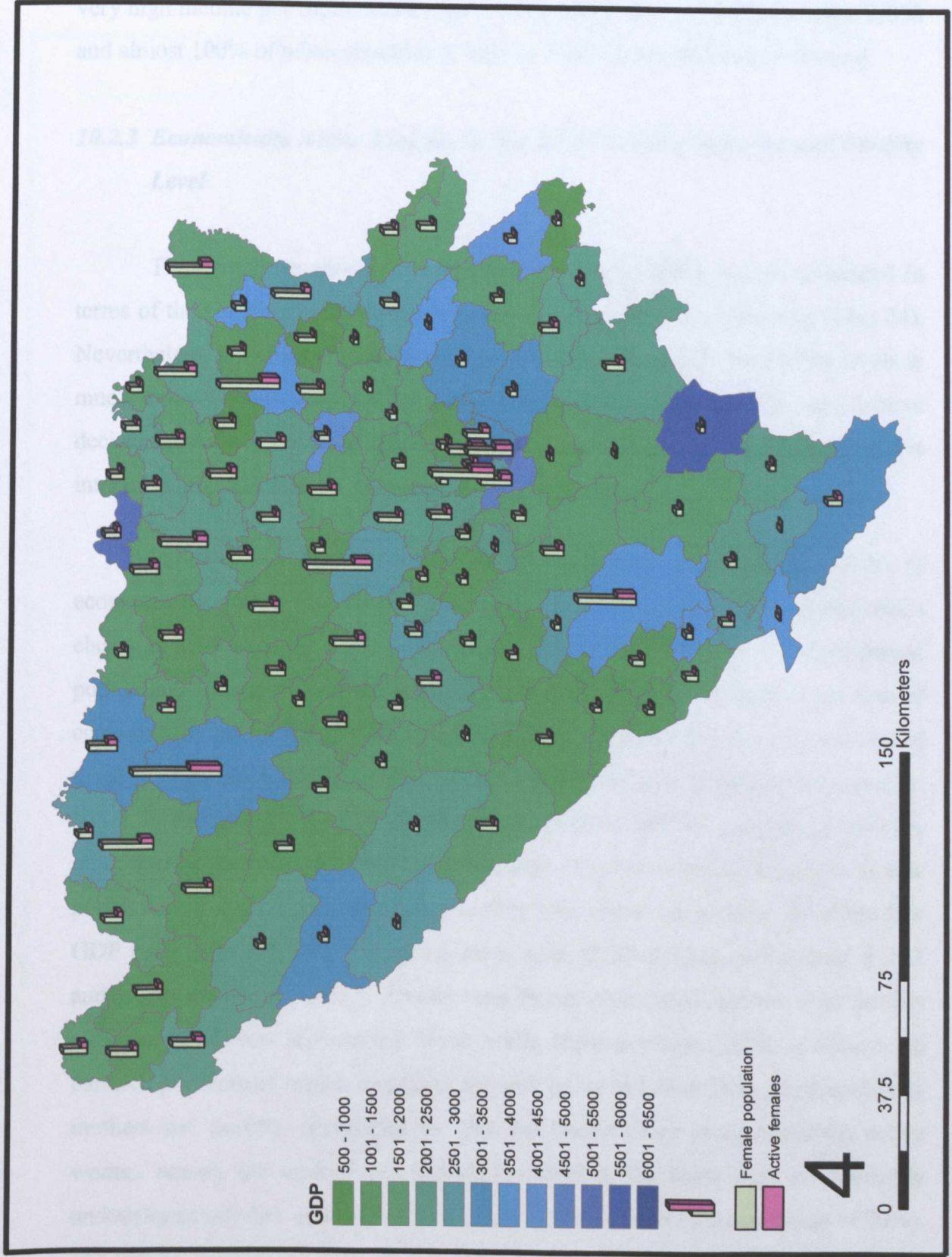
Table 10.2 MUNICIPALITIES ACCORDING TO PERCENTAGE SHARE OF ACTIVE WOMEN IN TOTAL POPULATION AND TOTAL FERTILITY RATES, CENSUS 1991

Economically active women (%)	Number of municipalities	Number of municipalities -TFR is 2.1 or more
5.1-10.0	27	13
10.1-15.0	59	7
15.1-20.0	23	2

Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Federal Office of Statistics.

So, in one quarter of all the municipalities economically active women accounted for no more than 10 per cent of the total population, but among them were the highest number of municipalities with TFRs more than 2.1 children per woman. As mentioned before there were 22 municipalities with TFRs above replacement level and 16 municipalities with a fertility rate slightly below replacement level (between 2.0 and 2.1 children per woman) in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In fact, the number of municipalities with TFRs above the replacement level decreased as the proportion of economically active women increased. In the above Table it can be seen that municipalities with such TFRs account for about 50 per cent among those municipalities that had a low percentage (up to 10 per cent) of economically active females. On the other hand, 16 municipalities with TFRs slightly below the replacement level were also among those municipalities where economically active women represented up to 15 per cent. (Map 23)

Those 13 municipalities with the highest fertility rates (like Kalesija, Srebrenica, Srebrenik, Olovo etc.) as expected had very low levels of urbanization and were economically undeveloped with low income per capita as well. Almost all of them had a GDP less than \$1500 and urbanization that did not exceed 30 per cent of the urban population. Further, two of the municipalities with the highest female activity levels had a high level of fertility (Bileca 2.15 and Ljubinjje 2.42 children per woman). They had moderate income per capita and a level of urbanization around 50

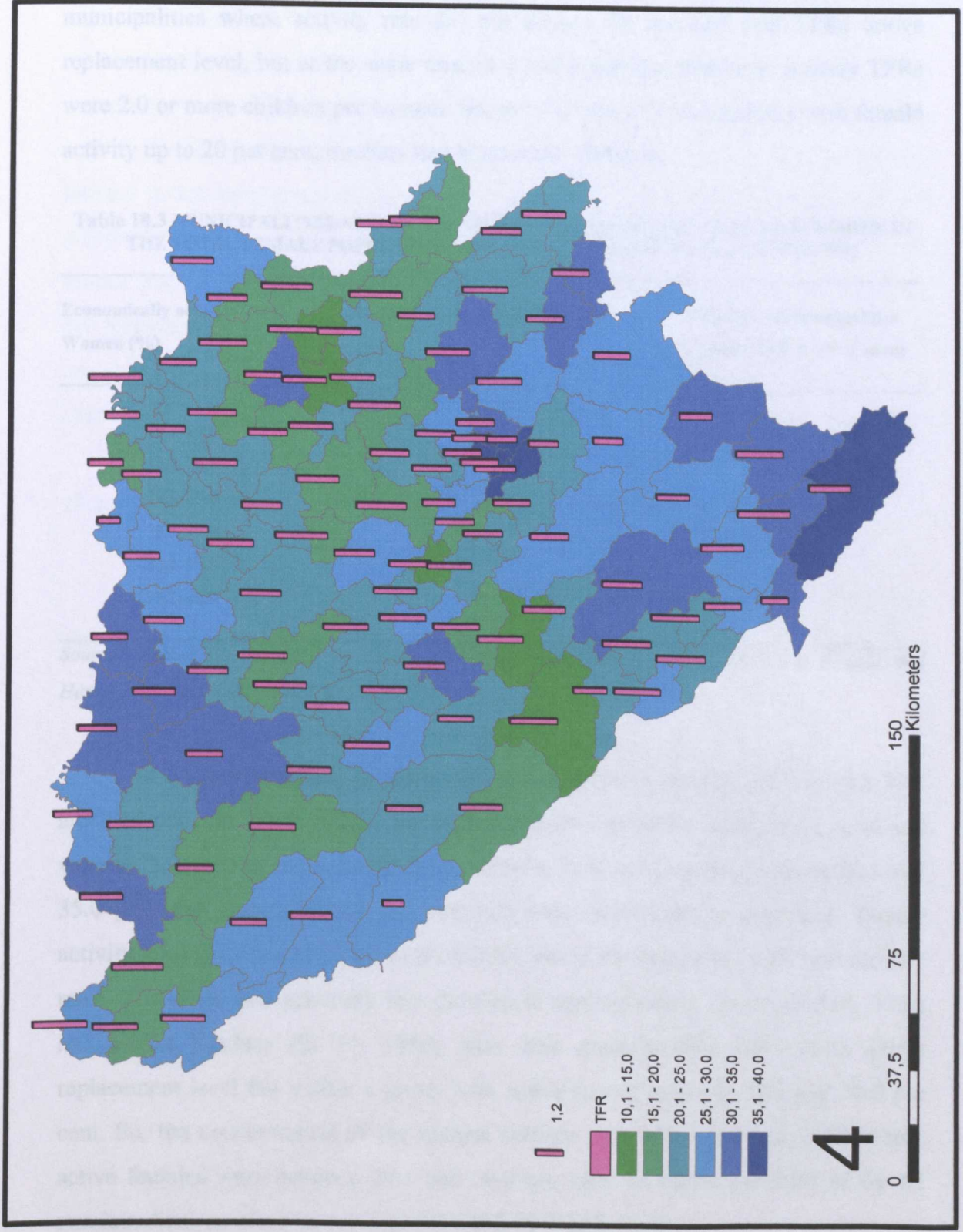


per cent, but most of the females were industrial workers or engaged in agriculture. Novo Sarajevo municipality had the highest employment rate and at the same time very high income per capita and a high level of urbanization (GDP more than \$5000 and almost 100% of urban population) but low TFRs (1.36 children per woman).

10.2.3 Economically Active Females in the Total Female Population and Fertility Level

These analyses across municipalities show that fertility can be evaluated in terms of the resulting levels of the female economic activity participation (Map 24). Nevertheless, the effect of female employment and activity rate on fertility levels is much more emphasized. There is growing evidence confirming that reproductive decision-making is not only linked to entry into the labour force per se but it is also integrally linked to women's economic empowerment.

In this context, the data below show the difference of the percentage share of economically active females as well as the different number of municipalities classified with regard to the participation of active females in the total female population. Among all 109 municipalities not even one had less than 10 per cent of economically active females. Five municipalities accounted for up to 15 per cent of those women but Kalesija, as the least developed and low urbanized municipality, had 2.26 children per woman, which was the highest TFR in comparison with the other four municipalities within the same range of participation of the active female population. Tomislavgrad also had a fertility rate above replacement level but low GDP per capita and very low urbanization level (2.20 children per woman, \$1101 and 17 per cent respectively). Zivinice and Prozor were municipalities with fertility rates slightly below replacement level, while Busovaca had a TFR of almost 2.0 children per woman, which highlights the link between labour force participation of mothers and fertility. Municipalities with the lowest share of economically active women among the total female population were at the same time economically undeveloped and low urbanized (except Prozor with a level of urbanization of 70%). The highest number of women in this municipality either with an urban or rural place of residence were employed in industry.



There is obvious evidence that the highest levels of the total fertility rate existed in the municipalities with low female labour participation. In other words, 13 municipalities where activity rate did not exceed 20 per cent had TFRs above replacement level, but at the same time in 4 municipalities with such activity TFRs were 2.0 or more children per woman. So, in 17 of the 25 municipalities with female activity up to 20 per cent, mothers had at least two children.

Table 10.3 MUNICIPALITIES ACCORDING TO PERCENTAGE SHARE OF ACTIVE WOMEN IN THE TOTAL FEMALE POPULATION AND TOTAL FERTILITY RATES, CENSUS 1991

Economically active Women (%)	Number of municipalities	Number of municipalities where TFR is 2.1 or more
10.1-15.0	5	2
15.1-20.0	20	11
20.1-25.0	39	5
25.1-30.0	23	2
30.1-35.0	16	2
35.1-40.0	6	-

Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Federal Office of Statistics.

In 84 municipalities economically active females represented between 20.1 and 40.0 per cent, but 9 of them had a total fertility rate above replacement level and were in the group of the municipalities where activity rates ranged between 20.1 and 35.0 per cent. Again, Bileca and Ljubinje were municipalities with high female activity rates (32.4% and 33.8% respectively), but at the same time with high fertility rates. The other two generally less developed municipalities, Grude (\$1318, 37%) and Velika Kladusa (\$1731, 18%), were also municipalities with TFRs above replacement level but within a group with activity rates between 25.1 and 30.0 per cent. So, the concentration of the highest fertility was within municipalities where active females were between 20.1 and 30.0 per cent. In about one-third of the 62 municipalities mothers had at least 2.0 children (Table 10.3).

The common characteristics of the municipalities with more active females but with higher fertility were low or moderate income per capita and a low level of urbanization in general. Distinctions between regions are evident, between cities and within the countryside too. Birth rates are higher in poorer regions, with lower levels of female employment. The municipalities with such characteristics are mostly in western Herzegovina and north-eastern regions of Bosnia, as well as in some parts of central Bosnia. Furthermore, a characteristic of all municipalities with the highest fertility is that their urban centres are small towns and rural or semi-urban areas are prevalent. Finally, in 6 municipalities with the highest economic activity of the female population (35.1 - 40.0%) total fertility rates ranged between 1.36 children per woman in Novo Sarajevo up to 1.89 children per woman in Trebinje. These six municipalities were economically developed areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina with high income per capita and high levels of urbanization.

10.2.4 Female Population Engaged in Agriculture and Fertility Level

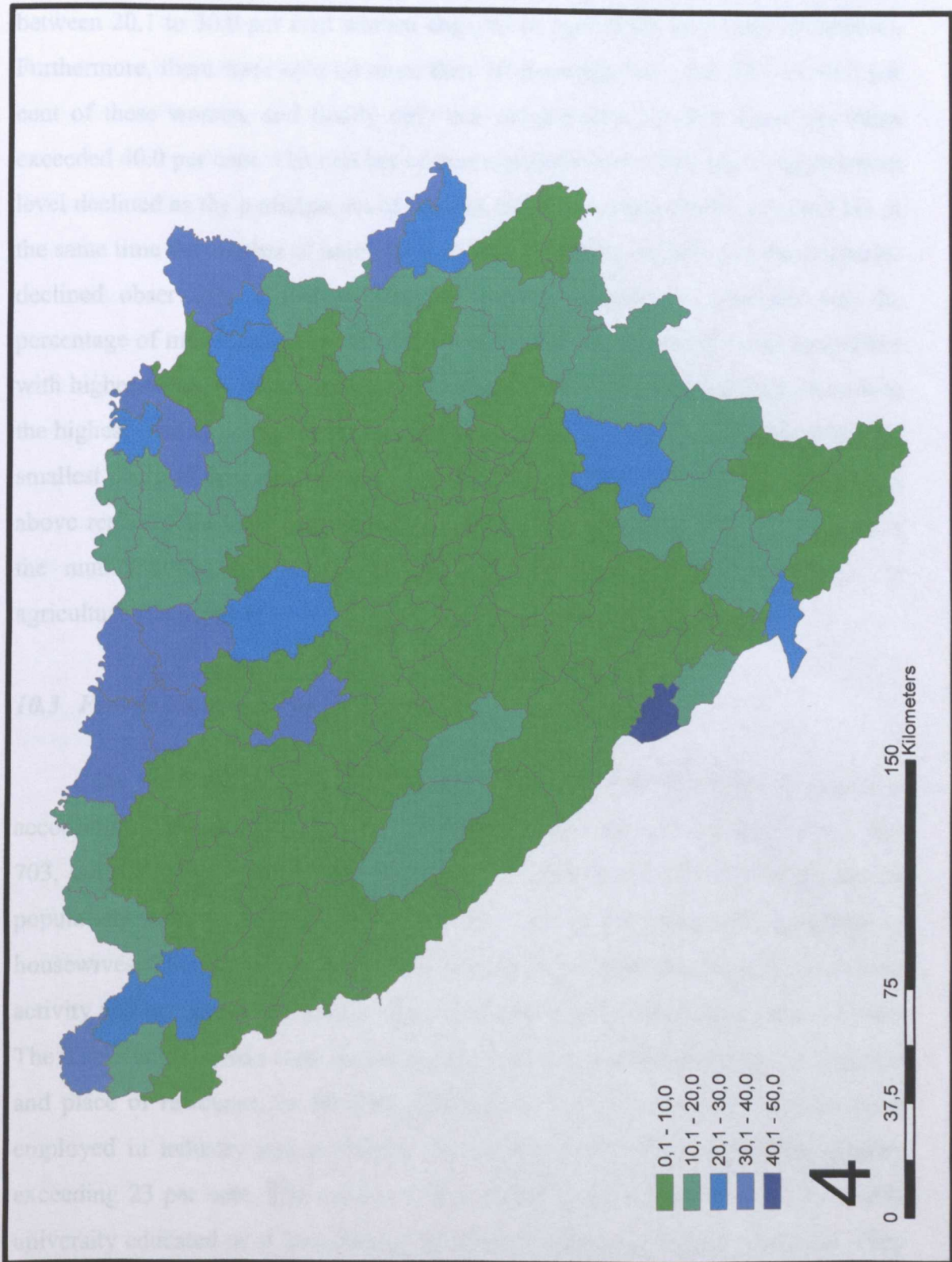
The share of females engaged in agriculture was pretty low among active women in the majority of the municipalities of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Map 25)

Table 10.4 MUNICIPALITIES ACCORDING TO PERCENTAGE SHARE OF WOMEN ENGAGED IN AGRICULTURE AND TOTAL FERTILITY RATES, CENSUS 1991

Women employed in agriculture (%)	Number of municipalities	Number of municipalities where TFR is 2.1 and more
0-10.0	65	10
10.1-20.0	25	5
20.1-30.0	8	3
30.1-40.0	10	3
40.1-50.0	1	1

Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Federal Office of Statistics.

FEMALES ENGAGED IN AGRICULTURE AMONG ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE FEMALE POPULATION, CENSUS 1991 (in %) MAP 25



In 65 municipalities these females accounted for no more than 10 per cent, while in 98 municipalities the proportion ranged from 0 to 30.0 per cent, but only 8 municipalities, which constitute 7 per cent of the all municipalities in BiH, had between 20.1 to 30.0 per cent women engaged in agriculture as a main occupation. Furthermore, there were also no more than 10 municipalities with 30.1 to 40.0 per cent of these women, and finally only one municipality (Grude) where the share exceeded 40.0 per cent. The number of municipalities with TFRs above replacement level declined as the participation of females engaged in agriculture increased but at the same time the number of municipalities with a higher proportion of these females declined observably. However, there is notable evidence to conclude that the percentage of municipalities with such fertility rates increased among municipalities with higher numbers of women engaged in agriculture. These 10 municipalities with the highest fertility constituted no more than 15 per cent of all municipalities with the smallest share of women engaged in agriculture, but municipalities that had TFRs above replacement level accounted for more than one-third or even 100 per cent of the municipalities with higher or the highest number of women engaged in agriculture (Table 10.4).

10.3 Female Population by Occupation

On the basis of the data obtained from the Federal Office of Statistics according to Census 1991, the total female population aged 15 and older was 1 614 703, but 558 912 females were economically active and 1 055 784 of the female population were non-self-supporting women, still in the process of education or housewives. The following analysis confirms the hypothesis that women's economic activity and occupation do have a significant and negative relationship with fertility. The Table below offers data on the female population concerning their occupation and place of residence. In all municipalities the highest numbers of women were employed in industry and as experts and artists, with a percentage share slightly exceeding 23 per cent. The Federal Office of Statistics regards 'experts' as mostly university educated or at least having completed specific secondary schooling. They were followed by administrative workers (16%) and female population employed in the catering trade (12%). In Table 10.5 it can be seen that almost 30 per cent of the

employed women in urban centres were experts and 22 per cent were administrative staff. About 20 per cent of the urban economically active female population were employed in industry, but a higher proportion (26%) of the active females who had a rural place of residence were employed as industrial workers. This fact can be explained as a result of the process of de-agrarianization which was and still is very intensive in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In general, the process of de-agrarianization took place along with the process of urbanization but was somewhat faster. Women with a rural place of residence who were employed in agriculture accounted for 22 per cent, which is a lower percentage than those employed in industry and is one of the arguments in favour of more intensive de-agrarianization. Educating women to tertiary level has been spreading and the number of these women has increased generally, in rural areas too. As a predictable result of the investments in higher education these women (experts and artists) accounted for 15 per cent of employed women with a rural place of residence. Women who had not specified their occupation were twice as common among rural dwellers as among urban dwellers (8% and 4% respectively).

Table 10.5 WOMEN BY OCCUPATION, CENSUS 1991

Women by Occupation	Municipality	Area	
		Urban	Rural
Agriculture	52 620	1756	50 864
Industry	127 614	65 181	62 433
Trade	58 951	37 151	21 800
Catering trade	65 322	40 307	25 015
Social welfare	605	424	181
Administration	90 459	71 131	19 328
Managerial staff	4879	4 356	523
Experts and artists	126 899	90 687	36 212
Other activities	494	269	225
Women with non-specified occupation	31069	12 025	19 044

Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Federal Office of Statistics.

10.3.1 Female Population and Live Births According to Age and Occupation by Place of Residence

The age-group composition of women with different occupations is presented in Table 10.6 and Table 10.7. The following analysis is intended to confirm the hypothesis that occupation and ages of women both have a significant relationship with fertility. When the female age-group composition considering women's occupation is analyzed, it should be mentioned how the percentage share of women older than 50 years engaged in agriculture is the highest (22.2%) in comparison with the percentage of women of the same age but with different occupations and living in urban areas. The highest proportion of women of reproductive age engaged in agriculture was of those aged 20-24 years (18.6%), while women with other occupations had the highest proportion in the older age-group (25-29 years) among experts and artists (19.9%). Furthermore, among women employed in industry and administration, women with non-specified occupations had the highest proportion in the age-group 30-34 (19.4%, 26.2% and 16.4% respectively) while those employed in trade, catering trade, social welfare and managerial staff had the highest number of women in the age group 35-39 (22.3%, 19.2%, 20.5% and 27.7% respectively). This age-group composition can be understood as a consequence of the widespread educational process that had an earlier onset in urban areas than in rural areas.

Table 10.6 WOMEN BY AGE AND OCCUPATION IN URBAN AREAS, CENSUS 1991

Women by Occupation	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50 and more
Agriculture	101	326	265	199	170	159	119	390
Industry	2340	10103	12443	12670	12119	7717	3909	3124
Trade	1385	4874	6424	7865	8292	4470	2023	1433
Catering trade	760	3556	4937	6435	7726	6358	4331	5597
Social welfare	11	70	57	85	87	57	25	25
Administration	378	3200	11819	18622	15071	11186	5728	4409
Managerial staff	12	69	354	1011	1205	798	454	406
Experts and artists	2418	12092	18039	17417	14217	12672	6469	6462
Other activities	3	29	43	44	45	41	26	34
Women with non-specified occupation	1688	1923	1775	1976	1812	1219	678	738

Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Federal Office of Statistics.

On the other hand women engaged in agriculture aged 50 and over accounted for almost half of the female population in rural areas (44.7%). Among the female population employed in agriculture but of reproductive age the highest proportion was of the youngest females aged 15 to 19 years (10.9%). The percentage share of agricultural women in the optimal ages for giving birth (20 to 34 years) is much smaller, but very high for females in the same age-groups employed in industry, trade and catering trade, which additionally proves the hypothesis that within the process of de-agrarianization, women deserted agriculture as a main occupation as soon as they had the possibility to obtain some other job. This is also the result of the spread of education among the rural population. The analyses of data show that Bosnian women have chosen to postpone having children when they have a better professional position. However, women employed in administration and these who were managerial staff represented the highest proportion of somewhat older women. So, administrative workers accounted for 32.9 per cent of women in the age-group

25-29, but managerial staff women had the highest proportion of those aged 30 to 34 years (31.0%).

The number of live births in urban areas can be observed in the following figures. It was highest amongst the female population aged 20-24 years employed in agriculture, industry and trade (38.6%, 36.9% and 36.1% respectively). At the same time the highest share in the total number of live births was by females aged 25-29 years employed in administration (42.2%), the catering trade (33.2%), social welfare (38.1%), and as experts and artists (42.1%) and females with non-specified occupations (27.0%). The female population who were managerial staff in the labour force had the highest number of live births by women aged 30-34 (36.8 %).

Table 10.7 WOMEN BY AGE AND OCCUPATION IN RURAL AREAS, CENSUS 1991

Women by Occupation	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50 and more
Agriculture	5547	4917	3067	2949	3333	3708	3458	22752
Industry	6397	18122	15370	9849	6194	3091	1217	1123
Trade	2563	6170	4902	3803	2535	958	278	210
Catering trade	1558	4721	4438	3799	3519	2584	1568	2230
Social welfare	4	48	47	28	12	16	8	17
Administration	319	2246	6353	5879	2359	1201	388	332
Managerial staff	18	44	124	162	96	50	11	12
Experts and artists	3105	11912	10702	4960	1984	1817	665	557
Other activities	9	39	26	14	27	30	25	45
Women with non-specified occupation	7412	4958	2370	1548	958	494	305	697

Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Federal Office of Statistics.

Considering the number of live births the situation slightly differed in rural areas. The most live births came from women aged 20-24 in almost all professions: agriculture (39.1%), industry (45,1%), trade (44.7%), catering trade (38.9%), social

welfare (45.5%), other activities (75.%) and non-specified occupations (31.1%), except that women employed in administration and as experts and artists had the highest births (45.2% and 42.0% respectively) among the age-group 25-29, but 80 per cent of live births came from managerial staff women aged 30 to 34 years.

Table 10.8 LIVE BIRTHS BY AGE AND OCCUPATION OF WOMEN IN URBAN AREAS, CENSUS 1991

Women by Occupation	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50 and more
Agriculture	221	437	285	118	49	10	3	1
Industry	117	1442	1416	598	228	33	2	5
Trade	138	876	865	392	145	11	0	0
Catering trade	145	695	697	380	154	25	1	0
Social welfare	2	3	8	5	3	0	0	0
Administration	84	710	1542	1015	263	34	4	0
Managerial staff	0	2	6	7	4	0	0	0
Experts and artists	159	1649	2980	1832	394	57	3	3
Other activities	0	5	5	5	0	0	0	0
Women with non-specified occupation	56	192	206	104	56	9	2	0

Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Federal Office of Statistics

In urban areas, as can be seen in Tables 10.5 and 10.6, the female population employed as experts and artists had the highest total number in all age-groups, except amongst those aged 30-34 and 35-39 where most of the women were in administration. Experts and artists in age groups from 20 to 44 years had the highest absolute number of live births in comparison with the absolute number of the live births given by mothers working in other occupations. Women engaged in agriculture had the highest amount of childbearing by mothers aged 15 to 19 years and administrative workers aged 45 to 49 years.

On the other hand in rural areas the highest share in the absolute number was of females in the youngest ages 15 to 19 years, but most of the rural women aged 20 to 39 were employed in industry, while older women 40 to 49 years were mainly engaged in agriculture. However, the highest number of live births was by women engaged in agriculture (Tables 10.5 and 10.7).

Table 10.9 LIVE BIRTHS BY AGE AND OCCUPATION OF WOMEN IN RURAL AREAS, CENSUS 1991

Women by Occupation more	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50 and more
Agriculture	1293	2669	1669	819	291	60	8	4
Industry	306	2035	1545	489	113	17	3	0
Trade	143	803	603	187	50	7	2	2
Catering trade	110	584	494	212	77	17	1	0
Social welfare	0	5	2	3	1	0	0	0
Administration	63	499	776	309	62	4	1	0
Managerial staff	0	0	1	4	0	0	0	0
Experts and artists	165	1443	1510	400	60	7	0	2
Other activities	0	6	2	0	0	0	0	0
Women with non-specified occupation	62	225	193	104	43	9	1	1

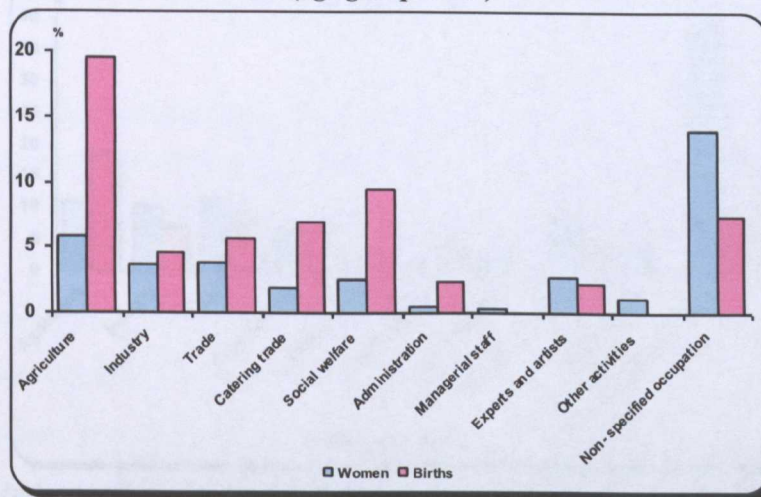
Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Federal Office of Statistics.

10.3.2 Relationship between Number of Women and Live Births According to Age and Place of Residence

In order to give a better review of how women's occupation impacts on fertility this chapter utilizes graphs and elucidates the relationship between the number of women in each fertile age group and the number of live births given by mothers in a certain age group according to their occupation and place of residence. It should be stressed that the highest or the smallest percentage share does not always

mean the highest or the smallest absolute number of women or the number of live births, but it offers a better relation between the age of mothers and the number of live births according to the mother's occupation and place of residence. So, in the forthcoming analyses attention is paid to the percentage of a particular age-group among women within certain occupations, as well as to the percentage of the live births by these mothers.

Figure 10.1 The relationship between number of urban women and number of live births (age group 15-19)



Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Federal Office of Statistics.

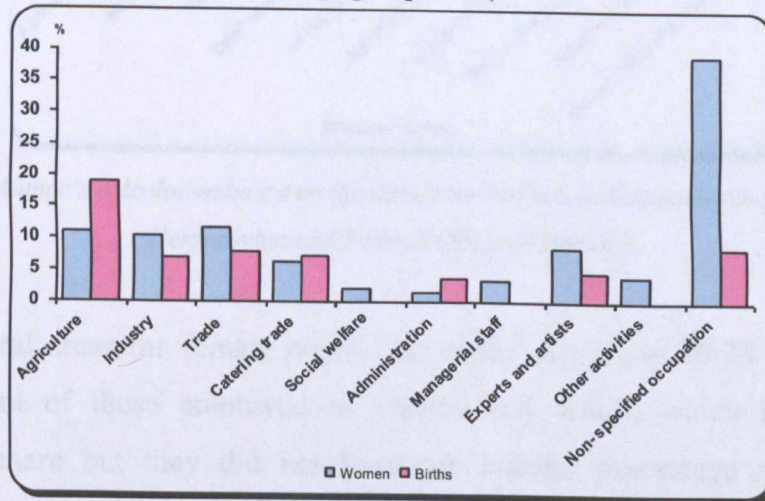
Among the youngest women aged 15 to 19 years living in urban areas the highest proportion was of these with non-specified occupations (14.0%), followed by the proportion of women engaged in agriculture (5.8%) and the smallest percentage share was of women employed as managerial staff (0.3%).

However, the highest proportion of live births was given by women in this age-group who were agricultural workers (19.5%), while the smallest proportion was of experts and artists (2.2%). There were no births by mothers employed as managerial staff or in other activities (see Figure 10.1).

Almost the same situation was among the rural female population in the age-group 15-19, but women with non-specified occupations (38.9%) and those engaged in agriculture (10.9%) had the highest proportions not only among women of the

same ages with different occupations but also among the women in all age-groups with these two occupations. Women engaged in agriculture gave the highest proportion of live births (18.9%) while women with non-specified occupations in this age group gave no more than (8.6%) (see Figure 10.2).

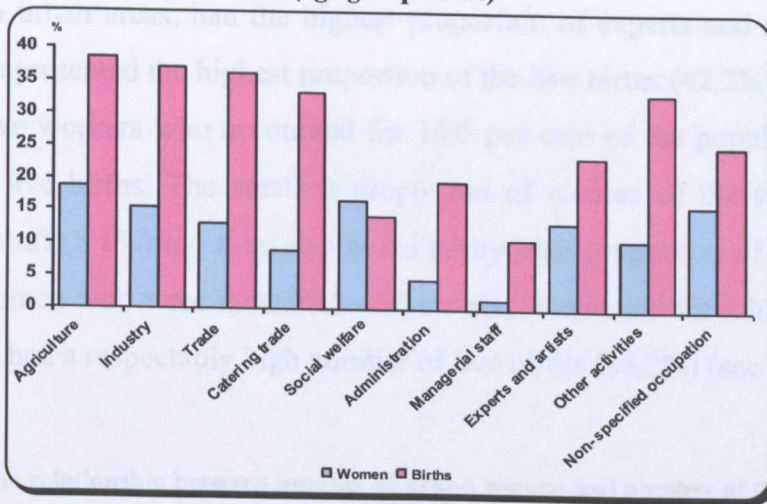
Figure 10.2 The relationship between number of rural women and number of live births (age group 15-19)



Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Federal Office of Statistics.

Among women aged 20 to 24 years the highest share was of these engaged in agriculture (18.6%), which also had the highest proportion of live births (38.6%), but as can be seen in Figure 10.3, the higher contribution to childbearing was among women employed in industry, trade and the catering trade. As expected the share of women that worked as managerial staff was extremely low (1.6%) and they had the smallest proportion (10.5%) of live births.

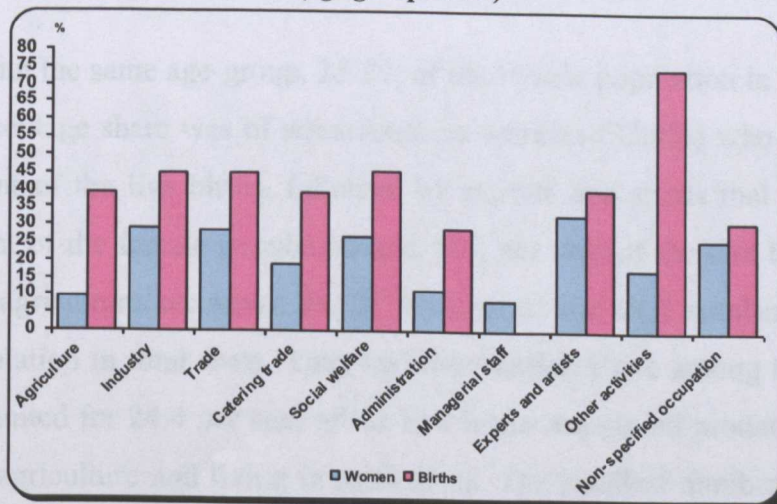
Figure 10.3 The relationship between number of urban women and number of live births (age group 20-24)



Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Federal Office of Statistics.

In rural areas the female population in the age-group 20-24 accounted for 32.9 per cent of those employed as experts and artists, which is the highest percentage share but they did not have the highest percentage of live births. Obviously, the highest percentage share of live births (75.0%) was by mothers aged 20 to 24 with other activities that accounted for no more than 17.3 per cent (see Figure 10.4).

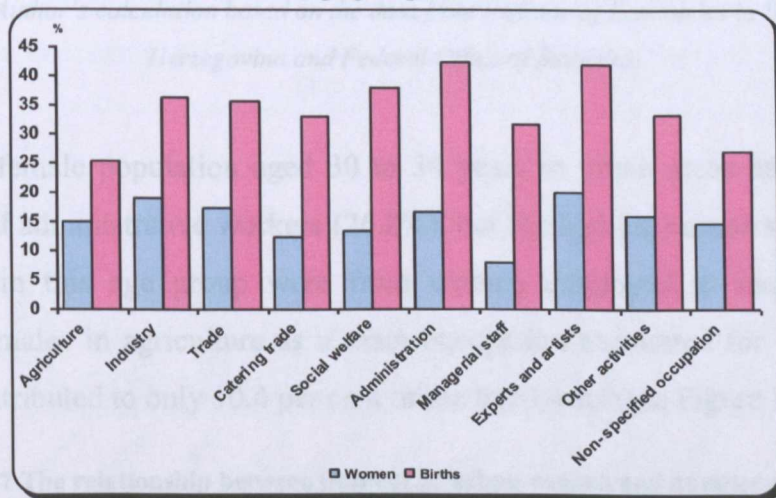
Figure 10.4 The relationship between number of rural women and number of live births (age group 20-24)



Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Federal Office of Statistics.

The female population in the other age-group optimal for giving births, 25-29, living in urban areas, had the highest proportion of experts and artists (19.9%) which also represented the highest proportion of the live births (42.2%) together with administrative workers who accounted for 16.6 per cent of the population but 42.1 per cent of live births. The smallest proportion of women of the same ages was managerial staff (8.1%) but they also had a pretty high proportion of the live births (31.6%). Women who were industrial workers also accounted for a high percentage (19.1%) and had a respectably high number of live births (36.2%) (see Figure 10.5).

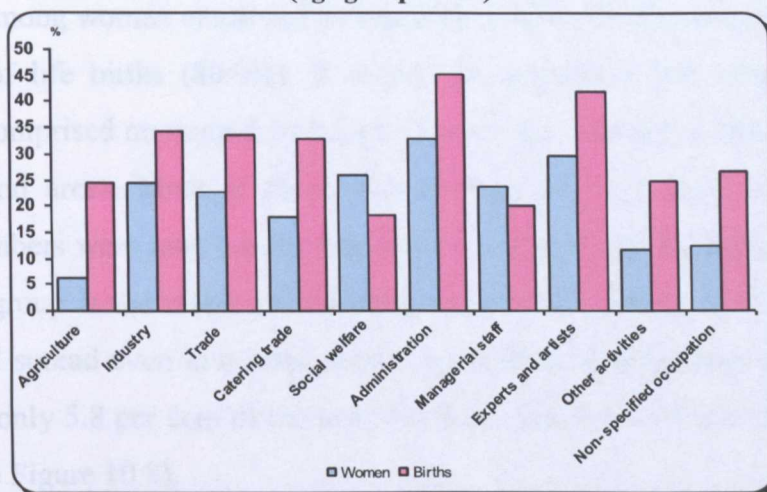
Figure 10.5 The relationship between number of urban women and number of live births (age group 25-29)



Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Federal Office of Statistics.

Within the same age-group, 25-29, of the female population in rural areas the highest percentage share was of administrative workers (32.9%) who accounted for 45.2 per cent of the live births, followed by experts and artists that accounted for 29.6 per cent of the female population and 42.0 per cent of the live births. Women engaged in agriculture accounted for 21 per cent of the total number of the active female population in rural areas. They had the smallest share among those aged 25-29 but accounted for 24.4 per cent of the live births among all produced by women engaged in agriculture and living in rural areas. The smallest number of live births came from mothers employed in social welfare (18.2%) (see Figure 10.6).

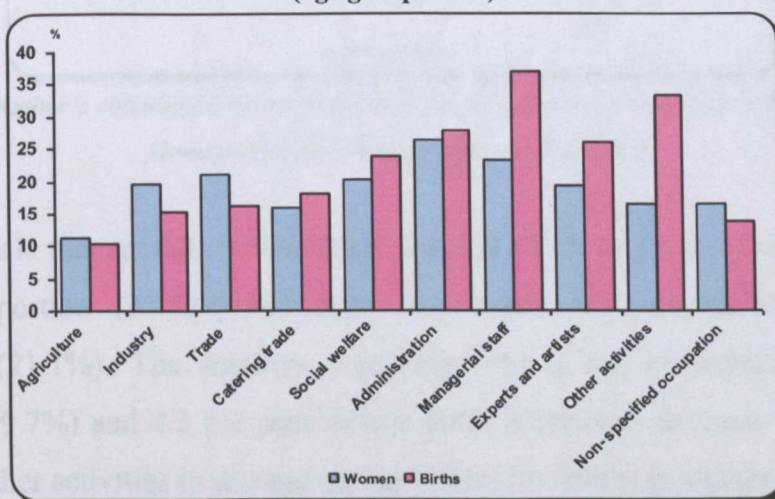
Figure 10.6 The relationship between number of rural women and number of live births (age group 25-29)



Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Federal Office of Statistics.

The female population aged 30 to 34 years in urban areas had the highest proportion of administrative workers (26.2%), but the highest numbers of live births by women in this age group were from women employed as managerial staff (36.8%). Females in agriculture as a main occupation accounted for only 11.3 per cent and contributed to only 10.4 per cent of the live births (see Figure 10.7).

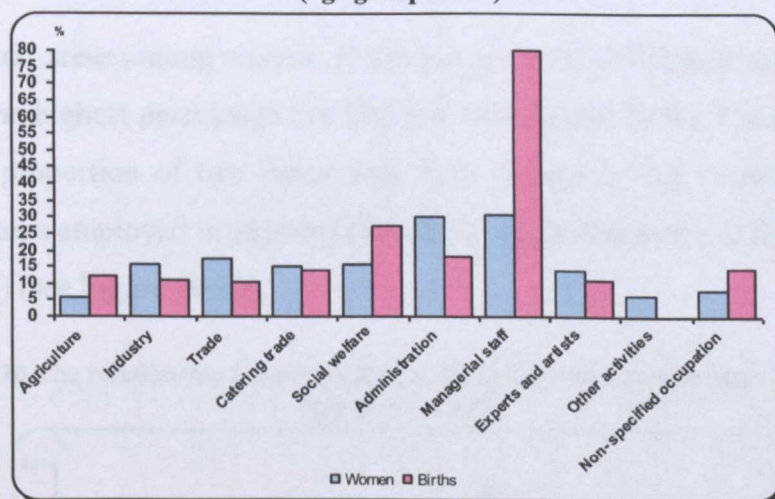
Figure 10.7 The relationship between number of urban women and number of live births (age group 30-34)



Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Federal Office of Statistics.

In rural areas the female population in the age-group 30-34 had the highest proportion among women employed as managerial staff (31.0%) and also the highest proportion of life births (80.0%). It should be mentioned that women with this profession comprised no more than 0.2 per cent of the total active female population living in rural areas. Most of these women lived in semi-urban areas and their absolute numbers were low, but the fact that they account for the highest percentage in this age-group is the result of educating women to a higher level that has been initiated and spread even into rural areas. For women in agriculture this age-group represented only 5.8 per cent of the total but their percentage of live births was 12.0 per cent (see Figure 10.8).

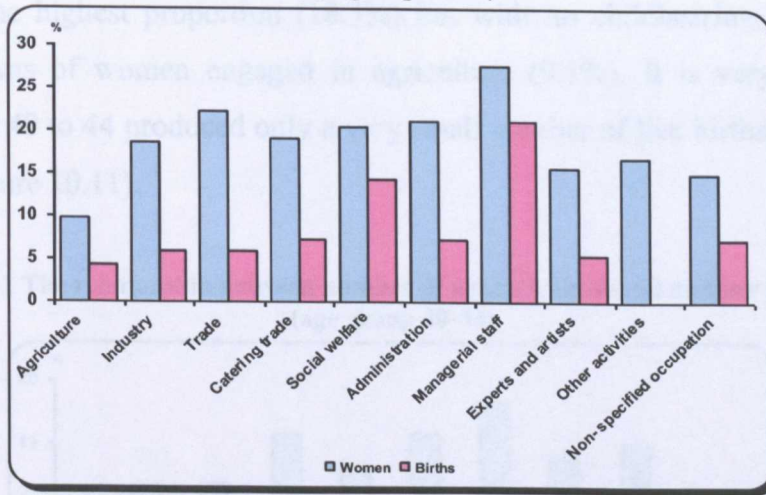
Figure 10.8 The relationship between number of rural women and number of live births (age group 30-34)



Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Federal Office of Statistics.

Female managerial staff in urban areas aged 35 to 39 years represented the highest proportion (27.7%) and their live births also comprised the highest percentage (21.1%). The smallest percentage share was of women engaged in agriculture (9.7%) and 4.3 per cent of live births were born to these women, while women in other activities in this age-group had no live births at all (see Figure 10.9).

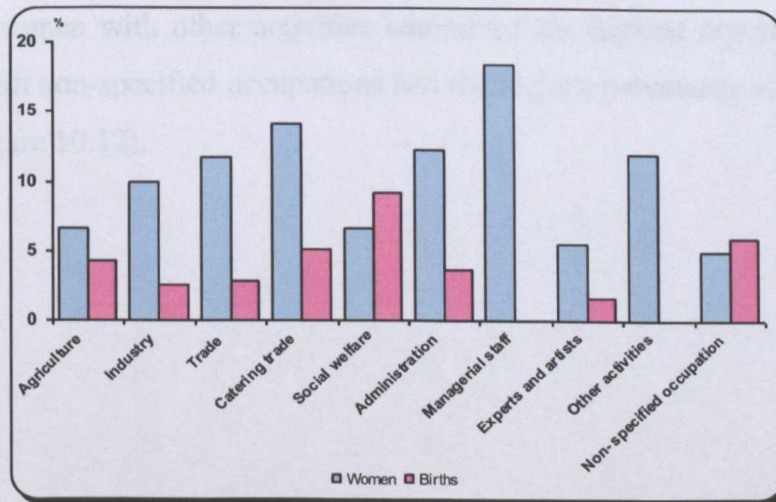
Figure 10.9 The relationship between number of urban women and number of live births (age group 35-39)



Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Federal Office of Statistics.

In rural areas among women in the age-group 35-39 female managerial staff comprised the highest percentage (18.4%) but with no live births. On the other hand the highest proportion of live births was from women in the social welfare field (9.1%). Women employed in industry (9.9%) had a small number of live births (only 113 or 2.5%) (see Figure 10.10).

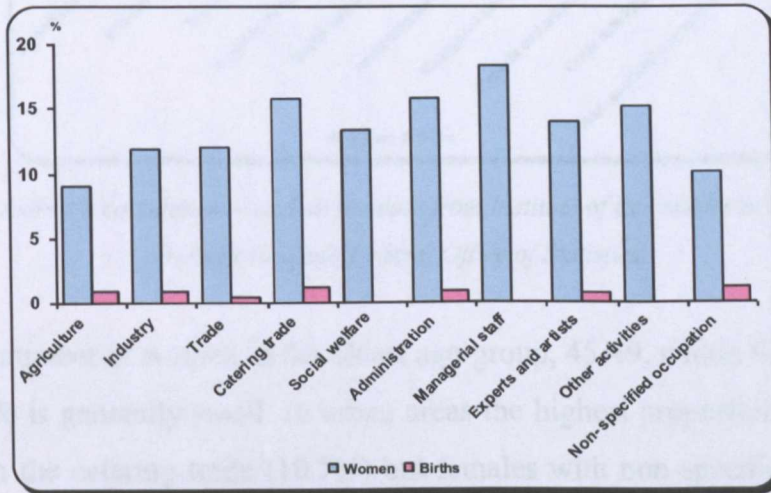
Figure 10.10 The relationship between number of rural women and number of live births (age group 35-39)



Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Federal Office of Statistics.

Women living in urban areas in the age group 40-44 and employed as managerial staff were the highest proportion (18.3%) but with no childbearing. The smallest proportion was of women engaged in agriculture (9.1%). It is very notable that women aged 40 to 44 produced only a very small number of live births, around 1 per cent (see Figure 10.11).

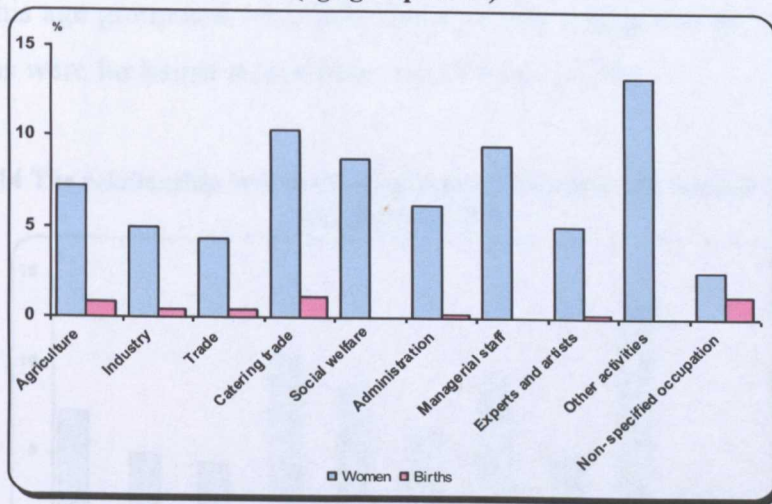
Figure 10.11 The relationship between number of urban women and number of live births (age group 40-44)



Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Federal Office of Statistics.

In rural areas the situation is similar with the small proportion of women aged 40-44, but women with other activities comprised the highest percentage (13.3%) and those with non-specified occupations had the highest percentage share of 1.2 per cent (see Figure 10.12).

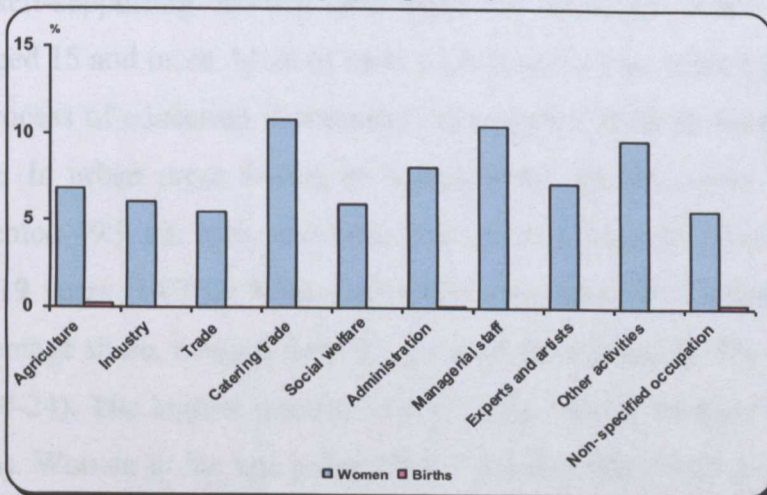
Figure 10.12 The relationship between number of rural women and number of live births (age group 40-44)



Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Federal Office of Statistics.

The number of women in the oldest age-group, 45-49, within the reproductive period of life is generally small. In urban areas the highest proportion were females employed in the catering trade (10.7%) but females with non-specified occupations accounted for only 5.6 per cent and produced 0.3 per cent of the live births. Women in other occupations mostly did not produce any children (see Figure 10.13).

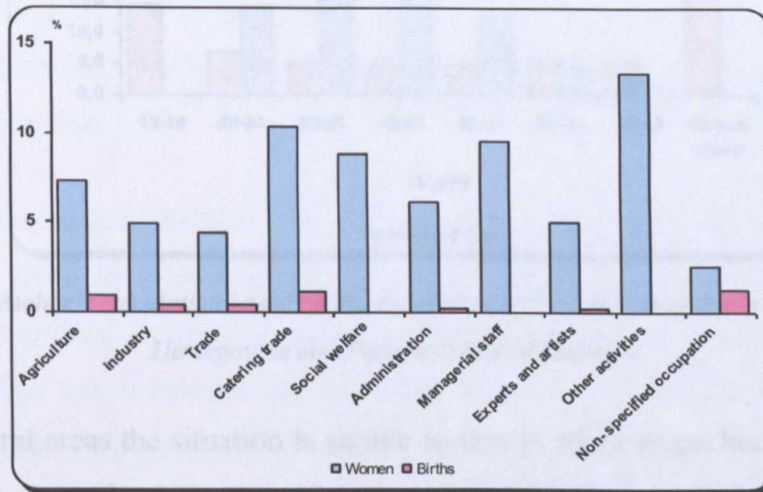
Figure 10.13 The relationship between number of urban women and number of live births (age group 45-49)



Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Federal Office of Statistics.

In rural areas women with other activities aged 45 to 49 accounted for 11.1 per cent in this age group and were followed by those engaged in agriculture (6.8%) but live births were far below one per cent (see Figure 10.14).

Figure 10.14 The relationship between number of rural women and number of live births (age group 45-49)

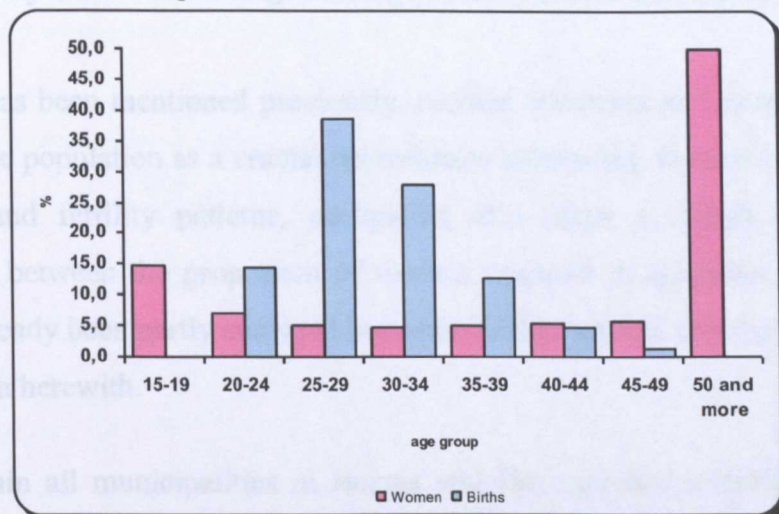


Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Federal Office of Statistics.

10.3.3 Non-self-Supporting Female Population and Live Births According to Age and Place of Residence

Non-self-supporting women accounted for 65.4 per cent of the female population aged 15 and more. Most of them were housewives, while others were still within the process of education. Generally, the majority of these women were aged 50 and more. In urban areas among all unemployed women, those older than 50 years represented 49.9 per cent, and were followed by women in the youngest age group 15 to 19 years (14.7%). Women in other age groups had a similar but much smaller percentage share, ranging from 4.6 per cent (age group 30-34) to 6.9 per cent (age group 20-24). The highest number of live births was by mothers aged 25 to 29 years (38.5%). Women in the age group 30 to 34 accounted for 27.7 per cent of the total number of live births among unemployed women. However, housewives aged 40 to 49 years had a somewhat higher proportion of live births in comparison with live births given by employed women no matter in which profession. They shared 4.8 and 1.3 per cent of live births respectively (see Figure 10.15).

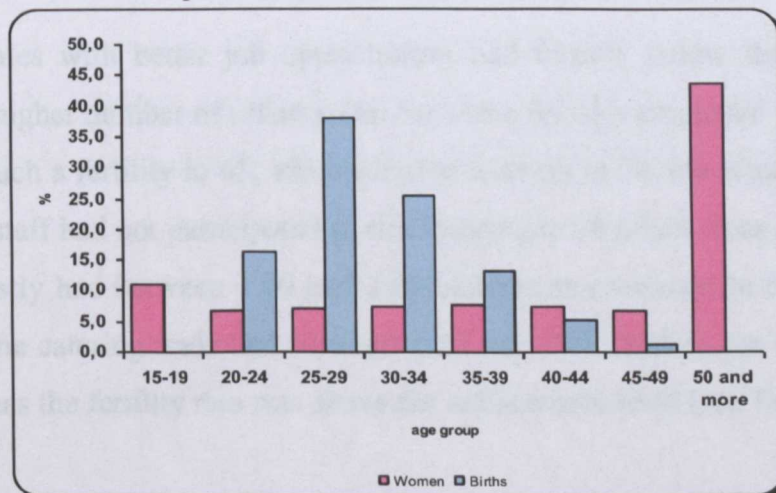
Figure 10.15 The relationship between number of urban housewives and number of live births



Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Federal Office of Statistics.

In rural areas the situation is similar to that in urban areas, but the proportion of women in the optimal age for childbearing (20-24 and 25-29 years) and other age groups within the reproductive period of life was slightly higher in rural areas. Women aged 50 and more represented 43.5 per cent, while those in age group 15 to 19 represented 11.1 per cent. The highest proportion of live births was amongst women aged 25 to 29 (38.1%) and women in the age group 30-34 (25.4%). Unemployed women in older age groups (40 to 44 and 45 to 49 years) in rural areas also had more births (5.3% and 1.2% respectively) than employed women of similar ages (see Figure 10.16).

Figure 10.16 The relationship between number of rural housewives and number of live births



Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Federal Office of Statistics

10.3.4 Fertility Levels According to Occupation of the Female Population

As has been mentioned previously, besides education and economic activity of the female population as a crucial determinant influencing women's child bearing behaviour and fertility patterns, occupation also plays a significant role. The relationship between the proportion of women engaged in agriculture and fertility rates has already been partly analyzed but some further aspects relating to occupation will be given herewith.

Within all municipalities in Bosnia and Herzegovina a fertility rate above replacement level for women employed in agriculture occurred in 41 urban areas. The highest fertility rate of 3.00 or more children per woman registered in 6 urban areas that were low urbanized and with low income per capita (Fojnica, Zvornik, Velika Kladusa, Bijeljina, Kalesija and Banovici). At the same time in 57 urban areas there were no women with agriculture as a main occupation. Women employed in industry had 2.1 children or more in the highest number of urban areas (61 or 56% of all municipalities), but in 8 urban areas woman had more than 3.00 children. These urban areas were again centres in less or low developed municipalities (Kalesija, Trnovo, Lukavac, Prozor, Dobo, Sokolac, Zivinice and Celinac). Women with non-specified occupations also had the highest fertility level in most of the urban areas (39), but 3 of these were with TFRs of 3 or more children (Kresevo, Celinac, and Bosanski Novi).

Females with better job opportunities had fertility below the replacement level in the higher number of urban areas. So, these females employed as experts and artists had such a fertility in 63, administrative workers in 54, but females who were managerial staff had not participated in childbearing in 96 urban areas and in the rest of them mostly had between 1.00 and 2.09 children per woman. In 56 urban areas females in the catering trade had between 1.00 and 2.09 children per woman and in 47 urban areas the fertility rate was above the replacement level (see Table 10.10).

Table 10.10 TFR BY OCCUPATION OF WOMEN IN URBAN AREAS, CENSUS 1991

Women by Occupation	TFR				
	0.00	0.00-0.99	1.00-2.09	2.10-2.99	3.00 or more
Agriculture	57	1	4	41	6
Industry	1	-	39	61	8
Trade	4	1	49	54	1
Catering trade	4	1	56	47	1
Social welfare	103	-	4	2	-
Administration	15	2	54	38	-
Managerial staff	96	1	10	2	-
Experts and artists	2	3	63	41	-
Other activities	101	-	4	4	-
Women with non-specified occupation	34	9	27	36	3

Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Federal Office of Statistics.

The declining trend of the fertility level during recent decades has been presented and analyzed previously. The result of this can be noted while TFR is analysed according to the women's occupation. In this context rural areas where total fertility rate was below the replacement level prevailed. Females engaged in agriculture had more than 2.1 children in all 60 rural areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but females employed in all other occupations in most of the rural areas had a total fertility rate between 1.00 and 2.09 children per woman (see Table 10.11).

Table 10.11 TFR BY OCCUPATION OF WOMEN IN RURAL AREAS, CENSUS 1991

Women by Occupation	TFR				
	0.00	0.00-0.99	1.00-2.09	2.10-2.99	3.00 or more
Agriculture	2	3	44	59	1
Industry	6	6	53	44	-
Trade	10	8	66	25	-
Catering trade	8	6	74	21	-
Social welfare	-	-	-	-	-
Administration	13	5	80	11	-
Managerial staff	107	-	2	-	-
Experts and artists	5	13	79	12	-
Other activities	-	-	-	-	-
Women with non-specified occupation	34	9	46	19	1

Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Institute of Economics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Federal Office of Statistics.

10.4 Conclusion

The guiding hypothesis is that the greater the involvement of females in the impersonal market sector and better professional positions, the lower will be the fertility preferences and lower actual fertility. It is generally argued that female employment is inversely related to fertility, due to the presumed relationship between women's work and reproductive roles. The large body of evidence in this chapter showing how high TFR is related to economically less developed municipalities helps to elucidate the relationship between a woman's occupation and total fertility rate in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The above results lead to some very important conclusions when evaluating the impact of female employment and occupation on fertility preferences and behaviour. As Bosnia and Herzegovina modernized and industrialized, fertility steadily declined to approximately replacement level at 2.1 by the 1980s. So, by the census year 1991 the total fertility rate in Bosnia and Herzegovina was 1.88 children per woman.

This finding supports the view that economic development and de-ruralization as well as mass education changed the labour market and job opportunities for the female population, which influenced child-bearing behaviour in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Of course, it was expected that there would be the large amount of heterogeneity at the individual level that was observed and analyzed on a municipality level based on 1991 census data. Herein is presented the increase of the economic activity of women in the second half of the twentieth century, and the postponement of childbearing to later ages.

The data presented express evident differences in the proportion of urban and rural areas with respect to economic activity as well as occupation of the female population and fertility patterns. The age structure of the female population and the number of live births given by mothers in different age groups as well as total fertility rates vary across the country according to place of residence. Slightly higher TFRs in urban areas have been observed previously and a similar situation is

registered by analyzing the fertility of women in different occupations. Some of the reasons why fertility rates are higher in urban areas are given in the previous chapter when the relationship between education attainment and fertility patterns was discussed. Actually, many of the settlements with either semi-urban or even rural features fell into urban areas during the data collecting. In addition, some of the municipalities' centres have officially the status of urban centres, but many of them are small towns with semi-urban characteristics and way of life. An explanation is also offered regarding the influence on the general demographic image by recently immigrated inhabitants from the rural settlements who maintain their type of family size. Furthermore, since the process of education in general and specifically growth in education of the female population its influence has been reflected on the changes in the number of females engaged in agriculture and in other occupations. Better access to education itself together with processes of de-agrarianization and de-ruralization encouraged women either in semi-urban or in rural areas to abandon agriculture and look for other jobs. Many of them were employed at least in industry but women with better education attainment obtained more prestigious jobs. The data presented in this chapter demonstrate such changes. In fact, the analysis of the age structure of the female population according to occupation and place of residence gave proof of this.

Previous findings support the view that mass education and a higher level of female literacy influence child bearing behaviour and fertility preferences. Beside various types of social anatomy that education influences, the economic activity of the female population either directly or indirectly changes their economic and social status.

Women employed in higher prestigious occupations are expected to have a more limiting schedule than women working in lower prestigious occupations. If it is not certain that the latter can work from home, they can at least arbitrate a possible conflict between professional constraints and maternal responsibilities in their interest. It is generally argued that participation of the economically active population and active female population in the total population, ultimately strongly

influence reproductive behaviour. The large body of evidence shows how in municipalities with a low participation of economically active population fertility levels are somewhat higher. The number of municipalities with TFRs above the replacement level was smaller as the proportion of economically active female population was higher.

What is more, in a context of persistent gender inequality in the public labour market, women who manage to get jobs would be well-advised not to put it at risk by avoiding frequent work interruptions due to pregnancies and child rearing. Some employers prefer recruiting men because for them, women, who are likely to be often off work for motherhood as well as maternal obligations, are less productive than men. This situation places women in an unenviable position in relationship to men. On the basis of this assumption, the comparison of TFRs among women working in higher prestigious occupations with those working in lower prestigious occupations shows slightly lower fertility levels. In most societies and consequently in Bosnia and Herzegovina the obligations that working women have competes with their maternal obligations.

Moreover, the analyses of the age group composition of the unemployed female population and their share in giving live births also display proof of the outcome of spreading the education of women to the secondary or tertiary level. Essentially, around half of the unemployed women in Bosnia and Herzegovina, either with urban or rural place of residence, were aged 50 and more. The above data show how especially unemployed women but also those engaged in agriculture and working in industry and with non-specified occupations as well, in both urban and rural areas, have a longer fertility life-span than employed women working in higher prestigious occupations. As was suggested earlier, women working in higher prestigious jobs very often postpone their child-bearing to later ages.

11 RECENT ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STATUS OF WOMEN IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

11.1 Introduction

Raising the political consciousness of women in Bosnia and Herzegovina has a distinctive historical context. In 1919 the first feminist, apolitical association called the “*Association for education of women and protection of their rights*” was formed, inspired by similar associations in other countries. In the Second World War, in 1942, women established the ‘*Antifascist Women’s Front*’. Both during and after the war, women improved their status in different ways as mentioned in Chapter VI. So women have enjoyed formal and legal equality since the beginning of second half of the 20th century. However, the real status of women has continued to be under a patriarchal influence that has been shaping the lives of women in suburban and rural communities to a greater extent than those of urban women. The predominantly male culture is present and obvious in urban areas, but somewhat less conspicuous than in the countryside. During the first multi-party elections in BiH in 1990, women were marginalized which was a paradox in relation to the democratic process (Baksic-Muftic, J. et al., 2003).

In order to present the deeper causes of the current socio-economic status of women in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the analysis herewith is based not only on data from the Agency for Statistics BiH but also on several investigations done in this area and on the data obtained by personal contacts with women and representatives from different NGOs as well as other relevant institutions and organizations.

11.2 The Recent Socio-economic Situation of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Bosnia and Herzegovina was affected by war during the period 1992 to 1995. Virtually every sector in Bosnia and Herzegovina was devastated, from the economy to the paralysis of the state infrastructure to physical damage in many communities throughout the country, especially major cities such as Sarajevo and Mostar. Although the degree of damage varied, every community experienced some

disruption and loss of population through death and displacement. The health and education systems were paralyzed, affecting all citizens. The country was transformed from a middle-income East European country with a quite well-educated population and a reasonable standard of living to a country with characteristics comparable to a Developing Country. The war ended in December 1995 with the Dayton Peace Agreement – “*The General Framework for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina*”, according to which Bosnia and Herzegovina continued to exist as a decentralized state, established on new principles and standards according to the terms of the Peace Agreement and the new Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina (refer. to HRI/CORE/1/Add.89/rev1. document) (UN, 2004).

The Dayton Peace Accords recognized two entities in Bosnia and Herzegovina: the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Srpska and Brcko District. The Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FB&H) consists of 51 per cent of the territory and has a Bosniac and Croat majority among the population. FB&H is administratively divided into 10 cantons/districts which are further divided into 79 municipalities. The Republic of Srpska has the remaining 49 per cent of the territory, with a Bosnian Serb majority and is administratively divided into 62 municipalities. The city of Brcko is a separate administrative unit-District.

Bosnia and Herzegovina has undergone an initial five-year phase of post-war reconstruction, followed by a phase of economic recovery based on strengthening investment in the business sector. During the 1996-2000 period, reconstruction has aimed at rehabilitation of infrastructure, restoration of public services and the establishment of a viable macroeconomic framework. In the succeeding phase the priorities of reconstruction programmes aimed at:

- strengthening governance and establishing affordable and equitable social services;
- realizing sound reforms of the fiscal, monetary and tax systems;
- proceeding with the privatization of state-owned enterprises, including banks;

- deregularizing the economy;
- implementing institutional and policy reforms in government administration and the judicial system (World Bank, 2004, p.5).

In 1996, GDP in BiH was no more than 15% of GDP in 1991 (the pre-war GDP of BiH was some US\$10.3 billion. In 2007 GDP was US\$9.7 billion, and it had risen to US\$11.7 billion in 2008, which is slight increase in comparison with pre-war value. The policy of foreign investment along with the liberalization of financial transactions supported major reforms in the commercial banking sector which had a positive impact on the development of the tertiary sector. In particular, impacts were more emphasized in the wholesale and retail trades, real property transactions, the construction industry and communications, as well as in service industries. At the same time development in the manufacturing and processing industries was weak even if they led the field in exports (which were much reduced compared with the pre-war situation). The rate of economic growth has been insufficient to narrow the gap between BiH and its neighbouring countries and especially the European Union countries.

“Problems with the privatization of state companies, modest market share, and low levels of exports all [have] contributed to falling capacity to maintain employment” (Zupcevic and Causevic, 2009, p.15).

The new country relied upon United Nations forces to maintain the peace and moves towards ‘normalisation’ have been very slow and heavily reliant on overseas investment. The EU’s conflict prevention activities are linked to strengthened coordination with other international agencies acting to prevent conflicts, primarily the UN. The EU depends on intensive and strong partnership with other actors in conflict prevention - including the Council of Europe, OSCE and NATO. The EU has had a major role in various developmental projects, focused mainly on economic recovery. The initial funds for economic regeneration of BiH date back to 1997 when the EU made its first contribution to the European Fund for Bosnia and Herzegovina (EFBH) that enabled local banks to extend long-term

credits to entrepreneurs. In 2000, the EU initiated a new development program for the Western Balkans countries called Community Assistance for Reconstruction, Development and Stabilization (CARDS). This program has focused on: reconstruction, democratic stabilization, reconciliation and the return of refugees; institutional and legislative development, including harmonization with EU norms; the rule of law, human rights, civil society and the media; and sustainable socio-economic development.¹ A serious hindrance to growth that the BiH economy faces is the very complex institutional structure established by the Dayton Peace Agreement. The existing institutional structure generates many obstacles within economic management because of the ineffective linkages between production and services (Zupcevic and Causevic, 2009). The state of Bosnia and Herzegovina is the central authority and it is ruled by a rotating and collective three-member presidency. Although recognized as a parliamentary democracy, it is governed by the international community under the tutorship of the Office of the High Representative (OHR) for BiH. The High Representative was established in 1995 as a condition of the Dayton Agreement and is charged with observing the implementation of the Dayton Agreement and coordination of the activities of international organizations. The High Representative intervenes in situations when the main parties fail to co-operate or to take reforms seriously (OHR, 2009). However, the OHR has transformed into a stumbling block for proper democratization. The extension of the High Representative's authority in 1997 (through the so-called 'Bonn powers') has implied the concentration of absolute executive and legislative authority within his hands (Knaus and Martin, 2003, p.61).

Nevertheless, the OHR has helped remove from power some corrupt politicians. The British politician, Paddy Ashdown, was the High Representative from 2002-2005, and he removed certain people from from the political scene and banned political activity in some quarters due to participants' criminal history, nationalist rhetoric or involvement in scandals (Zupcevic and Causevic, 2009, p.7).

¹ www.europa.ba

As Petricevic and Danis point out, BiH, with two entities, ten cantons in the Federation, five administrative areas in the Republic of Srpska, the District of Brcko, plus municipalities and local government units, presents a very complex political system (one of the most complex in the world), which conceals meaningful barriers and bureaucratic hurdles that will need to be overcome to succeed (Petricevic and Danis, 2007:424). It is widely agreed that the main reason why the reconstruction efforts of post-war BiH and economic growth have produced modest results is the institutional framework that the Dayton agreements put in place. Even the efforts of the High Representative have been partially revised this framework, and the fragmentation of the country's system of government on ethnic lines has been preserved (Nicolaos and Charalambos, 2006).

Unfortunately, principles of ethno-national rights have been overwhelmingly applied to the implementation of economic and political reforms, which has inhibited economic development and has led to low rates of economic growth and to rising unemployment. The continuing close identification of people with their particular ethnic group has strengthened societal division and enabled easier manipulation of the masses for nationalist agendas by politicians. In this way, individuals' desire to act against the wartime enemy is even more present than the wish to ensure a better life for themselves.

At the same time, political parties that hold power are still manifesting a surprising resilience to the desires of the international community and its agents. In many ways the political and economic situation in BiH today and the stability of institutions are worse than in the early post-war years. The role of the international community has grown even stronger as BiH is at a crossroads between stagnation/destabilization and economic progress culminating in membership of the EU, which is a stated aim of some politicians. BiH was one of three pre-war Yugoslav republics that had a positive trade balance in the mid-1980s, but after the war-time destruction (loss of human and physical capital) the country attained international recognition only with membership of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in 1995 and the World Bank in 1996. The IMF and World Bank estimated

BiH's GDP to be some US\$1.2 billion at current prices. During the 1996-2000 period most of the donor assistance and post-war recovery were channelled into the reconstruction of housing, infrastructure, and public services while business sector developments were limited in scope. In this period and subsequently USAID projects have been contributing to reconstruction and development of the private sector, strengthening civil society, the justice sector and legal framework support, local-level development and cross-cutting projects such as environmental projects and gender initiatives (USAID, 2005).

Political and economic power in BiH is contained within parties (mainly organized on ethnic lines) that control public institutions and state-owned enterprises. In this constellation, control over the public-sector, employment and localization of power then ensures reinforcement of power in the hands of local elites that are used to ensure support of relevant constituencies.

The greater involvement in the reform process by the citizens of BiH is absent except for some sporadic attempts by civil society organizations. It is estimated by the Independent Bureau for Humanitarian Issues (IBHI) that 29% of the total population receives services provided by NGOs and in 40% of municipalities in BiH there is no competition, i.e. if an NGO did not exist there would be no other organizations or institutions to provide some services (IBHI, 2009).

A recent research project, The Labour Force Survey (LFS) (2007) conducted by statistical institutions in BiH (the Agency for Statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Federal Office of Statistics and Republic of Srpska Institute of Statistics) and initiated by the UNDP BH gathered data on the basic characteristics of the working-age population based on which the total labour force in the country is reviewed. The main goal of the LFS was to obtain data on the three main segments of population: the employed, the unemployed and the inactive. Some relevant data presented in the Table below shows the principal population characteristics by activity and gender.

Table 11.1 PRINCIPAL POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS BY ACTIVITY AND GENDER, BiH, 2007

	(000)		
	Total	Male	Female
Total population	3.315	1.613	1.703
Working age population	2.725	1.317	1.408
Labour force	1.196	760	436
Employed persons	850	557	292
Unemployed persons	347	203	144
Inactive persons	1.529	557	972
Persons under the age of 15	590	296	294
Persons from 15 to 64 years of age	2.235	1.107	1.128
		Rates %	
Activity rate	43.9	57.7	31.0
Employment rate	31.2	42.3	20.8
Unemployment rate	29.0	26.7	32.9
Share of population under the age of 15	17.8	18.3	17.3
Share of population from 15 to 64 years of age	67.4	68.6	66.2

Source: UNDP (2007). Labour Force Survey 2007, Sarajevo.

The existing institutional system is a real burden to economy in the country. The main barriers to faster economic development are: inefficient administration, government instability, political instability, tax burden, corruption and organized crime. BiH has significant natural potential and human capital stock capable of achieving higher rates of economic growth. So, the need for political stabilization that will affect economic development is obvious. The state of Bosnia and Herzegovina can have long-term stability and more expeditious development after

full-blown constitutional reform of the substantial state apparatus and diminution of ethnically-motivated decision-making (Papic and Ninkovic, 2007).

11.3 The Impact of Wartime on Demographic Change and Gender Specificities

After nearly four years of war which destroyed the country, the infrastructure was in ruins, the economy in collapse, almost 200 000 persons killed, around two million displaced internally or abroad and society fragmented by distrust and suspicion. Ethnic cleansing and widespread conflict resulted in a serious and radical shift in the demographic characteristics of the population. The most significant consequences have been population decrease as a result of war-time deaths and of massive population movements. These facts further produced a change in the sex ratio and modification of the population age structure which has an impact on the natural increase of the population of BiH. About one million people sought refuge abroad, while another million were displaced internally, and most were victims of ethnic cleansing. There is no accurate information on the gender composition of the close to 200 000 people killed, but it is believed that the majority of the dead or missing population were males of productive age. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) reports the only gender-disaggregated data available on refugees and displaced persons: 51 per cent were from the female population, and of the 830 000 returnees, internally displaced and vulnerable persons assisted by UNHCR, 55 per cent were women and girls (UNHCR, 1998). Moreover, as already mentioned the conclusion of the conflict resulted in the division of the country along ethnic lines. The country has now moved into what is referred to as the stabilization period in which it is envisaged that the economy will be revived. The intention is that the self-sufficiency of the country will increase, and will be achieved through the return and reintegration of refugees and the displaced persons. Many political hurdles stand in the way of achieving these objectives.

The experience of other countries in transition demonstrates that in any massive economic changes, including the transition to a market economy, the social position of women almost always deteriorates, while discrimination against women generally increases. Indeed, that is exactly what is happening to women in Bosnia

and Herzegovina recently. According to informal surveys conducted by local authorities, women's share of the total population has increased and recently women constitute between 52 and 55 per cent (from 51 per cent pre-war), although sex ratios may vary between municipalities (Agency for Statistics of BiH, 2006; UNDP, 1997).

Nevertheless, the women's movement gained new energy during the war, through women humanitarian workers, women peace-keepers, who had the energy and the ideas to organize themselves and to become in the post-war period the bearers of activities of the identification of needs, finding solutions and resources for the improvement and strengthening of the status of women and women themselves. This period was marked by the creation of a number of women's Non-Governmental Organizations involved in various activities which rendered visible not only women's issues, but women's activism as well. The NGO Zena 21 was founded in 1994 to serve the needs of women professionals and intellectuals in Sarajevo. During the war they had activities that included the provision of humanitarian aid to women in particular need, and also provided a space for professional women to maintain professional and personal contacts. The only magazine for women in Bosnia was produced by Zena 21, in which there were articles on health and beauty and also on politics, economics and society. The first women's conference in Sarajevo, held in June 1996, was also sponsored by Zena 21. It professes a commitment to the protection of women's rights and the advancement of women in society. Among their members, Zena 21 has identified the potential for initiating women's professional partnerships, where they had women doctors, lawyers, architects and engineers who had difficulty re-entering the job market, and wanted to set up private practice but are short of start-up capital (Personal communication with Nuna Zvizdic, head of Women to Women Association).

The consequences of war include gender role changes emanating from exigencies of the conflict-affected context. The structures of the community were weakened. The number and vulnerability of female-headed households increased. Greater differences between men and women in their opportunities in the post-war labour market exists, including greater discrimination against women and their

limited representation in decision-making bodies (Walsh, 2000). The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination of Women (hereinafter referred to as CEDAW), which Bosnia and Herzegovina took over at its succession on 1 September 1993, entered into force on 1 October 1993. The shadow Report on the Implementation of CEDAW and Women's Human Rights in Bosnia and Herzegovina was produced by a coalition of 16 Bosnian non-governmental organizations with support and coordination from Global Rights-Partners for Justice through its BiH support program. This report is offered as a realistic overview of the rights of women during the crossroads in the post-war transition of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It emphasized that the state thus has an obligation to respect and ensure the rights of all persons living within its borders. Since 1999 there have been significant changes in the country's institutional framework related to gender equality. Gender Centers have been established at the state and entity levels as autonomous government agencies. A Gender Statistics Group was formed to ensure that all data collected by statistics institutes are sorted and analyzed by gender. Bosnia and Herzegovina was the first country in the region to pass a comprehensive Gender Equality Law, adopted in June 2003.

Unfortunately discrimination against women remains omnipresent in nearly all spheres of life because action has not followed rights on paper (UN, 2005). It is obvious that legislative and executive authorities at all levels in Bosnia and Herzegovina have established bodies with responsibilities for gender issues but with relatively limited success (Figure 11.1).

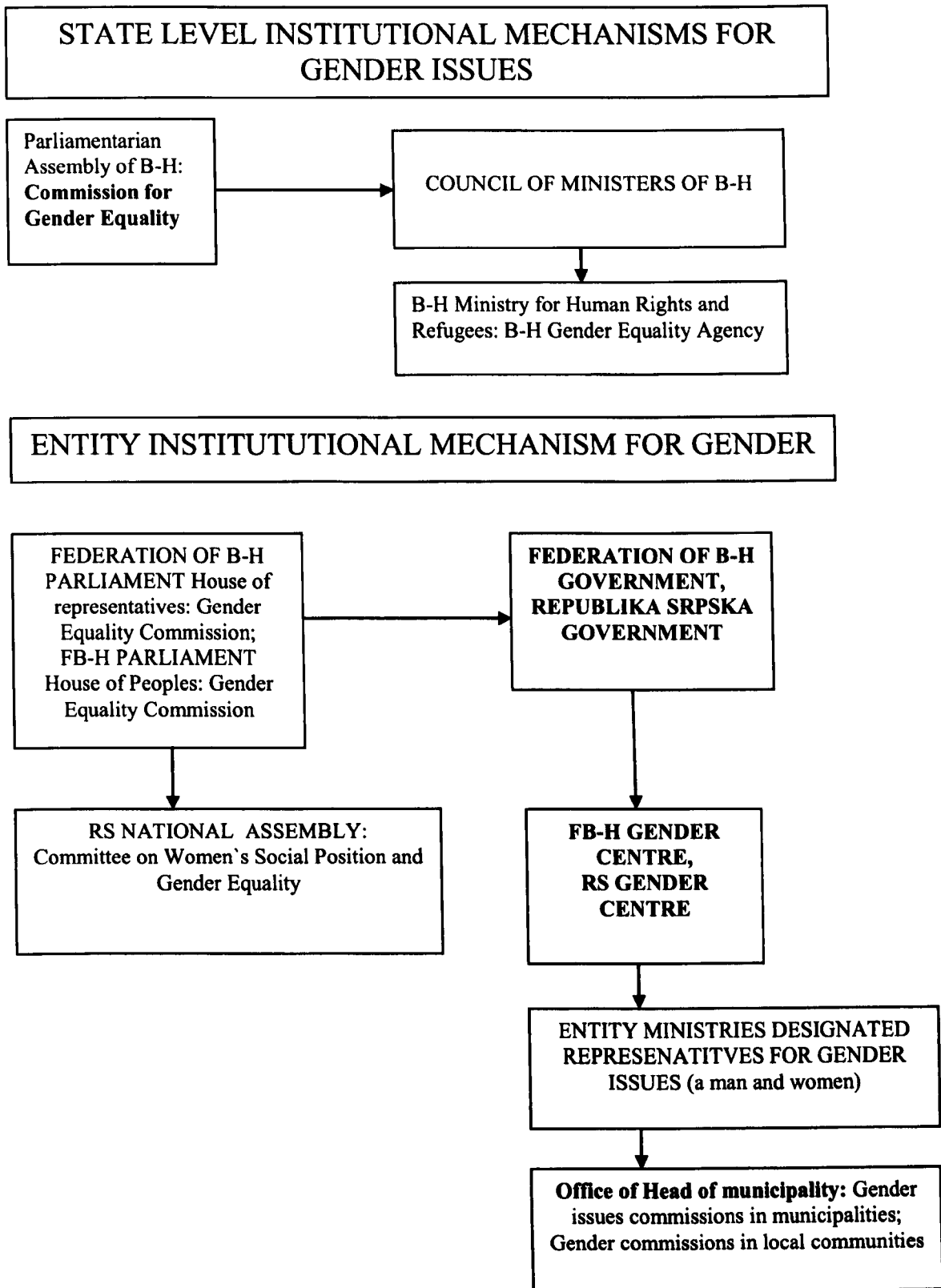


Figure 11.1 Institutional mechanism established for gender issues

Despite growth of economic activity and efforts to improve self-sufficiency in the post-war period, many households remain vulnerable to shocks and crises. However, it is not possible to discern from available data if women are more or less likely to be vulnerable than men. Ethnicity, class, age and disability also remain key determinants of vulnerability relating to preferential access to resources, benefits and jobs.

It appears that men receive only a limited focus in the programmes set up to tackle the war-related psychological traumas of the population. This possibly could have adverse effects on women in terms of the high level of male violence against them in post-war households. Some reports show (see Walsh, 2000) that pre-war differences in the conditions of diverse groups of women influenced the impact of war upon them. Apart from gender, other causes of vulnerability identified in post-conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina are ethnicity, disability, age and social class.

The state of women's rights in Bosnia and Herzegovina may be presented by a few general characteristics, as for instance: Bosnia and Herzegovina has an overall legislative framework which prevents any discrimination based on gender, which has been additionally strengthened by the country's Law on Gender Equality. It should be mentioned, though, that the ability of the courts to apply this Law so far has been quite limited because they are still overloaded with a huge number of cases. Insufficient education of women also influences continuation of the existence of the traditional roles of men and women. Education, particularly of female children, was not identified as a need when most of the older rural population was growing up. Women in rural areas, whether they were educated or not, used to be orientated to marriage, housekeeping and raising of children. A large number of persons are outside the system of health protection, particularly displaced persons. Women comprise between 52 and 55 per cent of the population, 25 per cent of them being in fertile ages. According to many interviews carried out in medical centres and different NGOs, sex education is still not adequate, and the fact is that there has been an increase in the early sexual activities of adolescents, an increased number of unwanted pregnancies and an increase in the rate of infectious diseases. However,

the problem that mostly deepens the gap between women and men is family violence (UN, 2005; Personal communication in NGO Medica Zenica).

The established structure of gender centres - centres for equality and equity of genders - has already played an important role in strengthening the position of women. In spite of the fact that men are still dominant in all political spheres an increasing number of women have been encouraged to participate in public and political life, with support from NGOs and women's associations that have directed their activities towards strengthening and encouraging women to participate in public and political life. These and many other activities have been encouraged and relied on, developing from The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, adopted at the Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995.

Previous experience indicates that women have never enjoyed major political influence, not even during the Communist period, and their presence in political bodies was never transformed into a true political force. The widespread belief in Bosnian patriarchal society that issues of equality between men and women were resolved long ago under a communist era is evident. In fact, many women came to view required communist political activity as an additional burden during this period. They were assigned political obligations by the state in addition to their regular duties at home and work. So, it became clear that such political activity was not contributing to any improvement in their status.

Moreover, after the 1992-1995 war national and international attention was focused on the importance of ethnic, regional and religious equality in the country, sidelining gender equality to the margins of interest. All efforts were focused on the promotion of non-discrimination on ethnic, political regional and religious bases (Byrne, 1995). Gender discrimination as an issue has been addressed by NGOs but has been ignored by the state even if bodies charged with gender issues have been established. Gender Centers are providing much effort but they have no real power to help women integrally.

Unfortunately, significant efforts have been made to secure only civil and political rights, while those efforts have at times undermined various economic rights, especially the right to work and other issues arising from this. The neglect of economic rights has contributed at the same time to the further impoverishment of the population. And as compared to men, such poverty affects women differently and disproportionately. The traditional, patriarchal system in Bosnia and Herzegovina exists both structurally – subsumed within the established systems of the society and its culture, and woven into everyday life.

According to the research report “*Because We are Women: Socio-economic status of Women in BiH*”, this attitude remains largely unchanged even nowadays, and the views of most women have not changed significantly. Yet, there are now over 50 local organizations run by women, mostly targeting women beneficiaries. These organizations range in mandate from basic needs provision to human rights monitoring and encouraging women's political participation. Some NGOs were founded during the war as either off-shoots of international programmes or as spontaneous initiatives. Others have emerged in the post-war period. They clearly constitute a solid base of the civil society, yet many are reticent to engage in the public arena and have not had the institutional support which would prepare them for that role.

Table 11.2 NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS OF WOMEN

Organisations or Associations	Location
Women's Association Banja Luka	Banja Luka
Women's Association "Emina"	Begov Han
Women from the Una	Bihac
Women's Group	Bijeljina
Women's Association "Sumejja"	Breza
Women's Association "Sumejja"	Bugojno
Women's Association Queen Catharine/Kraljeva Sutjeska	Catici
Social Forum of Women from the Doboj municipality	Doboj
Association of Citizens "Civilian Victims of the War"	Fojnica
Women's Association (OSCE data)	Gorazde
Women's Association (OSCE data)	Gracanica
Gradacac Association of Citizens – Women	Gradacac
Udruzenje Gradana - Zene Kakanj	Kakanj
Women's Association "Star"/"Zvijezda"	Kiseljak
Women's group	Kljuc
Women's Association "Kresevo"	Kresevo
Women's group "Live Women"	Livno
Association of Women BIH	Sarajevo
Mary Stopes Local	Mostar
Association of Bosniac Women "Sumejja"	Novi Travnik
Humanitarno Udruzjenja gradana Zena 21	Sarajevo
Bosnian Women's Initiative	Sarajevo
Forum Zena Demokratske Alternative	Sarajevo
Stope Nade	Sarajevo
Women's Association "Sumejja", women from Doboj	Doboj
Women's Association "Sumejja"	Travnik
Association of Tuzla Women	Tuzla
Association of Citizens "Women of Srebrenica"	Tuzla
Women's Association of Stari Vitez	Vitez
Women's Association "Sumejja"	Zavidovici
Association of Self-Supporting Mothers	Zenica
Association of Women-Widows	Zepce

Source: Author collected data within field work

It is necessary to ensure that NGOs remain in place as sustainable well beyond the withdrawal of the international community, to continue to serve and promote the diverse interests of women in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina.

It is also important to consider the indirect political actions of women's organizations, such as countering ethno-nationalist rhetoric by providing services to beneficiaries without regard to ethnicity (Walsh, 1998). Both service-providing NGOs and activist groups are primarily led by urban women professionals and intellectuals.

11.4 Economic Status and Political participation of Women

Economic, social and cultural rights are recognized by the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina that quotes the International Treaty on these rights as the one of international instruments in the sphere of human rights applied in Bosnia and Herzegovina. There is worldwide need to explore gender-inequality in economic, political and social spheres and one of the basic indicators of measuring it is the gender-related development index (GDI). This index measures average achievements reflected in the inequality between women and men in the fundamental dimensions of human development - health, education and living standards. According to the Human Development Report for Bosnia and Herzegovina for 2002 the GDI is 0.707, which is below the human development index (HDI = 0.718) and points strongly to gender inequality. It should be mentioned, though, that there are no countries with a GDI equal to HDI, which would point to complete gender equality. The structure of the GDI for Bosnia and Herzegovina shows considerable differences in the portion of GDP earned and the literacy level (UNDP, 2001; UNDP 2002, Sarajevo).

The process of privatization, as an essential aspect of the country's economic reform programme, has at times promoted further discrimination against women. The key roles in the process are dominated by men while the influence of women is largely insignificant. The privatization process is run by a closed circle of men who prevent women from taking part in the decision-making process. In this way there is

an opportunity for directors of state-owned companies, where men are in the majority, to acquire state capital through various methods. So, these male directors control most small and medium -sized enterprises (SMEs) in the country. At the same time the situation within the banking sector has been very similar, and around 90 per cent of privatization funds are also managed by men. Those few women who are involved in the privatization process are occasionally appointed to supervisory boards that have very little influence and power over capital management decisions within privatization and investment funds (Prism Research, 1998; Personal communications with Klelija Balta, president of Governing Board of the BHWI).

This of course limits the level of engagement of women in decisions that will continue to shape the future economic development of the country. NGOs articulate their demands to enable women's active participation in the decision-making process in three ways that espouse:

- the principle of democratic justice
- the principle of using resources to implement democratic justice
- the principle of representation of interest.

Statistical data, which would better show the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in most cases are not good indicators because they are not divided according to gender, and are not published, as such, for the needs of public use. Statistical institutions (national Agency and two entity institutes) have started the initiative that, from 2003, all data has to be adjusted and divided to an acceptable form. This has gathered momentum and the first modest steps have been taken to research and develop statistical data on men and women separately for the whole territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This obligation has been prescribed under the new Law on Gender Equality BH for all institutions authorized to collect statistical data (Article 18 of the Law). Statistical agencies have also started the activities of collecting some new data, which have not been collected so far, which will be segregated by gender, through the initiative and support by Gender Centres.

So far Bosnia and Herzegovina has not formed any special body or service responsible only for the protection of women against any form of discrimination. Women mostly seek advice from gender centers, especially on issues dealing with divorce, self-support and child maintenance after divorce, employment and labour relations and sexual harassment. The protection of women is additionally ensured through the Ombudsperson as the additional out-of-court instrument in terms of protection of women against discrimination in practice, whose competence and responsibility has been justified (refer to HRI/CORE/1/Add.89/rev1. document) (UN, 2005).

In 2003, Gender Centres started their work on the project - Integration of equality principles into the educational system. This Project encompasses pre-school institutions, primary and secondary schools. In that way, through this Project, gender concepts are integrated into curricula and textbooks. As a part of the overall reform of education and its implementation this Project began in the school year 2004/2005 and its main aim is to introduce gender mainstreaming into education systems (Personal communications with Srecko Zmukic from the Canton Sarajevo-Ministry of Education and Science).

Furthermore, the status of women is supported by the intention to implement a Gender Equity and an Equality Programme (GEEP), a bilateral governmental project of Finland for Bosnia and Herzegovina. It was managed by the Gender Centre of the Federation of BiH and the Gender Centre of Republika Srpska and executed by the agency of the Independent Bureau for Humanitarian Issues Office in Bosnia and Herzegovina (IBHI-BiH). The purpose of the project was to develop gender mainstreaming as a strategy and develop methods and means to achieve gender equality which is a precondition for democracy. The project started in 2000 and ended in 2005. The planned results were in order to contribute to the creation of sustainable conditions of gender equity and included a gender sensitive legal and policy framework (initial report on CEDAW implementation in Bill, Law on gender equality of Bill, decrease of legal illiteracy among women, etc.). Beside other tasks, strengthened capacity of Gender Centres to mainstream gender in cooperation with

other government institutions was included as well as establishment of gender mainstreaming structure at cantonal level, support to Gender Centres in equipment and training, support to regional and EU networking with Gender Centres, etc.

For example, the Gender Centre of the Federation of BiH, at the proposal of the Commission for Gender Issues of the municipality of Travnik, has initiated the process of gender mainstreaming in local communities. Using financial support from GEEP, the office has been opened and equipped with a computer, for women within two local communities. This enabled the involvement of a larger number of women in the work of local community bodies. The results of this measure are two projects proposed by women and accepted and financed by the Municipal Council. One project is ecological- garbage disposal and the other is a security project - electrification of the perimeter for returnee settlement.

The Gender Centre of Republika Srpska opened offices in Banja Luka, Prijedor, Gradiska and Laktasi with the task to deal with issues of gender equality at local community level. Entity Gender Centres, in cooperation with the Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees of BiH, and on the basis of the Beijing Declaration, have started the process of development of the National Action Plan (NAP), with the aim to establish obligations of all subjects and deadlines for taking specific actions aiming to eliminate discrimination of women in all spheres of social and economic life (Personal communications with Lana Jacevic, Banja Luka, GB member of the BHWI).

Some of the international organizations have taken a series of measures with aim to improve participation of women in different spheres of public life in the post-war period. The network of non-governmental organizations has been involved in cooperation with OSCE that has started a project. "*Women can do it*", which trained women candidates at election lists and elected women in legislative and executive authorities. The Government of Norway supported this project in 2001, and it is still ongoing.

The Women to Women Association implemented this project, together with LARA from Bijeljina and as a continuous project for 2008 they organized workshops and some local actions together with local partner NGOs and forums of women in political parties from Zene BiH-Mostar, Zene sa Une, Zora - Milica; VIVA - Ustipraca; Association MOST-Višegrad and the Business Centre - Srebrenica. Project objectives are: to strengthen the awareness of women about the importance of political participation; encourage women to work together with men to build a political agenda that is based on policies that respect the equality in all spheres of life; encourage particularly young women to take political action; plead for public support of women with the aim of eliminating prejudice in connection with the participation of women in politics; strengthen public awareness of the importance of participation of women in positions where decisions are taken.

However, significant progress in guaranteeing legal equality to women in Bosnia and Herzegovina has been made. De jure there were no obstacles for strengthening the position of women in society and obtaining their affirmation, but de facto conditions, considering the statistics for some areas of life, reveal that the position of women in society has been stagnating. The situation of women is unlikely to be improved through extant institutional structures, which in fact appear to be biased against increased participation of women in the public sphere. Women are virtually invisible in decision-making bodies, particularly in the political realm.

Although the GEEP project and "*Women can do it*" project and some others have taken place in Bosnia and Herzegovina, women still do not have a satisfactory role. The symbolic participation of women in the country's political parties, and the political marginalization of women from decision-making positions within political parties, contributes to the lack of inclusion of women in the executive. And just as women are rarely appointed to the executive, they are not equally represented in state-owned enterprises, particularly within those public enterprises such as the state-owned power supply company, and the postal and telecom services, which produce large incomes through monopolistic operations. Women are also excluded from

many other bodies that make strategic economic and financial decisions for the country.

The Women to Women Association together with other NGOs was part of the national effort to reach a quota of 30 per cent female electoral candidates. In the 1996 elections, directly following the war and four years prior to the quota, women represented 2.4 per cent, 5 per cent and 2.3 per cent of those elected to the RS National Assembly, FBiH Parliament, and BiH Parliament, respectively. In the 2006 elections, the number of female candidates surpassed the 30 per cent quota, and the number of women elected has risen dramatically: 18.3, 21.4, and 14.3 per cent to the RS National Assembly, FBiH Parliament, and BiH Parliament, respectively. The number of certified candidates in 2006 were 36.2 per cent women and 63.8 per cent men, and there were 1 525 candidates under 30-years old, among whom 56.7 per cent were women and 43.3 per cent were men (NGO Report, 2005).

The marked changes can be seen but the key problem remains not in women's right to be elected, but the question of public representation of women as an interest group in BiH society. There is still long way to go until the achievement of a balance between male and female participation in all decision-making bodies in political and public life. NGOs in relation with Gender Centres have organized workshops, as with a series of seminars in 2004 "*Political Empowerment of Women in BiH*" targeting young female intellectuals, women already active in the politics, employees of commercial firms, cultural and art institutions, students and other women ready to work towards the equal presence of women in politics.

Nevertheless, in some segments of public life and more equal involvement in all forms of organization of authorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, women have slightly improved their position through slow economic recovery, and strengthening of women's position in the non-governmental sector and in civil social actions.

Discriminatory practices prevent women from participating equally in the labour market. In most settings, there is still a clear partition of roles and

responsibilities between men and women, and these partitions are mirrored within the workplace. The opportunities for men and women in the labour market are starkly differentiated and seem to reflect pre-war gender-typing of occupations. Horizontal as well as vertical segregation in the labour force, where women constitute the lowest strata, also keeps them marginalized from decision-making bodies and spheres of influence (OSCE, 1999).

Women's absence from the political realm entails their exclusion from the decision-making processes which impact upon many aspects of their lives. The recently elected governments in the entities are in the process of drafting new laws covering a wide range of sectors. In fact, though, political participation by women recently is limited to formal attendance, with very limited access to the country's closed decision-making processes. The position of women in political and public life is mostly characterized by a gap between the law and the daily reality of women and by the unequal apportionment of social power between men and women. The inequality of women in the political arena, and the near total control by men over all positions of political power, is also directly linked to gender-based discrimination in the economic arena. This is particularly important in a country like Bosnia and Herzegovina, where political power is manipulated to secure economic opportunity.

Women, for example, are virtually excluded from construction-related jobs, which is where the bulk of current job vacancies is to be found. Rather, they are encouraged to assume "traditional" occupations in administrative fields, clothing manufacture, or in the production of home-made goods. "BHcrafts" company exists as result from humanitarian aid to develop a successful business project which unites creative, business and psychotherapeutic characteristics. It is a project started in 1995, which involves women from all Bosnia and Herzegovina and has had a prominently humanitarian character. Every project is unique, hand-made using traditional techniques of knitting, crocheting and weaving. Today, it has developed into a successful export-oriented business that involves 15 permanent employees and up to 700 women of different ethnic backgrounds from rural and urban areas all over the country. Those women involved in this business include many who have lost

their husbands, children, or other relatives in the war, but are enabled to integrate into a normal way of life through a lot of work, care and subtle socialization (Personal communication with Lejla Radoncic, contact person and position in company).

Professional and business organizations are often exclusively male associations. Even in the sectors where women are generally employed (education, judiciary, health care etc.) there are virtually no women in decision-making and senior management posts. Men are traditionally the owners of private property, which is another obstacle to women's economic empowerment and irrespective of the fact that women enjoy the same inheritance rights. Consequently, women are frequently unable to access credit, since they can rarely establish property ownership.

In order to support women entrepreneurs the entity Gender Centres have also developed a training programme, with the aim to enable them to independently manage new businesses and expand existing businesses in small and medium enterprises. The intention is to improve the economic status of women by raising the level of their knowledge and information.

The BH Women's Initiative (BHWI) was established in 1996 and recognized that the empowerment of women was a central objective. Their focus was on the reintegration and empowerment of women by improving their social and economic skills through small-scale projects. These projects have been implemented by local women's associations and NGOs and with the support of UNHCR. The BHWI has a key aim in improving cross entity co-operation and in supporting minority returns. Many Bosnian women, who have lost their husbands, fathers, and sons, find themselves sole providers for their families. BHWI recognized the incredible strength of these women to move on and continue with their lives, and provide programmes focused on women's reintegration into the economy by training them and supporting income-generating projects that women can do from home if necessary. Women are trained in business management, farming techniques, marketing and skills vital to rebuild the country.

Were women ready to start their own enterprise or business was the question among the women examined in the STAR 2002 research project. Almost 60 per cent answered affirmatively, while the rest of them gave a negative response. The highest readiness to start their own private business was among women with university degrees. However, it was lower among women who had only completed secondary school. Regarding the fact that the STAR research implemented in 1998 contained the same question, a significant growth in readiness of women to start business was apparent in the research conducted in 2002 among women with primary and secondary education, but there was a slight decrease among university educated women. Almost 17 per cent of women declared themselves ready for entrepreneurship in 1998, and have possibility to create new work places (Baksic-Muftic, J. et al., 2003).

At the same time, women who responded negatively in terms of starting their own business expressed their lack of knowledge and information necessary for business start-up, which is connected with their education level and creates a lack of self-confidence on one side, and real obstacles on the other. One reason that is limiting the readiness of women to develop their own businesses is the exclusion of business experience from the sphere of traditional women's activities, which can be attributed to patriarchal influence.

11.5 Violence against women and domestic violence

Pursuant to the draft UN Declaration on Elimination of Violence Against Women, violence is considered to be "any act of violence based on gender, which results or may result in physical, sexual or psychological injury or suffering of woman"(UN, 2005).

Violence against women, and particularly domestic violence, is a deeply rooted and widespread social problem in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Behind a facade of civility and modern living, Bosnia and Herzegovina remains a traditional and patriarchal society where domestic violence is a part of that reality. Generally, on the

surface, society does not approve of such violence. At the same time, society has failed to recognize the widespread prevalence of domestic violence as a significant issue. There is a widespread misconception that Bosnia and Herzegovina must put first issues relating to the immediate post-war transition, ignoring other needs, including the basic right of women to live free of violence or discrimination. The problem is minimized at all levels and traditional biases perpetuate a view of domestic violence as a private, family matter that should remain outside the realm or influence of the state. Women themselves remain silent about domestic violence, since it is perceived to reflect their own shame and failure. Under these views even women have often prioritized family obligations over a woman's individual rights. As transition in cultural norms between urban and rural can cause stress within the family, especially between generations, displacement also can be linked to domestic violence. At the same time younger displaced females are more vulnerable to traffickers and pimps (Medica Zenica, 1996; Medica Zenica, 1999; Obradovic, 2004).

The data on numbers of reported cases of family violence gathered and analysed by NGOs compared with the number of cases reported to the authorities are much higher, so it is very difficult to monitor the problem of family violence in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Unfortunately, Bosnia and Herzegovina does not have established institutions dealing with family violence. Centres for social work function on the basis of the Law on Social and Children's protection and they are financed from the national budget, but financial resources are mostly not sufficient to meet and cover the basic activities they are charged with. Some organizations of civil society provide support to victims of family violence (telephone help lines, shelter for victims of family violence, etc.). In the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina there are two houses or shelters for women and children (ADL Barcelona, Woman BIH) and in the territory of Republika Srpska there is a "Safe house" in Banja Luka (The Study on Domestic Violence in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Banja Luka, 2005).

The VESTA Association was founded in 1998 in Tuzla, a city in Bosnia and Herzegovina renowned for its multi-ethnicity, and donated by the United Nations Development Found for Women (UNIFEM). VESTA also received support from the

European Union, USAID, the Government of Finland, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, IRC, the Global Fund for Women, the Westminster Foundation, NORAD, UNDP and others. In an effort to raise public awareness of the needs of women and children in Bosnia and Herzegovina, VESTA helped organize the KRIK Network - a national association of local radio stations and NGOs. One of KRIK's first coordinated public advocacy campaigns included 20 municipalities (including Banovići, Travnik, Srebrenica and Bijeljina) and promoted public discourse regarding the human rights of the country's women and children. Their main aim is to prevent violence against young women and promote gender equality among adolescents (Personal communication with staff of the VESTA Organization, <http://www.vesta.ba/bs/onama>).

11.6 Women's health

During the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina the role of women was additionally disturbed by the entry of militarism into everyday life. The number of actual rape victims is unknown but is estimated to be from 20 000 to 50 000 out of an approximate pre-war female population of 2,091,000 (1-2.5 per cent). The war strongly shook the system of values that had been existing and produced specific forms of violence against women. Women's psychological stability and general health was strongly influenced. Ethnic cleansing policies have torn out a huge number of families from their natural environments. The ties represented by families, neighbourhoods and friends were cut and this reshaped the existential situation of the overall population of the country and women as well (Baksic-Muftic, J. et al., 2003).

Women's health declined appreciably during the war and in the post-war period, particularly their reproductive and mental health. The reproductive and sexual health of women and girls was affected, mainly as the result of the increased sexual violence: rape, sexually transmitted diseases including AIDS/HIV, and unwanted pregnancy. The crime of rape has for the first time become a crime against humanity. The basic social services became unavailable to most of the population, which affected the health condition of women most, but also the whole population of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The health sector in Bosnia and Herzegovina before the

war was organized on the followed structure: village = GP/ambulance; small towns = health facilities-dom zdravlja; with hospitals in bigger urban centres. The collapse of the healthcare sector resulted in an inability to handle most normal health concerns and brought a sharp decline in the ability of women to obtain reproductive healthcare.

Concerted efforts were made by numerous international organizations to provide support to women survivors of trauma. Significantly, it was noted that one of the main causes of depression was unemployment. Moreover, where there have been sundry initiatives to address the mental health needs of women, few such programmes target men. This oversight at the same time emphasizes women as victims and neglects the health needs of men which, if unattended, may result in increased family and community violence.

One of the ways in taking care of women's health is protection of motherhood, which is regulated by provisions of entity laws on labour which guarantee special protection of women and motherhood, and these provisions relate to:

- prohibition of work in underground parts of the mines for women;
- prohibition of discrimination against women in employment or dismissal from work for reasons of pregnancy or use of maternity leave;
- right to temporary assignment during pregnancy and while breastfeeding upon the proposal of an authorised medical doctor;
- maternity leave for the duration of one continuous year, and, in the case of twins, for the third and every next child, for the duration of a continuous 18 months;
- right of women to start working before the expiration of maternity leave, and right of women to additional leave beside the daily rest lasting for 60 minutes for breastfeeding the baby;
- right of women to shorter working hours after the expiration of maternity leave for baby care according to the findings and opinion of an authorised medical doctor (Articles 70-79 of the Law).

Prohibition of work harmful for women, as a provisional measure, has been established under the Law on Labour and Law on Protection at Work, with the aim of protecting women and their health during the period of exceptional circumstances, and this also relates to prohibition of overtime work for pregnant women and mothers with children under three years of age, prohibition of night work for pregnant women starting with the sixth month of pregnancy and mothers with children under one year of age. With the aim of protecting the health of women, a permanent measure in the Law on Labour is the prohibition of work in underground parts of mines, except in the case of women who are in a management position which does not require physical work, or in the services of health and social protection. Prohibition of harmful work, or provisions on prohibition of such work are in accordance with the Conventions of the International Labour Organization (ILO), as follows: Convention on Employment of Women Before and After Child Birth no. 3 from 1919, Convention on Protection of Motherhood no. 103 from 1952, Convention on Employment of Women in Underground Parts of Mines of all Categories no.45 from 1935, and Convention on Night Work of Women Employed in Industry no. 89, revised in 1948, whose provisions are incorporated in the laws of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Protection of child-bearing women and children is fully regulated by laws. The Law on Labour regulates protection and rights of employed child-bearing women, while the Law on Protection of Children regulates and establishes rights of the child and unemployed child-bearing women. Basic rights of employed child-bearing women are: Counselling services for women as a means of support in exercising women's rights has not been envisaged by laws, but this activity is dealt with by organizations which promote and protect the rights of women, e.g. non-governmental organizations which are focused on work and support to women (UN, 2005).

11.7 Women and Poverty

The aspect of poverty is significant for the identification of gender-relations, knowing that the female population is the most vulnerable part of the population in almost all forms of poverty. In the context of human development the United Nations has introduced a new approach to poverty. In this context poverty itself is not

measured only on income, but also on the deprivation of choices and opportunities for satisfying basic human abilities. As already has been mentioned, in the post-war period some efforts have been made to secure civil and political rights. Unfortunately, those efforts have at times undermined various economic rights, especially the right to work and other issues arising from this. While recognizing the value of promoting a wide spectrum of civil and political rights in the country, at the same time the further impoverishment of the population was exacerbated by the neglect of economic rights. Such poverty affects women differently and disproportionately in comparison to men.

The broader notion of poverty considers some characteristics indicating the poverty of women not only by income, but also by the inability of choice. Some women are unemployed, some have not fulfilled their tendencies to additional education or have jobs but do not have social insurance, and some women earn money as a part of the grey economy. In some cases women do not take part in decision-making in their families. The 2001 Bosnia and Herzegovina Living Standards Measurement Study (LSMS) survey provides individual level and household level socio-economic data from 5402 households drawn from urban and rural areas in the two entities of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Republica Srpska. According to many indicators, together with the indicators of the Human Development Report (HDR) and Living Standard Measurement Study (LSMS) in 2001, Bosnia and Herzegovina belongs to the most vulnerable countries of the Balkan region. Almost 20 per cent of the population lives under the line of general poverty, which is 943 EUR per person per annum. According to the Annual Early Warning System (EWS) 24.6 per cent of households in Bosnia and Herzegovina earn up to 150 EUR per month, but an additional 46 per cent of households have incomes lower than 500 EUR (FBH 65%, RS 80%). The LSMS has a different approach to that of the EWS, as it does not measure income through monetary status alone, but through opportunities for the fulfillment of needs, regardless of how they occur (Agency for Statistics of BiH et. al., 2005).

The data obtained on the basis of the Labour Force Survey 2006 (LFS 2006) in Bosnia and Herzegovina and on the basis of some other surveys offer poverty assessments which indicate that women are more frequently living in poverty than are men. This is significant since women head 25 percent of all households in BiH, with 16 percent of the entire population living in women-headed households. One of the important explanations for this situation, and for the poverty gap between men and women, is found in the differential between men and women in their ability to access economic resources, or even the labour market itself. Women in the 15-64 year old age group comprise no more than 35 per cent of the BiH labour force (Agency for Statistics of BiH et. al., 2006).

According to Bringa who has been able to follow a Bosnian community in her anthropological studies, displacement is traumatic for men and women because of lost community networks. She pays particular attention to the roles that rural women play in defining Muslim identities, and she examines the importance of the household as a Muslim identity sphere, but Bringa also observed many similarities with women of other ethnicities. In female-headed households the absence of men and male labour not only increases the economic burden for women heads of households, but also has implications for housing, agricultural prospects, and access. Food sufficiency and agricultural income opportunities will also suffer from the absence of male labour in that women relied on male labour for more physically demanding tasks such as clearing fields and harvesting of the garden plots they tended. Without the unpaid labour of male kin, women's capacity will be reduced in producing certain foodstuffs for home consumption and market sale. Some women have been able to make a living within new circumstances and they have been involved in micro-credit schemes that target them, while others are still lost (Bringa, 1995).

Further, women are at a disadvantage in accessing information concerning employment-related resources, opportunities, or professional training. The possibility of employment decreases further with age and women at the age of 45 years old, and even younger, are already commonly considered "old," while men at that same age

are considered to have reached their most productive period. Considering the fact that women make up 58 percent of the population above 65 years of age, often living alone as they become elderly, they are also hit harder by poverty than elderly men. If women live in rural areas, they generally have no pension or other income, and as a group, elderly women show the highest tendency of falling below the poverty line. On the other hand men are traditionally the owners of private property, irrespective of the equal right of women to inherit property and the ability of either spouse to transfer ownership to the other at no cost. In these concerns, initiatives aimed at increasing the opportunities of women to enter the workforce are clearly emerging as essential efforts in reducing the level of poverty for women, and for the country as a whole.

11.8 Conclusion

In presented the causes of the current socio-economic status of women in Bosnia and Herzegovina, is noticed that the status of women has continued to be under a patriarchal influence. At the same time, after four years of war which destroyed the country women's movement gained new energy to organize themselves and to become in the post-war period the bearers of activities of the identification of needs, finding solutions and resources for the improvement and strengthening of the status of women and women themselves.

12 RECENT DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

12.1 Recent Changes in Family and Fertility trends in Europe

The currently low fertility in Europe, which leads to a relatively rapid population ageing and population decline that will inevitably occur in the coming decades, is a particular concern of demographers. The official projection of Eurostat (2006a; 2006b; 2006c) envisions that the European population will start shrinking after 2025. The low fertility rate is mentioned in the Green Paper on “Confronting Demographic Change”, an official discussion document of the European Commission published in 2005, as a “*challenge for the public authorities*” (pp.5) and a “return to demographic growth” as the first out of three ‘essential priorities’ which Europe should pursue to face up to the demographic change. Sobotka (2008) pointed out that “Perhaps no one summarized the fears of shrinking Europe more succinctly than Pope Benedict XVI during his Christmas address to the Roman Curia in December 2006: “... *the problem of Europe, which it seems no longer wants to have children, penetrated my soul. To foreigners this Europe seems to be tired, indeed it seems to be wishing to take its leave of history*” (Vatican, 2006). Furthermore, he mentioned several factors that are familiar to demographers studying recent family and fertility trends and lack of interest in childbearing linked to insecurity about the future as well as to norms and rules for life.

The concept of the second demographic transition (SDT) has relevance for explaining the ongoing changes in family and fertility patterns across Europe. Two main protagonists of the second demographic transition (SDT), Ron Leach and Dirk van de Kaa have connected the declining fertility rate noticed in most countries of Europe in the late 1970s and subsequently to various societal and economic changes. The latter include numerous structural and cultural changes marked by modernization, the expansion of higher education, the rise of secularization, the rise of individualistic values and the importance of self-fulfilment. Among technological changes are the advances in assisted reproduction, the adoption of modern contraception and new information technologies (see van de Kaa 1994). Van de Kaa

(1996) pointed out that preoccupation with self-fulfillment, personal freedom of choice and lifestyle, as well as emancipation have marked the second demographic transition. He sees this as the main distinction from the first demographic transition and refers to these changes as reflections in family formation, attitudes towards fertility regulations and motivation for parenthood. All these changes were marked by the weakening of the 'traditional' family as an institution and to family life and children.

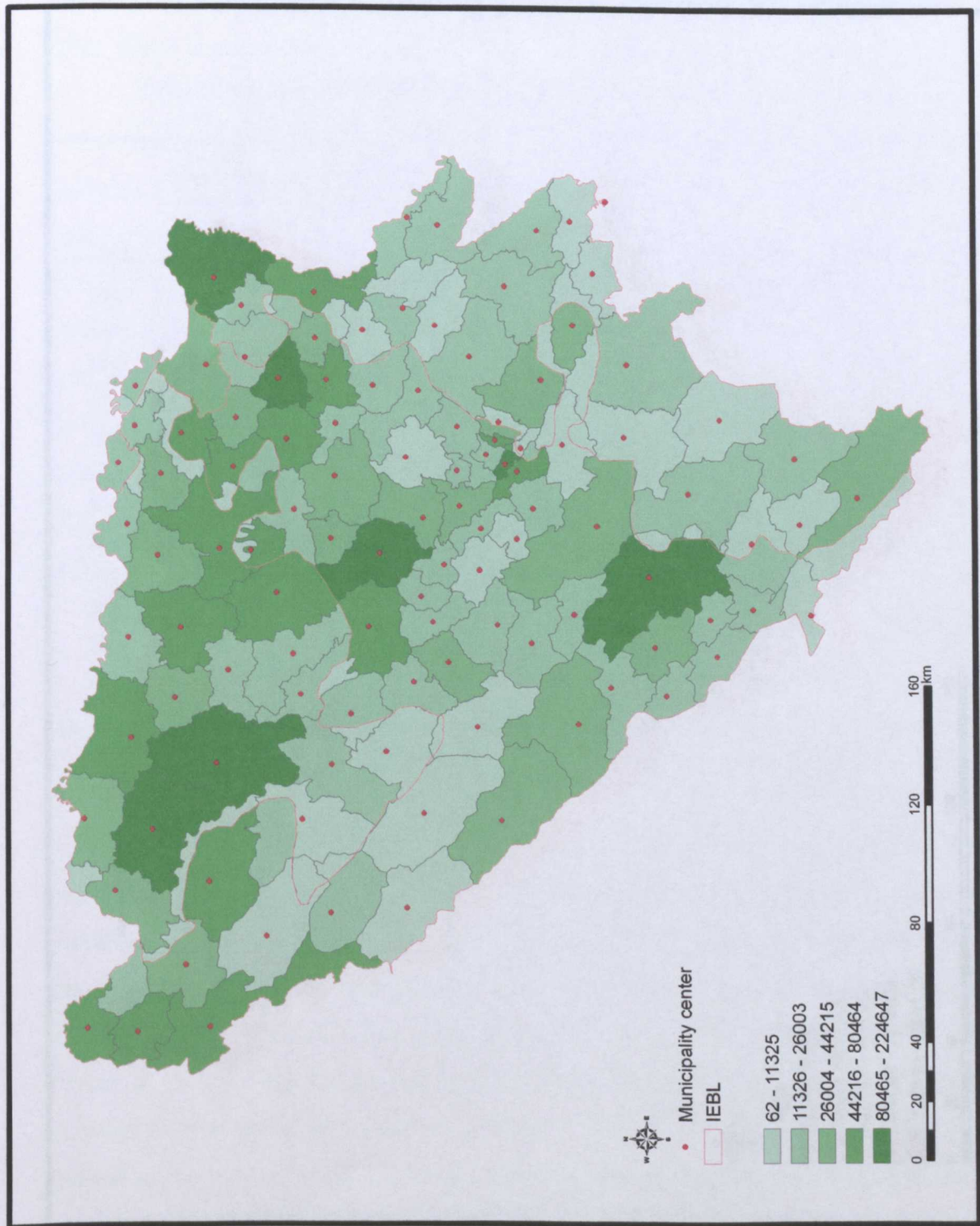
The idea of the second demographic transition has been subsequently elaborated upon in various publications (e.g., Leastaeghe and Neels 2002; Leastaeghe and Surkyn 2002 and 2004; van de Kaa 1994, 2001 and 2002; van Bavel 2007). In doing so, the shifts in values and attitudes related to family, reproduction, and children have been examined by numerous researchers. The link between the second demographic transition and fertility trends highlights its strong positive association with fertility at later childbearing ages, family policies and gender equality. Many researchers stress the diversity in family patterns and living arrangements across Europe. However, de Beer, Corijn and Deven (2000: 124) emphasise that different types of changes in family and fertility *“cannot simply be interpreted in one model of the second demographic transition”*. Pinelli et al. (2001) posed several questions in order to seek answers about the influence of family and reproductive behaviour on the trend of fertility in the countries of different regions in Europe. She studied patterns of intensity and timing of nuptiality and the dissolution of unions together with the age at the start of sexual activity, cohabitation and the new ways of forming a union establishing whether the new patterns have an influence on individual fertility behaviour. In this paper it is *“hypothesized that individual reproductive behaviour is negatively influenced by: delay in starting a union or birth of a first (second) child; cohabitation; union instability-while indirect marriage (that is marriage after pre-marital cohabitation) and repartnering might have a very limited or even positive influence, and that the strength of these influences can differ in different contexts”* (Pinnelli et.al., 2001, pp.51). The hypothesis is confirmed by using biographies of the women of reproductive age in four European countries (Italy, France, Hungary and Sweden) and data included in

the model of decomposition of the fertility trends and analysed using event-history analysis.

According to Eurostat (2007) three-quarters of Europeans in 2005 lived in countries with total fertility rates below 1.5, and there are many reasons to be seriously concerned about population trends in Europe. Very low fertility levels in many countries and population decline in some are the consequence of voluntary childlessness as widely accepted lifestyle choice and small family sizes as usual in contemporary Europe. Contemporary population projections are based on better data, analytical tools and methods that can avoid many errors but unfortunately do support fears voiced about Europe's demographic future.

12.2 Recent Demographic Changes in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Considering the fact that in Bosnia and Herzegovina the Population Census has not been conducted since 1991, there is no possibility to provide the adequate and accurate analysis of fertility behaviour and fertility patterns at the municipality level in different part of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the post-war period. However, some data are available and can be used as an indicator of fertility level and to form a demographic picture of the country, which is not integral to this study but can certainly be attributed as relevant. The data of vital statistics have been collected each year by the registration officers and municipal courts. According to the legal regulations on registration, events of births, deaths and marriages are obligatorily registered in population registers of the area where they took place, irrespective of the residence of persons to whom events refer. Unfortunately, the data on the total number of women and the number of women in reproductive ages are not available at a municipality level, which means it is impossible to calculate the age-specific fertility rate or the total fertility rate for each municipality in Bosnia and Herzegovina. For that reason we have to make use of other data available that can help us to provide a review of some of the important demographic changes in Bosnia and Herzegovina that indicate the fertility trend in recent years (Map26 and 27).



In regard to the explanation of demographic changes some data are presented in Table 12.1. During the 1991-1996 period, the total population declined by about 17 per cent while there was a slight increase between 1996 and 2006. So, the population in 2006 in Bosnia and Herzegovina was 87.8 per cent of the number in 1991.

Table 12.1 POPULATION-MID-YEAR ESTIMATE AND NATURAL INCREASE in BiH

Year	Total population (mid-year estimate), 000	Births		Deaths				Natural increase
		Live births		Total		Infants		
		Total	Males	Total	Males	Total	Males	
1991	4377	64769	-	30680	-	1059	-	34089
1996	3645	46594	24398	25152	13952	653	360	21442
1997	3738	48397	25297	27875	15184	601	369	20522
1998	3653	45007	23425	28679	15303	494	302	16328
1999	3725	42464	21636	28637	15161	431	242	13827
2000	3781	39563	20407	30482	16058	383	220	9081
2001	3798	37717	19400	30325	16202	287	159	7392
2002	3828	35587	18297	30155	15647	334	191	5432
2003	3832	35234	18330	31757	16590	268	154	3477
2004	3842	35151	18133	32616	16780	253	151	2535
2005	3843	34627	17797	34402	18018	233	133	225
2006	3843	34033	17547	33221	17308	255	158	812

Source: Federal office of statistics and Republic of Srpska Institute of statistics

It should be mentioned that the population numbers were estimated by the Agency for Statistics of BiH and by the Federal Office of Statistics and Institute of Statistics of RS. According to the estimation done by the Agency for Statistics BiH the number of population each year is lower by around 10 per cent than the number of population estimated by the Institutes in the two entities. The analysis of live births in the post-war period shows that there was a downward tendency and the number of live births decreased from 1996 to 2006 by 12 561 or 27 per cent. The period since the last Census in Bosnia and Herzegovina has been characterized by a decline in live births. So, from 1991 to 2006 the number was lower by 30 736 live births or 52.5 per cent. At the same time, during the same period the number of

deaths increased by 2 541 or 7.6 per cent. These facts resulted in a highly reduced natural increase of the population that accounted for only 2.4 per cent of the natural increase registered in 1991. The natural increase declined from 34 089 in 1991 to 812 in 2006. In spite of an increase of general mortality there was a decline in infant mortality. The number of infant deaths declined from 14.0‰ in 1996 to 7.5‰ in 2006 which is respectable progress in comparison with 19.1‰ in 1991.

Moreover, some differences in the population natural rates are observed between the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FBiH) and the Republic of Srpska (RS) (Tables 12.2 and 12.3). During the 1996-2006 period, there was a persistent decline in the natality rates in comparison to the value in 1991. The sharper decline from 1991 to 2006 was in the RS (by 7.9‰ and 6.3‰ respectively). The mortality rate increased by 1.3‰ in the FBiH and by 2.6‰ in the RS. These changes in natality and mortality rates contributed to a much lower population natural increase: 1.3‰ in 2006 in the FBiH, declining by 7.6‰ in comparison with 1991, and even a natural decrease -1.5‰ in 2006 in the RS, declining by 10.4‰ since 1991.

Table 12.2 POPULATION NATURAL CHANGE RATES in the FBiH

Year	Live births	Deaths	Natural increase	Marriages	Infant deaths per 1000 births	Divorces per 1000 marriages
Per 1000 present inhabitants						
1991	15.6	6.7	8.9	6.7	15.1	44.3
1996	15.2	6.3	8.9	6.5	13.8	25.7
1997	14.6	6.9	7.7	6.8	13	68.4
1998	14.1	7.3	6.8	6.7	12.1	77.9
1999	12.3	7.1	5.2	6.3	11.2	84.1
2000	11.0	7.4	3.6	6.0	11.0	84.9
2001	10.4	7.3	3.1	5.5	8.9	100.8
2002	10.0	7.4	2.6	5.6	10.5	110.5
2003	10.0	7.9	2.1	5.6	8.7	89.6
2004	9.6	7.9	1.7	5.9	8.5	62.6
2005	9.4	8.3	1.1	5.8	8.8	70.9
2006	9.3	8.0	1.3	5.6	9.5	71.7

Source: Federal Office of Statistics

Table 12.3 POPULATION NATURAL CHANGE RATES in the RS

Year	Live births	Deaths	Natural increase	Marriages	Infant	Divorces
					deaths per 1000 births	per 1000 marriages
Per 1000 present inhabitants						
1991	15.6	6.7	8.9	6.7	15.1	44.3
1997	9.8	8.3	1.5	5.1	11.3	103.5
1998	9.5	8.7	0.7	5.2	8.3	110.7
1999	10.0	8.6	1.4	5.7	8.2	96.9
2000	9.7	9.1	0.6	5.4	7.3	93.6
2001	9.2	9.0	0.2	5.1	5.3	111.3
2002	8.5	8.9	-0.4	5.0	7.2	117.2
2003	8.2	9.2	-1.0	5.2	5.5	97.5
2004	8.1	9.2	-1.1	5.3	5.3	81.9
2005	7.9	9.7	-1.8	5.0	3.4	103.2
2006	7.7	9.3	-1.5	5.3	4.3	81.2

Source: Republic of Srpska Institute of Statistics

On the other hand, a positive fact is that infant mortality has been recording a continuous decline, with a better situation in the RS, where the 1991-2006 decline was 10.8 per 1000 live births, while in the FBiH the decline was 5.6 per 1000 live births (Tables 12.2 and 12.3).

12.3 Average number of household members

In the pre-war period, the average number of persons living in a household recorded a continuous fall. According to the 1991 Census, the average number of persons per household was 3.6, while according to the 1948 Census this number was 5.2. Besides new family forms one of the important factors which has influenced the decrease in the number of persons per household is the decrease in the number of children born in the family; the average is 1.88 children per woman (Census 1991). Furthermore, according to the final results of the Household Budget Survey (HBS) implemented in partnership by the Bosnia and Herzegovina Agency for Statistics and the two entity's Institutes with financial and technical support of the Italian National

Institute of Statistics in 2004 some useful data are available. The number of households living in Bosnia and Herzegovina was smaller by 139 978 in 2004 than in 1991.

Table 12.4 HOUSEHOLDS AND POPULATION

Year	Number of households	Members by households	Total population
1948	498116	5.2	2564308
1953	565212	5.0	2847459
1961	706107	4.6	3277948
1971	848545	4.4	3746111
1981	1030689	4.0	4124256
1991	1207098	3.6	4377033
2004	1067120	3.3	3507868

Source: Agency for Statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina

For 1 067 120 households in 2004 the average number of members was 3.29 (Table 12.4). With reference to the administrative area and the composition of the population, the average number of members was slightly higher in the FBiH (3.37) as opposed to the RS (3.17). A greater amount of households (57.2%) were living in rural areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina. A higher percentage (63.8%) of rural households was observed in the RS than in the FBiH (53.3%). Rural households were generally larger in size in all administrative areas and in Bosnia and Herzegovina the average rural household size was 3.45 while urban households had 3.07 members. In the Republic of Srpska rural households were predominantly composed of elderly people and represent about 75 per cent of the elderly living alone or as a couple. Furthermore, 62.3 per cent of the households in both urban and rural areas in the RS had no member younger than 18 years and only 4.6 per cent had more than two. In the FBiH households 55.3 per cent of households had no person aged under 18 years. In particular, couples with only one child represented 13.7 per cent, while couples

with three or more children in the FBiH represented 7.8 per cent as opposed to 5.2 per cent in the RS (Agency for Statistics of BiH, et. al., 2004).

Recently, intensive pluralization of family forms and family lifestyles has characterized Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, the dominant family form is still the 'classic' family, a community of married spouses with children, but the number of single parents and the number of cohabitations as a form of family is increasing. Trends of changes in family structure are similar to those characteristics of West-European countries. Single parent households represented 7.4 per cent of households in the country in 2004, with a strong presence of women (as opposed to men) living alone with children. It should be underlined that single mothers constituted about 82 per cent of single parent households.

12.4 Total population in municipalities

Beside massive internal population movements and emigration mentioned before, the analysis of population natural rates shows a decline in the natural increase of the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Thus it is not surprising that the following data show a smaller number of populations in the municipalities in the FBiH and in the municipalities in the RS in the post-war period in comparison to 1991. Actually, there are 13 and 20 new-formed municipalities in the FBiH and the RS respectively. In 2006 about 4-5 municipalities in the FBiH and 10 municipalities in the RS had no more than 10 per cent of the population recorded in 1991. It should be mentioned that these municipalities with such a small number of the 1991 population are new-formed and more or less constituted only a few settlements. However, the comparison here was with the number of people that were counted in municipality of which they were a part in 1991. In these previously existing municipalities, which are now smaller because some of their territory now belongs to the new-formed municipalities, there are between 50 per cent and 100 per cent of the pre-war population. In particular, the analysis of each of these municipalities shows that they have had no population increase. Furthermore, in around 14 municipalities in the FBiH and in around 12 in the RS, there are only up to 50% of the populations in 1991. As can be seen (Tables 12.5 and 12.6) there are no more than 15

municipalities either in the FBiH or in the RS that registered an increase in the total number of population in comparison with 1991. These municipalities mainly have a larger city as their urban centre or even if the city is small it has better economic infrastructure that have attracted not only rural population but also population from different parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, offering more or less better living conditions. Some of these municipalities in the FBiH are Siroki Brijeg, Tomislavgrad, Citluk, Neum, Jablanica and Kladanj. These municipalities have slightly different and better socio-economic characteristics in comparison with many other municipalities, and offer more job opportunities in private enterprises or in tourism. A similar situation occurs with Banja Luka, Trebinje, Bijeljina, Nevesinje, Laktasi, Pale and few others in the RS (Map 28).

Table 12.5 MUNICIPALITIES 2000-2006 ACCORDING TO THE PERCENTAGE SHARE OF POPULATION IN COMPARISON TO CENSUS 1991, in the FBiH

%	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
0,0-10,0	4	4	4	4	5	5	5
10,1-50,0	14	14	13	14	12	10	11
50,1-100	46	46	47	47	48	50	49
100,1 and more	15	15	15	14	14	14	14
Total	79	79	79	79	79	79	79

Source: author's calculations based on the data from Agency for Statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina

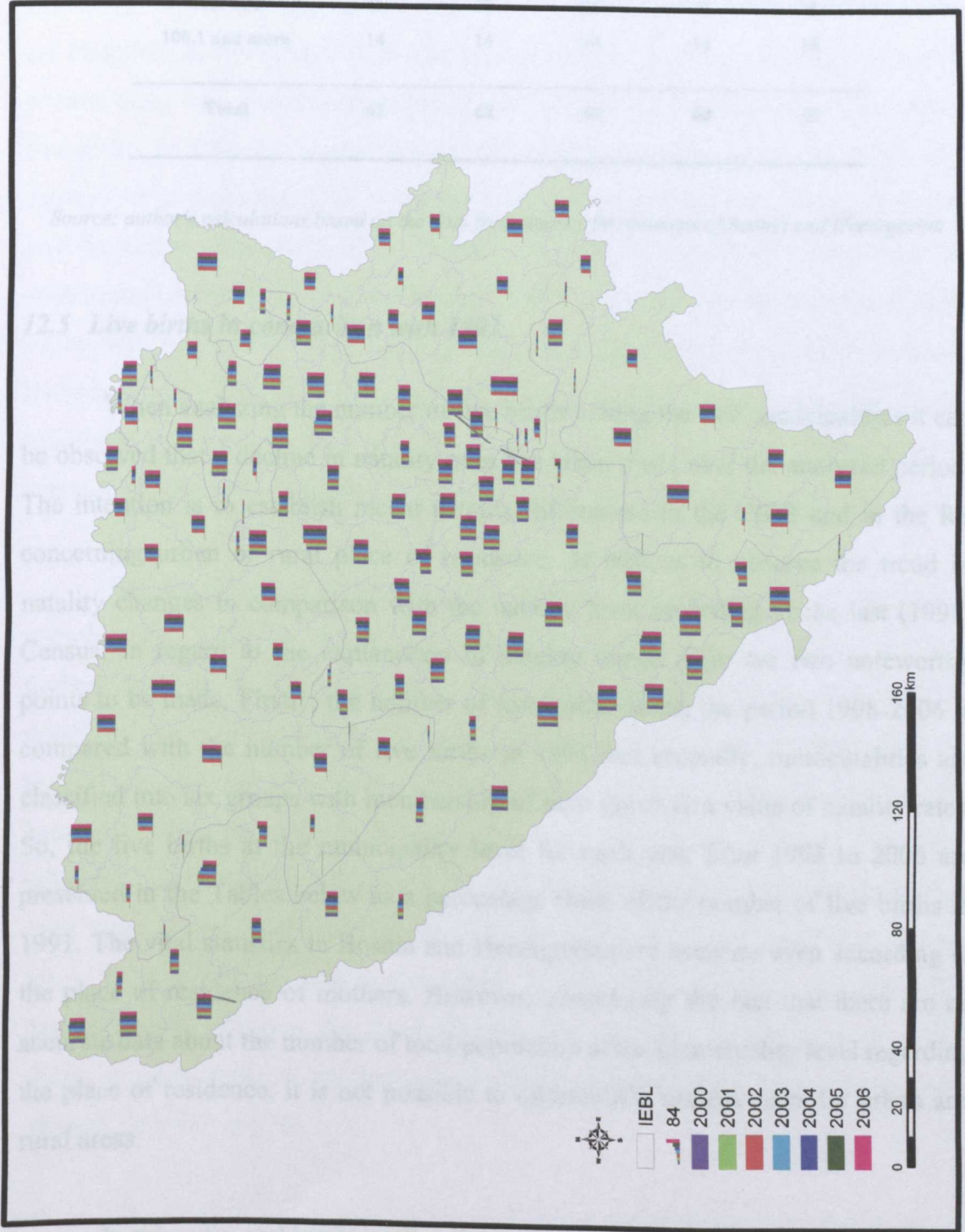


Table 12.4 MUNICIPAL ITINS 2000-2006 AT CENSUS'S PLAZA FORCE PLAZA SHARE OF POPULATION IN COMPARISON TO CENSUS 1991

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
84	10	18	10	10	10
2000	12	12	20	12	12
2001	14	14	14	14	14
2002	16	16	16	16	16

Source: author's calculations based on the data of the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare.

12.5 Live birth

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Table 12.6 MUNICIPALITIES 2000-2006 ACCORDING TO THE PERCENTAGE SHARE OF POPULATION IN COMPARISON TO CENSUS 1991, in the RS

%	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
0,0-10,0	10	10	10	10	10
10,1-50,0	12	12	10	12	12
50,1-100	26	26	28	26	26
100,1 and more	14	14	14	14	14
Total	62	62	62	62	62

Source: author's calculations based on the data from Agency for statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina

12.5 Live births in comparison with 1991

When analyzing the number of live births among the 142 municipalities it can be observed that a decline in natality rates has taken place over the analyzed period. The intention is to establish recent natality differences in the FBiH and in the RS concerning urban or rural place of residence, as well as to observe the trend in natality changes in comparison with the natality level according to the last (1991) Census. In regard to the explanation of natality trends there are two noteworthy points to be made. Firstly, the number of live births during the period 1998-2006 is compared with the number of live births in 1991 and secondly, municipalities are classified into six groups with membership of each group as a value of natality rates. So, the live births at the municipality level for each year from 1998 to 2006 are presented in the Tables below as a percentage share of the number of live births in 1991. The vital statistics in Bosnia and Herzegovina are accurate even according to the place of residence of mothers. However, considering the fact that there are no accurate data about the number of total population at the municipality level regarding the place of residence, it is not possible to differentiate natality rates for urban and rural areas.

In this way, seeking to outline the perception of fertility changes the number of live births is analyzed. In general, the overview of the number of live births during

the analyzed post-war period compared with the number of live births in 1991 indicates an almost continuous decline in urban as well as in rural areas, with a higher proportion of live births in urban areas of Bosnia and Herzegovina. There are between 1 and 5 rural areas in the FBiH where there were no births from 1998 to 2006. At the same time, 12 of the newly-formed municipalities of the FBiH have no real urban centres but only smaller settlements with rural characteristics, and the data are classified as 'no births'. It should be emphasized that there are a higher number of rural areas with a small proportion of live births that did not exceed 50 per cent of live births in 1991 as compared with the number of urban areas. So, Table 12.7 shows that in more than half of the rural areas the number of live births is at least half the figure recorded in 1991. At the same time the number of urban areas with such a small number of live births constitutes about one-third of all urban areas in the Federation. Furthermore, the higher proportion of both areas with small number of live births since 2003 is obvious, reflecting when the natality level started to decline more and being emphasized across the country as a result of the difficult socio-economic and political situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Tables 12.7 and 12.8).

Besides the consideration of rural-urban migration as one of the factors that contributes to higher urban fertility elaborated in the previous chapters, our new findings underline the displacement of the population during and after the war as an additional cause of the slightly higher number of live births in urban areas. This fact has to be considered when it is well known that many of the rural settlements have lost most of their inhabitants, in some cases even all of them. In most of the small villages in Eastern Bosnia, Herzegovina and Bosnian Krajina as well in some other parts there are no inhabitants at all. The vast majority of people moved to areas where they would be among the ethnic majority and therefore not subject to discrimination. However the discrimination returnees face as members of a local ethnic minority in the return areas affects their livelihood opportunities and access to services (Map 29 and 30).

PERCENTAGE SHARE OF LIVE BIRTHS 2000-2006 IN COMPARISON TO CENSUS 1991. Rural areas

MAP 29

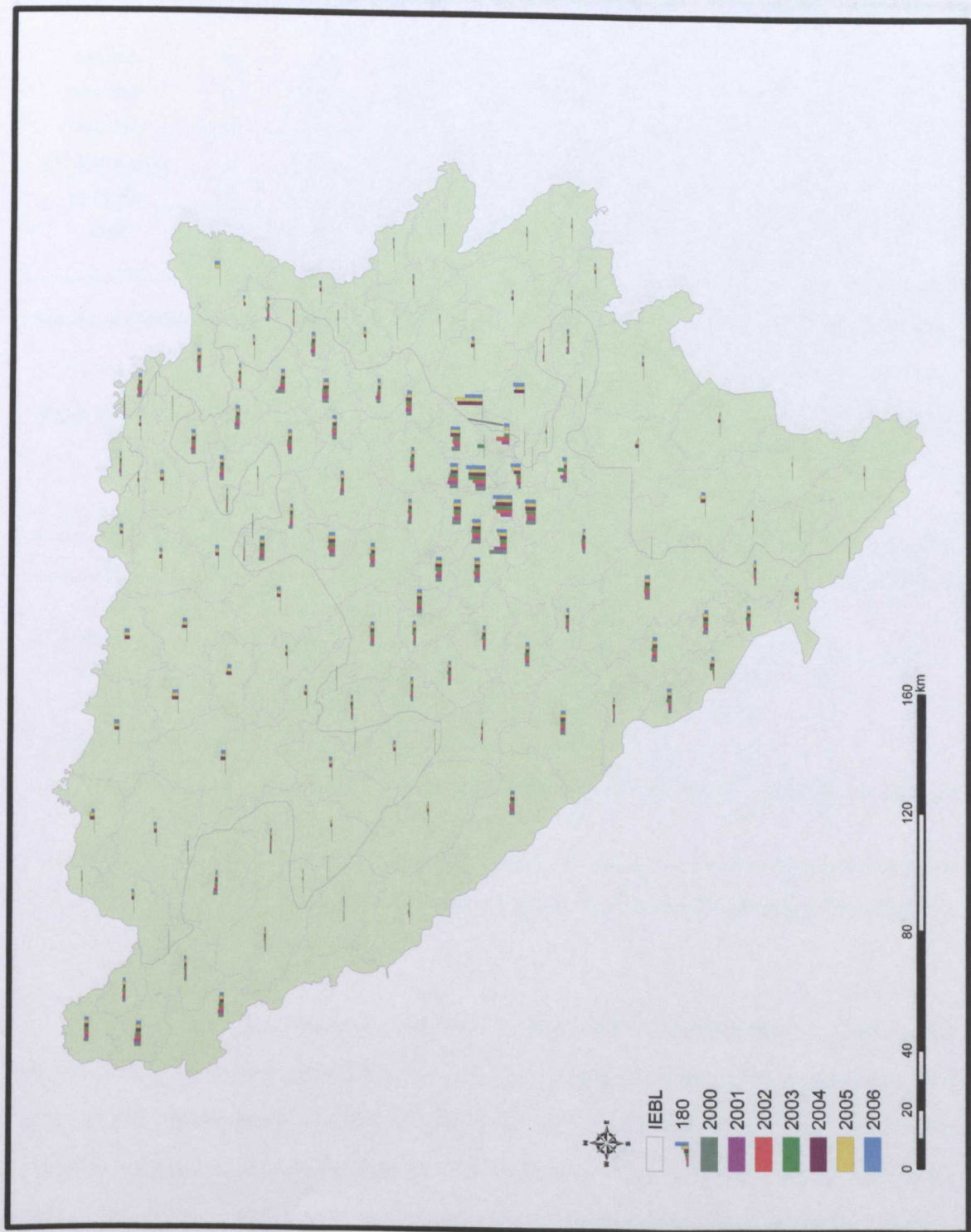


Table 12.7 MUNICIPALITIES EXHIBITING A CHANGING IN THE PERCENTAGE SHARE OF LIVE BIRTHS IN COMPARISON WITH THE PERCENTAGE SHARE OF BIRTHS IN 1991

(in a percentage of total)

Age Group	1991	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
0-14.9	17	19	17	15	13	12	11	10
15.1-24.9	14	13	12	11	10	9	8	7
25.1-34.9	21	20	19	18	17	16	15	14
35.1 and more	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Total	36	36	36	36	36	36	36	36

Source: author's calculations based on the data from the Statistical Office of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Table 12.8 MUNICIPALITIES EXHIBITING A CHANGING IN THE PERCENTAGE SHARE OF LIVE BIRTHS IN COMPARISON WITH THE PERCENTAGE SHARE OF BIRTHS IN 1991

(in a percentage of total)

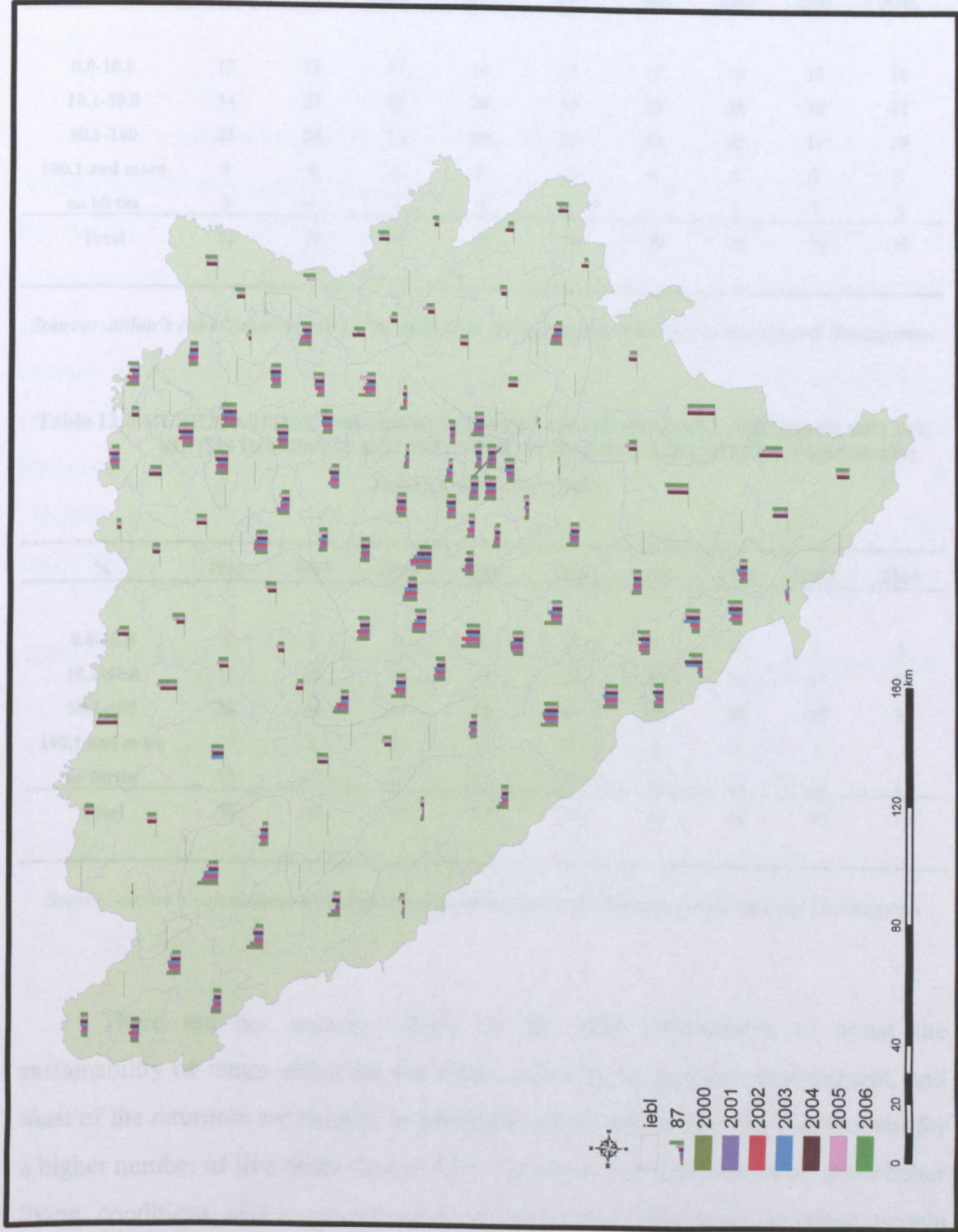


Table 12.7 MUNICIPALITIES 1998-2006 ACCORDING TO THE PERCENTAGE SHARE OF LIVE BIRTHS IN COMPARISON WITH THE NUMBER OF LIVE BIRTHS, CENSUS 1991
(rural areas in the FBiH)

%	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
0.0-10.0	12	18	17	16	15	15	15	13	18
10.1-50.0	34	23	27	24	30	25	35	39	31
50.1-100	25	28	23	29	26	33	22	19	19
100.1 and more	5	6	8	7	7	6	5	7	8
no births	3	4	4	3	1	-	2	1	3
Total	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79

Source: author's calculations based on the data from the Agency for Statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Table 12.8 MUNICIPALITIES 1998-2006 ACCORDING TO THE PERCENTAGE SHARE OF LIVE BIRTHS IN COMPARISON WITH THE NUMBER OF LIVE BIRTHS, CENSUS 1991
(urban areas in the FBiH)

%	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
0.0-10.0	3	1	2	1	2	3	2	1	1
10.1-50.0	11	18	17	18	19	20	24	27	30
50.1-100	38	40	41	46	44	40	40	38	36
100.1 and more	15	8	7	2	2	4	1	1	-
no births	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
Total	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79

Source: author's calculations based on the data from Agency for Statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina

There are not enough efforts by the BiH Government to assist the sustainability of return either for the ethnic minority or majority environment, and most of the returnees are elderly. In particular, urban and rural areas that account for a higher number of live births than in 1991 belong to municipalities with some better living conditions and socio-economic characteristics that have attracted people during the war or in the post-war period. Besides Sarajevo as the capital city and Banja Luka, Mostar, Tuzla and Zenica as large cities in BiH, there are some smaller

cities or suburbs such as Kresevo, Kiseljak, Vogosca, Hadjici, Visoko and some other that have attracted mostly young Bosniacs or Croats from central Bosnia, or from municipalities that now administratively belong to the RS. These municipalities offer a slightly better socio-economic environment which helps inhabitants to rebuild their lives and reintegrate into society in their places of displacement in sustainable ways.

The available statistical data for the RS allow us to analyze the changes in urban and rural areas within municipalities for the three years 2004, 2005 and 2006, but for the period 1998-2003 only at the municipality level. Republic of Srpska is characterized with a high proportion of the municipalities (about 60%) where the number of live births is two or more times smaller than was the case in 1991. Their number increased during the 1998-2003 period (Table 12.9). On the other hand, only three municipalities had more live births than in 1991 (Nevesinje, Gacko and Prnjavor). These municipalities belonged to the group with a low level of urbanization and low fertility according to our previous analysis for 1991, and recently their inhabitants have been more oriented to agricultural production.

Table 12.9 MUNICIPALITIES 1998-2003 ACCORDING TO PERCENTAGE SHARE IN OMPARISON WITH THE NUMBER OF LIVE BIRTHS, CENSUS 1991 in the RS

%	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
0.0-10.0	13	13	14	17	17	14
10.1-50.0	22	20	23	26	26	26
50.1-100	20	24	24	17	18	16
100.1 and more	3	3	-	1	1	1
no births	4	2	1	1	-	5
Total	62	62	62	62	62	62

Source: author's calculations based on data from the Agency for Statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Most of the rural areas in the RS have a very small number of the live births. In fact two-thirds of all rural areas account for a much smaller number of the live

births in each of the three years 2004, 2005 and 2006 than in 1991, while such a small number of live births can be found in about one-quarter of the urban areas. In 20 urban areas of the RS, no births were registered. A lack of births is characteristic of the new-formed municipalities without any established urban centres within the municipality. As already mentioned, there are some in the FBiH as well. Some municipalities (Nevesinje, Gacko, Bileca, Laktasi and Gradiska) and especially their urban centres in the RS have attracted new inhabitants and raised their numbers of people of reproductive ages which resulted in a higher number of live births in recent years than they had in 1991 (Tables 12.10 and 12.11).

Table 12.10 MUNICIPALITIES 2004-2006 ACCORDING TO PERCENTAGE SHARE IN COMPARISON WITH THE NUMBER OF LIVE BIRTHS, CENSUS 1991

(rural areas in the RS)

%	2004	2005	2006
0.0-10.0	14	15	17
10.1-50.0	30	29	29
50.1-100	10	9	6
100.1 and more	2	2	2
no births	6	7	8
Total	62	62	62

Source: author's calculations based on the data from the Agency for Statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Table 12.11 MUNICIPALITIES 2004-2006 ACCORDING TO PERCENTAGE SHARE IN COMPARISON WITH THE NUMBER OF LIVE BIRTHS, CENSUS 1991

(urban areas in the RS)

%	2004	2005	2006
0.0-10.0	2	1	1
10.1-50.0	13	16	14
50.1-100	22	20	22
100.1 and more	5	5	5
no births	20	20	20
Total	62	62	62

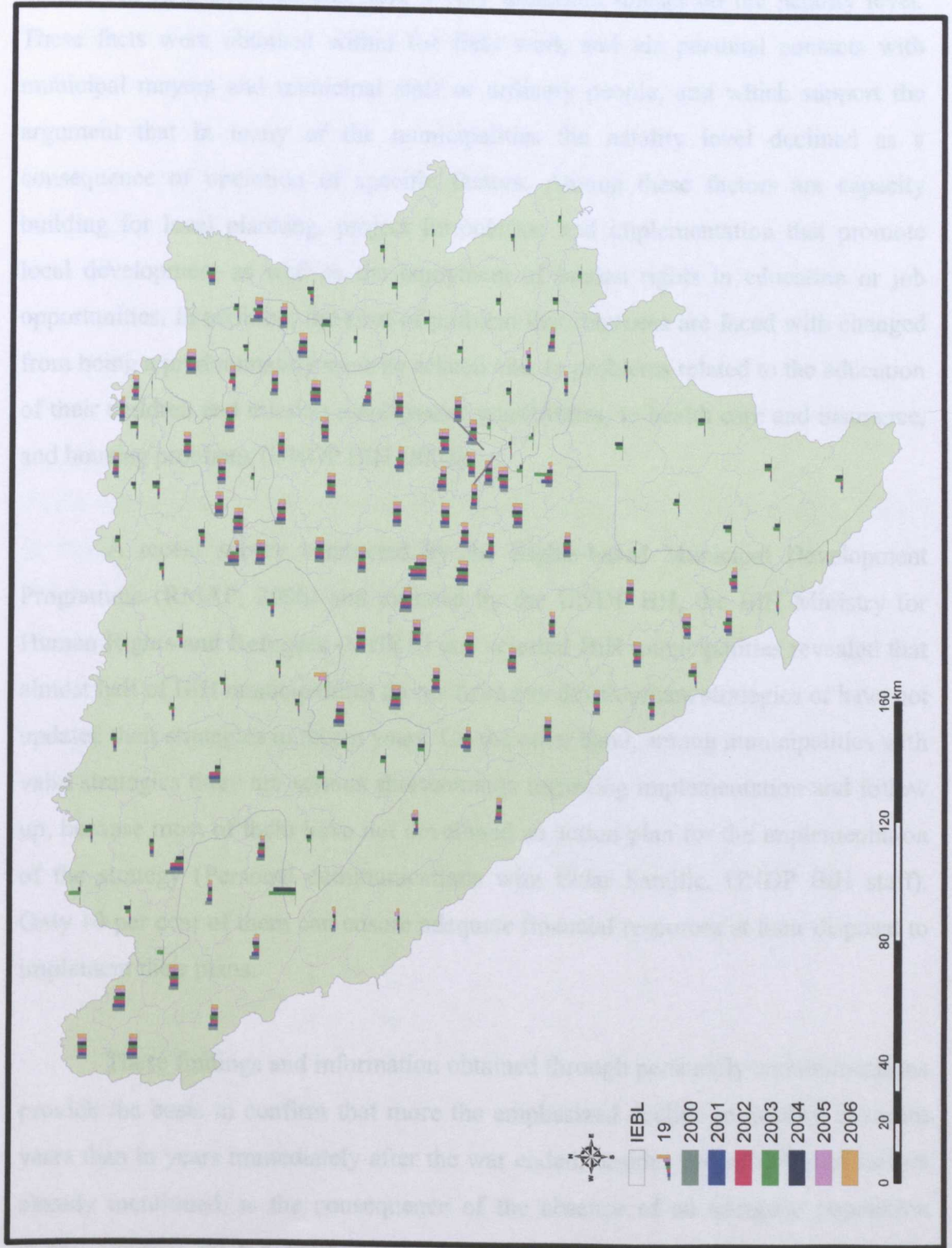
Source: author's calculations based on data from the Agency for Statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina

12.6 Crude birth rates

Since the early 1990s there has been a marked shift in circumstances for reproductive behaviour in Bosnia and Herzegovina – reflecting a move from a pretty satisfying and a more or less stable socio-economic and living environment to more limited living conditions with regard to each segment of life especially during the war itself, but in the post-war period as well, as pointed out earlier. There are no accurate data about the number of live births during the 1992-1995 period, but their number declined sharply in 1996 when compared with the number in 1991. The number of live births accounted for 64 769 in 1991 and in 1996 their number was only 46 594. Generally, remarkable differences in the number of live births can be observed between the FBiH and the RS but with an almost continuous decline for both entities. In 1996 there were 34 331 (73%) live births in the FBiH and 12 263 (27%) in the RS. However, during the 1996-2006 period their number was smaller: 12 729 and for 2 238 live births in the FBiH and in the RS, respectively, with a slight increase of the share (35%) of live births in the RS in 2006. Unfortunately, these differences are with respect to a more emphasized decline in childbearing in the FBiH registered since 2000, and not as a result of childbearing increase in the RS.

Actually, the amount of childbearing in this entity was smaller by about 16% in 2006 than in 1997 (Tables 12.14 and 12.15).

Tables 12.12 and 12.13 show municipalities in the FBiH and in the RS divided into six groups, with membership of each group as a value of crude birth rate (CBR) (between 0.00 and more than 20.0 births per 1000 population) for the period 2000-2006. Unfortunately, Republic of Srpska Institute of Statistics has no available data of the total population for year 2005 and 2006 on the municipality level and it was not possible to calculate CBRs. A natality rate between 0.1‰ and 5.0 ‰ is found in a few municipalities of the FBiH and in a higher number of municipalities of the RS ... as many as 16 of them in 2004. The municipalities with CBRs below 10‰ had the highest proportion with a constant increase and by 2004 they accounted for 95.2 per cent in the RS. Their number increased from 37 in 2000 to 59 in 2004 in the RS, while the situation in the FBiH can be characterized as slightly better but with a significant increase in the last three years when they accounted for 64.2 per cent in 2004, and for a similar percentage (62.0%) in 2005 and in 2006. So, since 2003 the highest number of municipalities in the FBiH had CBRs between 5.1‰ and 10.0‰. Generally, the number of municipalities with CBRs from 15.1 to 20‰, although higher in the FBiH than in the RS, has been declining during the 2000-2006 period. Busovaca was the single municipality in the FBiH with CBR more than 20‰ (the highest 24.3‰ in 2001), accompanied by Trnovo (25.1‰ in 2003). These two municipalities belonged to the low urbanized group and moderate income per capita according to the 1991 classification, and in recent years they have had more births in the rural areas of their respective municipalities. Both of these municipalities have received inhabitants from other parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, during the war or after it. The municipalities with CBRs over 20‰ in the RS (Istocni Drvar, Petrovac, Ostra Luka, and Kupres) have only small numbers of inhabitants and very low population density. Generally, the number of live births in these municipalities is only about 10 in each. So, their natality level does not really improve the demographic situation in this entity of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Map 31).



The observed declining values of CBRs in the municipalities of Bosnia and Herzegovina can be attributed to the factors already mentioned when the changing total population numbers were analyzed. Furthermore, some additional facts or factors can be considered that have a very important impact on the natality level. These facts were obtained within the field work and via personal contacts with municipal mayors and municipal staff or ordinary people, and which support the argument that in many of the municipalities the natality level declined as a consequence of operation of specific factors. Among these factors are capacity building for local planning, project formulation and implementation that promote local development as well as the enjoyment of human rights in education or job opportunities. In addition, the kind of problem that returnees are faced with changed from being a predominantly security related one, to problems related to the education of their children and missing employment possibilities, to health care and insurance, and housing problems (UNDP BiH, 2006).

A recent survey conducted by the Rights-based Municipal Development Programme (RMAP, 2006) and initiated by the UNDP BH, the BiH Ministry for Human Rights and Refugees (MHRR) and selected BiH municipalities revealed that almost half of BiH municipalities do not have any development strategies or have not updated their strategies in recent years. On the other hand, among municipalities with valid strategies there are serious shortcomings regarding implementation and follow up, because most of them have not developed an action plan for the implementation of the strategy (Personal communications with Eldar Sarajlic, UNDP BiH staff). Only 10 per cent of them can ensure adequate financial resources at their disposal to implement their plans.

These findings and information obtained through personally communications provide the basis to confirm that more the emphasized decline in natality in recent years than in years immediately after the war ended, besides the influence of factors already mentioned, is the consequence of the absence of an adequate population policy adopted by the State Government. In recent years over much of BiH's municipalities, there has been a remarkable decline in crude birth rates. In particular,

people when asked about their decisions to have none or only one child answered that they started to lose hope in better living conditions and they are afraid for the future. The majority of municipalities indicate a large need for assistance in planning and project management targeted to the local level, which will help to build capacities that would enable municipalities to improve the socio-economic situation and develop their communities. Among many projects currently being implemented some are mentioned as follows:

Bugojno municipality – Project of strawberry growing/production targeting the most vulnerable unemployed rural population;

Drvar municipality – Project of public light near Elementary school Drvar;

Odzak municipality – Project equipping the Healthcare Centre by acquiring an ultrasound machine;

Orasje municipality – Project of connecting the Branch School Kostrc to the water supply network;

Teslic municipality – Project of central heating installation at the Elementary School in Vitkovici.

Table 12.12 MUNICIPALITIES 2000 -2006 ACCORDING TO LIVE BIRTHS PER 1000 PRESENT POPULATION in the FBiH

CBR (%)	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
0.0	-	-	-	-	1	1	-
0.1-5.0	8	9	9	8	5	5	6
5.1-10.0	24	25	31	28	45	43	43
10.1-15.0	39	40	35	40	27	29	29
15.1-20.0	7	4	3	1	1		1
more than 20.0	1	1	1	2	-	-	-
Total	79	79	79	79	79	79	79

Source: author's calculations based on the data from Agency for Statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Table 12.13 MUNICIPALITIES 2000 -2004 ACCORDING TO LIVE BIRTHS PER 1000 PRESENT POPULATION in the RS

CBR (%)	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
0.0	-	2	-	1	2	na	na
0.1-5.0	9	8	11	15	16	na	na
5.1-10.0	28	33	35	38	41	na	na
10.1-15.0	20	17	13	6	2	na	na
15.1-20.0	1	1	1	1	-	na	na
more than 20.0	4	1	2	1	1	na	na
Total	62	62	62	62	62	na	na

Source: author's calculations based on the data from Agency for Statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina

12.6.1 Live births outside marriage

In the pre-war period, from 1981 to 1991, there was an increase in the number of children born out of wedlock in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Their share of all births was 7.4 per cent in 1991. From 1991 to 1997, this increase was continued and they accounted for 12.6 per cent and 10.8 per cent in 1996 and 1997 respectively in the FBiH and for 15.5 per cent in the RS in 1997. However, in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the number of children born out of wedlock has decreased in the period from 1996 to 2006, from 3 850 to 2027, respectively (Tables 12.14 and 12.15).

In the Republic of Srpska the number of children born outside marriage increased in the period from 1997 to 2006. In 1997, out of 13 757 of the total number of births, 1 846 were born outside of marriage, while in 2006 they accounted for 17.6 per cent of the live births. It is estimated that 1996 and 1997 are the years with the largest numbers of extramarital children because the war caused extensive migration (large number of separated families, refugees and displaced persons).

Table 12.14 LIVE BIRTHS in the FBiH

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
TOTAL	34 331	34 404	31 480	27 964	25 372	24 018	23 251	23 168	22 250	21 934	21 602
Males	18 030	17 961	16 344	14 242	13 088	12 347	11 932	12 083	11 476	11 287	11 207
Females	16 301	16 343	15 136	13 722	12 284	11 671	11 319	11 085	10 774	10 647	10 395
Livebirths											
In marriage	30 481	30 951	28 429	25 076	22 690	21 531	20 878	20 841	20 029	19 864	19 575
Out of marriage	3 850	3 353	3 051	2 888	2 682	2 487	2 373	2 327	2 221	2 070	2 027
Age of mother											
Under 15 years	8	11	2	0	3	13	10	9	7	2	4
15-19	2 941	3 128	2 395	2 073	1 806	1 679	1 561	1 457	1 396	1 296	1 399
20-24	9 643	10 862	10 141	9 026	8 223	7 827	7 454	7 176	6 811	6 585	6 338
25-29	10 148	9 343	8 929	8 294	7 851	7 559	7 458	7 546	7 299	7 333	7 250
30-34	6 912	6 154	5 543	5 245	4 733	4 411	4 347	4 544	4 336	4 459	4 459
35-39	3 389	2 591	2 541	2 315	2 146	1 947	1 908	1 926	1 806	1 731	1 731
40-44	523	519	510	488	431	406	398	398	375	352	337
45-49	27	39	37	22	22	33	16	15	15	20	16
50 and more	5	3	2	2	2	4	0	0	1	0	1
Unknown	735	1 654	1 380	499	155	139	99	119	84	81	67

Source: Federal Office of Statistics

Table 12.15 LIVE BIRTHS in the RS

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
TOTAL	/	13757	13527	14500	14191	13699	12336	12066	11917	11638	11519
Males	/	7176	7081	7394	7319	7053	6365	6247	6188	5974	5860
Females	/	6581	6446	7106	6872	6646	5971	5819	5729	5664	5659
Livebirths											
In marriage	/	11911	12042	13093	12820	12196	10921	10517	10395	10045	9795
Out of marriage	/	1846	1485	1407	1371	1503	1415	1549	1522	1593	1724
Age of mother											
Under 15 years	/	1	0	1	1	2	4	0	4	3	3
15-19	/	938	796	907	722	938	787	734	729	683	609
20-24	/	4583	4374	4520	4356	4370	3828	3891	3796	3534	3351
25-29	/	4005	4008	4192	4310	4082	3921	3774	3840	3882	3839
30-34	/	2571	2428	2436	2411	2245	2049	2058	2035	2141	2319
35-39	/	1141	1036	1028	1126	957	878	857	864	779	760
40-44	/	249	246	214	262	235	210	143	164	187	156
45-49	/	17	16	18	12	10	5	12	10	6	11
50 and more	/	/	2	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0
Unknown	/	325	621	1183	990	860	654	597	474	422	471

Source: Republic of Srpska Institute of Statistics

12.7 Family life and trends towards changes of family structure

Family behaviour influences the timing and intensity of individuals' fertility, depending on their own characteristics and circumstances and on the societal context in which they live. These factors affect the patterns of intensity and timing of nuptiality and the dissolution of unions. Marriages are in decline, but in many countries it is being substituted by cohabitation among partners without marrying (Pinnelli et.al., 2001). During the state-socialist period marriage in Bosnia and Herzegovina was almost universal and only a negligible number of couples never married. Cohabitation among young people was not a totally marginal phenomenon prior to 1990, but it was a characteristic mainly of the larger cities. Changes in the character of marriage, increased economic aspirations, and conflict between employment and motherhood are factors currently more associated with below-replacement fertility and lead to increased variability in fertility and family behaviour.

As previously mentioned, changes in the numbers of marriages and divorces can be determined and analysed for the 1950-1991 period. The slight decrease in marriages registered earlier has been continued, and the number of marriages dropped from 28 238 in 1991 to 21 107 marriages in 1996. Since then, it has been changing and increased slightly to 21 501 in 2006. In line with the gradual decline in the number of marriages, the marriage rate in the FBiH and in the RS declined during the 1991-2006 period by 1.1 and 1.4 marriages per 1000 inhabitants respectively. Between 1996 and 2006 there were slight variations in the marriage rate, with the highest one (6.8‰) in the FBiH in 1997 and the lowest one (5.0‰) in the RS in 2002 and in 2005 (Tables 12.2 and 12.3).

According to the HBS survey the share of the unmarried population aged 15 and over in 2004 was about 26.6 per cent in the FBiH, and 24.4 per cent in the RS. At the same time the share of single women in BiH was 21.1 per cent compared with 30.3 per cent of single men, while the share of single women aged from 25 to 34 years was 23.1

per cent and the share of single men of the same age was 47.1 per cent (Agency for Statistics of BH, et.al., 2004).

As the previous analysis for the 1950-1991 period shows the highest number of marriages was among women aged from 20 to 24 years, and they accounted for almost 50 per cent of the total number of marriages. Comparison of the numbers of marriages among women in different age groups shows that the highest number of marriages during the 1996-2006 period was also among women in the same age group (20-24), but their share declined to 38.2 per cent in 2006 while the share of women in older age groups increased (Table 12.16). In particular, women aged from 25 to 29 accounted for 25.5 per cent of the total number of marriages in 2006 compared with 17.9 per cent in 1991. Furthermore, the share of women in the age groups 30-34, 35-39 and 40-49 increased from 6.1 per cent to 10.1 per cent, from 2.4 per cent to 4.6 per cent and from 1.8 per cent to 4.5 per cent from 1991 to 2006, respectively. The age differences between spouses on average were not very big but during the 1996-2006 period the highest number of marriages was among the male population aged from 25 to 29 years while the highest share in 1991 was amongst men aged from 20 to 24. These changes cannot be neglected when all other mentioned circumstances are concerned. Nuptiality's decline together with increased age of marriage and age of mothers at childbirth are changing fertility compared with the situation in the past, when marriage was more frequent, started at younger ages and with a more stable socio-economic situation in the country. In this way a higher number of women were exposed to childbearing for a shorter period of time.

Table 12.16 MARRIAGES ACCORDING TO THE AGE OF THE BRIDE in BiH

Year	Total	Under 15	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-49
1991	27923	2	7996	11419	5023	1681	680	331
1996	21107	24	4077	8667	4327	1928	853	672
1997	23220	24	4335	9459	4739	2119	1016	831
1998	22398	1	3619	9038	4814	2171	1092	889
1999	22472	1	3970	8934	4666	2199	1096	936
2000	21897	2	3748	8925	4704	1983	996	964
2001	20302	1	3571	8316	4211	1800	949	861
2002	20766	1	3465	8422	4539	1899	911	930
2003	20733	1	3260	8541	4587	1865	958	960
2004	22252	1	3349	9054	5107	2125	970	1043
2005	21698	0	3147	8707	5184	2076	991	946
2006	21501	0	2982	8215	5477	2223	1005	967

Source: Agency for Statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Divorces per 1000 inhabitants as well as divorces per 1000 marriages have increased since 1991, with significant differences between the FBiH and the RS. Actually, in the FBiH in 1996 there has been a decline in the divorce rate in comparison with the rate in BiH in 1991 (25.7 and 44.3 per 1000 marriages, respectively) and then increasing up to the rate of 110.5 in 2002. During the 1996-2006 period the divorce rate has been changing all the time, with generally higher values in the RS. The recent increase was more than double in both entities in comparison with the divorce rate in BiH in 1991 (Tables 12.2 and 12.3).

12.7.1 Average age of mothers at child birth and first child birth

Besides the influence of the poor socio-economic conditions in Bosnia and Herzegovina, lower fertility in recent years can be also attributed to later age at marriage and childbirth. As average age at getting married and average age of mothers at child birth are key variables for possible differences in family size and have considerable impact on fertility levels, some relevant data are presented and analysed below. Lifetime fertility decline was observed within the previous analysis of the fifty years period, alongside other determinants such as the consequence of later age at marriage and childbirth. Since 1991, the average age at marriage for women has been increasing and was higher by 1.3 years in 2006 (24.2 and 25.5 years respectively as can be seen in (Table 12.17).

Table 12.17 AVERAGE AGE OF GETTING MARRIED in BiH

Year	Average age of getting married for women	Average age of getting married for men
1991	24.2	27.5
1996	24.0	27.7
1997	24.2	28.0
1998	24.0	27.9
1999	24.3	27.8
2000	24.3	27.8
2001	24.5	27.8
2002	24.8	27.8
2003	25.1	28.1
2004	25.3	28.0
2005	25.3	28.1
2006	25.5	28.3

Source: Agency for Statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Furthermore, while the average age of women at childbirth had a downward tendency with small changes from 1950 to 1991, a slight increase is registered for the 1996-2006 period. So, the average age at childbirth in 2006 was 27.0 in the FBiH and 26.8 in the RS, which is an increase by about one year in comparison with the average age of 25.8 in 1991. However, the recent decline is undoubtedly affected to a notable extent by a more emphasized decline in the rates in the higher birth orders. A similar situation is found in both entities of Bosnia and Herzegovina but with slightly higher average age in the FBiH (27.0 years) than in the RS (26.8 years) with a more or less earlier start of having the first child in the FBiH but with a higher average age of the second and other birth orders (Tables 12.18 and 12.19). This is not surprising when we know that the natality level is generally higher in the municipalities of this entity of BiH. This supports the earlier findings when fertility of women of particular ethnicity was analyzed. It can be noted that Bosniac females, which constitute the majority of women in the FBH, are exposed to reproduction for a longer period. In other words, more often than females among the two other ethnicities, they provide more births and also in older ages within the reproductive period.

We can state that, in spite of economic problems which present an obstacle to starting families (housing problems, unemployment, etc.) the average age of mothers at the birth of their first child is below the average for West European countries. Here we should have in mind the differences between rural and urban areas. It is estimated that the age of mothers in urban areas at their first child birth is closer to the average in West European countries.

**Table 12.18 AVERAGE AGE OF MOTHERS BY BIRTH ORDER OF THE LIVE BIRTHS
in the FBiH**

Year	Average age of mother	<u>Births order of the live births</u>				
		First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth and more
1996	26.9	23.6	27.4	30.9	32.9	35.0
1997	26.3	23.5	27.0	30.6	32.5	34.6
1998	25.8	23.9	27.1	30.3	32.3	34.6
1999	26.6	24.2	27.1	30.4	32.4	34.7
2000	26.7	24.2	27.2	30.2	32.3	34.4
2001	26.7	24.2	27.3	30.2	32.7	34.3
2002	26.7	24.2	27.6	30.3	32.2	34.4
2003	26.9	24.3	27.7	30.5	32.5	34.6
2004	26.9	24.5	27.9	30.7	32.7	34.5
2005	27.0	24.5	28.1	30.9	32.5	34.3
2006	27.0	24.6	28.2	30.8	32.7	33.9

Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Agency of Statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Federal Office of Statistics.

**Table 12.19 AVERAGE AGE OF MOTHERS BY BIRTH ORDER OF THE LIVE BIRTHS
in the RS**

Year	Average age of mother	Births order of the live births				
		First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth and more
1996	-	-	-	-	-	-
1997	-	-	-	-	-	-
1998	26.7	23.8	27.2	30.6	31.9	34.2
1999	26.6	24.4	27.2	30.6	32.2	35.6
2000	26.9	24.6	27.7	30.9	32.1	34.1
2001	26.4	24.2	27.4	30.4	32.1	34.2
2002	26.6	24.6	27.3	30.2	32.2	34.4
2003	26.5	23.7	26.2	29.3	31.0	34.2
2004	26.6	24.6	27.3	30.5	32.9	33.4
2005	26.7	24.6	27.5	30.3	31.9	33.5
2006	26.8	25.0	27.7	30.5	31.8	33.7

Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Agency for Statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina

12.7.2 The order of births

Examination of the order of births the 1996-2006 period in Bosnia and Herzegovina indicates an increase in the share of the first birth by about 8%, but with a slow decline in the share of births of the second and third and higher orders. In 2006 the share of second and third births was lower by 1.4% and 4.0% respectively than in 1996. Moreover, the tendency of notable decline in the share of births of the second and higher order births, which was observed for several decades (as analyzed earlier), has continued in recent years (Table 12.20).

Table 12.20 PROPORTION OF LIFE-BIRTHS BY ORDER in BiH

Year	Total	Birth order					
		first	second	third	fourth	fifth	unknown
1996	100	40.8	35.8	15.1	3.8	1.2	2.5
1997	100	42.7	34.7	13.2	3.2	1.0	4.6
1998	100	42.5	34.2	12.5	3.3	0.9	5.9
1999	100	43.5	34.3	12.8	3.3	2.0	4.1
2000	100	43.3	34.8	13.0	3.5	1.9	3.5
2001	100	44.8	34.6	12.0	3.4	1.9	3.3
2002	100	45.1	35.2	12.1	3.4	1.7	2.5
2003	100	45.4	35.1	11.7	3.4	1.7	2.7
2004	100	47.4	34.0	11.6	3.2	1.6	2.2
2005	100	47.9	34.1	11.5	3.1	1.5	1.9
2006	100	48.2	34.4	11.1	2.8	1.4	2.2

Source: Demography 2007, Thematic Bulletin 02, Agency for Statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

12.8 Total fertility and age specific fertility rates

As previously mentioned, the purpose of this chapter is to look at a number of demographic characteristics of the population that have certain impacts on recent fertility trends in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Considering the fact of the limitations in the data we can provide only age specific fertility rates and total fertility rates for Bosnia and Herzegovina while the ability to do the same at the municipality level is restricted. Furthermore, a review of the contemporary differential fertility characteristics according to relevant background differences such as place of residence, ethnicity, educational attainment, and female employment of women cannot be provided either.

According to the analysis of total fertility rates during the four decades for which data are available (from 1953 to 1991) there was a persistent decline, and by the last census of 1991 the fertility rate in Bosnia and Herzegovina it was lower than that needed

to reach the replacement level of the population (TFR of 1.88). This was not surprising but represents a new tendency of reproduction typical for modern societies. However, the fertility trends have shown a more emphasized decline in the recent period. There has been an obvious overall decline in total fertility in Bosnia and Herzegovina since 1991. Thus, in 1996 the fertility rate was 1.64, but only 1.17 in 2006 (which is lower by 0.71 children per woman than in 1991).

At the same time, overall decline in the total fertility was accompanied by a differential in the number of births by women in different age groups. In particular, there was a sharp decline in the fertility of teenage mothers. This tendency towards decline in the fertility of women among each age group was not very emphasized in the two or three years after the war ended. So, the fertility rates of women aged from 15 to 19 years firstly registered some rise and then declined sharply after 1998. In 2006 it accounted only for 43.0 per cent of the 1991 value. The ASFR of women in the age group 15-19 was 38.1‰ in 1991, but in 2006 it was only 16.4‰. Women in their twenties, which are the optimal years for child bearing, have been producing a much smaller number of births during the post-war period (1996-2006) than in 1991. For those women aged from 20 to 24 years, the rate of fertility since 1991 (134.0‰) had been halved by 2006 (73.4‰). For the same decline of about 50 per cent the full forty-year period 1953-1991 was needed (222.4‰ and 134.0‰ respectively). Since 1961 a sharper decline in the rate of fertility among women aged 25-29 occurred, as a consequence of a marked shift in reproductive behaviour: from a limited use of modern contraception and strong reliance on induced abortion to the widespread use of effective contraceptive methods, mostly the Pill and intrauterine device (IUD). However, there has been a significant decline of fertility among women in both age groups and a slightly higher participation in child bearing among women aged from 25 to 29 since 2001, indicating not only reliance on contraception but a concern for the patterns of intensity and timing of nuptiality, changes in family behaviour and the fact that people may be forced to renounce having children or decide to have only one, because they entered into marriage later or too late, or their

desire for children is more limited and cannot be fulfilled knowing that the economic situation in the country is very poor (Table 12.21).

The fertility rate among women in their thirties had a very steep decline during the first three decades in the second half of the 20th century, but since 1981 it started to increase and in 1991 was maintained at a slightly higher rate. Such a change can be explained as a consequence of postponing the age of marriage, the later age of first births caused by mass education of the female population that had started earlier, and by the economic development in the country. The secularization of society is actually favouring new patterns of reproductive behaviour.

In the recent period from 1996 to 2006, ASFRs among women aged from 30 to 34 and from 35 to 39 started to decline and were lower in comparison with 1991, but their percentage participation in the number of births was higher recently than earlier. So, the fertility rate among women in the age group 30-34 was 63.1‰ in 1991 and was lower by more than 20 per cent in 2006 (49.0‰). Even the recent decline in the fertility rate in 2006 among women aged from 35 to 39 was almost 50 per cent of the value in 1991 (28.6‰ in 1991 and 16.8‰ in 2006). The increase in the percentage share of births was almost doubled among women in this age group (from 4.9 per cent in 1991 to 9.3 per cent in 1996 and 7.5 per cent in 2006). A slight increase in the fertility was registered among women in the age group 40-44: from 3.9‰ in 1991 to 5.3‰ in 1996, but since 2002 it started to decline and in 2006 the value was 3.4‰ (Table 12.23). The birth rates among these female populations had the sharpest declines of over 97 per cent from 1953 to 1991, reflecting a shortening of the child-bearing period amongst the Bosnian female population. At the same time, the recent slight increase is related to a generally later age of first births in Bosnia and Herzegovina and seems compatible with paying more attention to quality of life and overall personal fulfillment. So, a shortening of the child-bearing period is characteristic of the recent period, indeed, but with more emphasized postponement of the first birth and a decline in the share of births of the second and higher orders.

Regarding the economic situation in the municipalities of Bosnia and Herzegovina the kind of problems that many spouses face are multi-dimensional, no matter whether they are returnees or not. However, in most of the municipalities living conditions are very hard. The ordinary people and especially returned refugees experience stress regarding their main problems: the education of their children, lacking employment possibilities, low and irregular salaries, temporary or unsafe employment, health care and housing problems.

Table 12.21 AGE SPECIFIC FERTILITY RATES AND TOTAL FERTILITY RATES, CENSUS 1991 AND ESTIMATE 1996-2006

Year	Total	Under 15	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50 and over	TFR
1991	56.1	0.1	38.1	134.0	107.3	63.1	28.6	3.9	0.4	0.4	1.87
1996	31.2	0.1	30.7	107.6	96.9	59.9	28.4	5.3	0.5	0.0	1.64
1997	32.4	0.1	36.1	122.5	93.1	55.5	23.7	5.4	0.5	0.0	1.68
1998	30.1	0.0	26.2	113.4	91.1	51.4	23.5	5.5	0.5	0.0	1.55
1999	23.7	0.0	19.9	96.8	84.9	47.4	19.0	4.1	0.3	0.0	1.36
2000	19.7	0.0	16.6	89.6	82.7	44.1	18.6	4.0	0.2	0.0	1.30
2001	18.8	0.0	17.4	87.1	79.2	41.1	16.5	3.7	0.3	0.0	1.40
2002	18.2	0.0	18.7	83.1	76.1	45.0	18.3	4.1	0.2	0.0	1.20
2003	18.0	0.1	17.4	81.5	75.7	46.5	18.2	3.6	0.2	0.0	1.21
2004	17.9	0.1	17.2	81.1	76.6	46.0	18.7	3.7	0.2	0.0	1.21
2005	17.7	0.0	16.5	77.1	77.4	47.6	17.5	3.7	0.2	0.0	1.19
2006	17.4	0.1	16.4	73.4	76.1	49.0	16.8	3.4	0.2	0.0	1.17

Source: Agency for Statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Table 12.22 LIVE BIRTHS BY MOTHER'S AGE

Year	Total	Under 15	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50 and over	Unknown
1991	64769	27	6649	22953	20821	10017	3212	590	56	22	422
1996	46594	10	3751	13769	13760	9292	4316	724	47	5	920
1997	48396	13	4403	15681	13217	8609	3609	733	51	4	2077
1998	45007	2	3191	14515	12937	7971	3577	756	53	4	2001
1999	42464	1	2980	13546	12486	7681	3343	702	40	3	1682
2000	39563	4	2528	12579	12161	7144	3272	693	34	3	1145
2001	37717	15	2617	12197	11641	6656	2904	641	43	4	999
2002	35587	14	2348	11282	11379	6396	2786	608	21	0	753
2003	35234	9	2191	11067	11320	6602	2761	541	27	0	716
2004	35151	11	2171	11015	11442	6538	2837	550	27	2	558
2005	34627	7	2082	10464	11562	6765	2660	549	27	1	510
2006	34033	8	2065	9964	11370	6969	2555	507	29	1	565

Source: Agency for Statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Table 12.23 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF LIVE BIRTHS BY MOTHER'S AGE

Year	Total	Under 15	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50 and over	Unknown
1991	100	0	10.3	35.4	32.1	15.4	4.9	0.1	0.1	0	0.6
1996	100	0.0	8.1	29.6	29.5	19.9	9.3	1.6	0.1	0.0	2.0
1997	100	0.0	9.1	32.4	27.3	17.8	7.5	1.5	0.1	0.0	4.3
1998	100	0.0	7.1	32.3	28.7	17.7	7.9	1.7	0.1	0.0	4.4
1999	100	0.0	7.0	31.9	29.4	18.1	7.9	1.7	0.1	0.0	4.0
2000	100	0.0	6.4	31.8	30.7	18.1	8.3	1.8	0.1	0.0	2.9
2001	100	0.0	6.9	32.3	30.9	17.6	7.7	1.7	0.1	0.0	2.6
2002	100	0.0	6.6	31.7	32.0	18.0	7.8	1.7	0.1	0.0	2.1
2003	100	0.0	6.2	31.4	32.1	18.7	7.8	1.5	0.1	0.0	2.0
2004	100	0.0	6.2	31.3	32.6	18.6	8.1	1.6	0.1	0.0	1.6
2005	100	0.0	6.0	30.2	33.4	19.5	7.7	1.6	0.1	0.0	1.5
2006	100	0.0	6.1	29.3	33.4	20.5	7.5	1.5	0.1	0.0	1.7

Source: Agency for statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina

12.9 Age composition of the population

The age composition of the population is very important for several reasons. It is a basic demographic characteristic of the population, by showing their potential vitality and biodynamic and it offers the possibility to make a diagnosis of the population. From the age composition can be seen the past, the present and an estimate of the future of the population in a particular country (Friganovic, 1990). As is well known, a primary and direct demographic consequence of the fertility transition (decline), especially if combined with extended life expectancy and with mortality decline, is population aging (Gavrilov and Heuveline, 2003). However, aging of the population further contributes to fertility decline as well and this affects the general demographic characteristics of the population. In Bosnia and Herzegovina life expectancy increased as well as the mortality rate, while fertility obviously declined. Even developed countries whose fertility declines began much earlier are experiencing rapid increases in the proportion of their elderly persons and are starting to face important socio-economic consequences and challenges for public health care. So, the proportions of young and older persons in BiH have much to do with the balance of the country's expenditures on school and pre-school child care as opposed to expenditures on the old-age social security system and health care. With the present age composition of the population the intention is to contribute to our statement of the significant fertility decline recently and its downward tendency in the near future.

Table 12.24 AGE COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION, CENSUS 1991 and ESTIMATE 2006

Age	1991 Census			2006 Estimate		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
0-19	1387399 31.7	711747 32.6	675652 30.8	851447 24.7	439589 26.1	414283 23.5
20-59	2404160 54.9	1222157 56.0	1182003 53.9	1909724 55.4	943179 56.0	966074 54.8
60 and more	483012 11.0	201176 9.2	281836 12.9	685984 19.9	301480 17.9	382551 21.7
unknown	102462 2.3	48715 2.2	53747 2.5	-	-	-
Total	4377033	2183795	2193238	3447156	1684248	1762908

Source: Author's calculation based on the data from Agency for Statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Population aging in Bosnia and Herzegovina is thus related to the demographic transition. In the course of this transition the demographic regime is characterized by lower fertility and emigration of working-age and reproductive-age adults. On the other hand, return migration of former emigrants who are above the average population age accelerates population aging. Table 12.24 shows notable changes in the age composition of the population since 1991, and the young population constituted only 24.7 per cent of the total population in 2006 which is a smaller share by 7.0 per cent in comparison with 1991. At the same time, the elderly population aged 60 and more registered an increase of 8.9 per cent during the same period and constituted 19.9 per cent of the total population in 2006.

From the point of view of the relationships between the ageing process and fertility decline the child-woman ratio as a measure (although not precise) of fertility is given. So, the ratio can be derived of the number of children below five per 100 of women of child-bearing years, which may be expressed as:

$$P0-4/Pf_{15-49} * 100$$

where P refers to a population, the numbers refer to their ages, and f denotes women. In the absence of universal registration of births, or in the absence of the exact number of women by different ages the child-woman ratio is a relatively good indicator of fertility. The age composition of the population was estimated by the Agency for Statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina for 2002 and within the Household Budget Survey for 2004. The differences between the child-woman ratios in 1991, 2002 and 2004 are obvious and indicative. The value in 1991 was 30.2 children per 100 women while in 2002 and in 2004 it was 22.3 and 18.1 respectively. This indicates that Bosnia and Herzegovina recently has been a low fertility country.

Furthermore, education statistics also offer data that indicate a downward fertility trend in Bosnia and Herzegovina. When enrolment of children in the primary schools is analyzed a downward tendency in their numbers can be observed. Unfortunately, Bosnia and Herzegovina today still has several thousand children, somewhere between four and six per cent of its school-age population, who are not attending primary school. The reasons are various but some are prevailing. Many of the rural settlements have neither a local branch school nor transportation to and from main schools. This presents a serious barrier to attendance. Very often rural families, who are the least likely to have access to good roads and public transport, have financial difficulties that prevent them from paying for whatever mode of transport may be available. School-leavers tend to come from low-income families, and sometimes include children of refugee families who have returned to their pre-war places of residence. The reasons they offer as an explanation for their failure to attend school are the cost of books and travel. One of the examples is a family that returned to the Rakovac, a village in the municipality of Maglaj. The family Saric has five children and parents wanted their children to go to school. Three of them

had begun schooling but dropped out of school because of hunger and inadequate living conditions (personal communication with family).

The methods for ensuring that all children are in fact attending school vary from municipality to municipality and even from school to school. There are some exceptions where schools make house calls to determine who are living in the locality. The places where such things occur usually coincide with low birth-rates, which are notably eastern RS and parts of Herzegovina, or with the presence of certain projects aimed at boosting enrolment (personal communication with Ranko Savanović, Senior Advisor for Preschool and Primary School Education in the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Srpska).

There are some municipalities that helped parents so they can send their children to the school. One of them is Novi Grad (New town) in Sarajevo Canton. This municipality developed a project "Equality for all" and over the last six years managed to offer scholarships for 2500 children from families with lower incomes. Also they provide school meals for 904 primary school children every year. Besides this they set aside a budget for school equipment, opening new schools and kindergartens, which offers a great deal of help to the mothers. In addition they help young couples in search of affordable accommodation and with mortgages (personal communication with Damir Hadjic, major of the municipality Novi Grad).

Besides the already mentioned facts that some children do not attend school at all, it is estimated that the numbers of children enrolled in the first grade of primary schools are generally lower in recent years. In fact, the numbers of municipalities with a declining tendency is registered both in the FBiH and in the RS. Analysis of the number of children enrolled in two school years 2000/01 and 2005/06 shows that some differences between entities occur. There were 25 245 beginners in 2000/01 and 28 654 in 2005/06 in the FBiH, while some decline was registered in the numbers of the newly enrolled in the RS: 12 754 and 11 836 in 2000/01 and 2005/06 respectively. However, 26 municipalities in the FBiH registered a lower number of children enrolled while twenty of them had declined by more than 10 per cent. In

some of them the number was lower by about 30 per cent (e.g. Dobož-Jug 33.8 %, Dobož-Istok 31.1%, Breza 30.8%). Only a few municipalities had increased the number of enrolled children by more than 30 per cent (Kalesija 36.1%, Ilidza 32.0%). The number of municipalities with a downward tendency in the enrolled numbers of children in the school year 2005/06 in the RS was 38. At the same time, a decline in the numbers of children of school age in the RS municipalities was more emphasized. So, a majority of the municipalities registered lower numbers of enrolled children by more than twenty per cent and in some of them the number of children was halved in 2005/06 compared with 2000/01 (e.g. Han Pijesak 53.6%, Vlasenica 42.4%).

12.10 Conclusion

The adequate and accurate analysis of fertility patterns at the municipality level in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the post-war period is not provided considering the fact that the Population Census has not been conducted since 1991. However, use of available data help us to indicate the fertility trend in recent years by offering a review of some of the important demographic changes in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The overview of the number of live births during the analyzed post-war period compared with the number of live births in 1991 indicates an almost continuous decline in urban as well as in rural areas. By analyzing the data from Agency for Statistics of BiH and data obtained within the field work support us to conclude that rural-urban migration of the population that contributed to losing most of the inhabitants in rural areas cause the higher number of live births in urban areas. The emphasized overall decline in total fertility rates in recent years is influenced by ongoing changes in family patterns and various societal and economic changes. The slight decline in marriages registered earlier has been continued and with increased age of marriage and age of mothers at first childbirth as well as emphasised decrease in the rates in the higher birth orders undoubtedly affect and contribute to lower fertility levels. Besides the influence of these factors our findings based on data and via personal contacts provide the basis to confirm that more the emphasised decline in fertility in recent years is the consequence of the absence of an adequate

population policy adopted by the State Government and difficult economic situation in the country.

13 CONCLUSION

This research represents a widespread review of fertility characteristics in Bosnia and Herzegovina, covering a topic on which there is a surprising lack of previous work. By analyzing a wide scope of population data taking the whole period examined into consideration (from 1945 to the present) a historical review of fertility in Bosnia and Herzegovina is provided. For the first time within research work by population geographers and demographers in the country an exhaustive analysis is devoted to the fertility issue. The research has focused on the relationship between fertility and women's status (especially as measured in terms of labour force participation characteristics and education according to place of residence). This relationship is very important knowing that changes in women's position in modern society have also changed the structure of the family unit, relationships between members within the family and the multiple nature of women's roles as wives, mothers and members of the workforce. A variety of social, cultural and ethnic factors affecting both women's status in society and fertility is considered. The overview of women's status and the onset of the fertility decline presented within the thesis prove the existing hypothesis that the fertility transition is generated by the improved status of women and women's increased ability to determine their own fertility.

There was an obvious decline in total fertility in the second half of the 20th century that has continued more sharply in recent years. One of the primary aims of this thesis is answering the question of the path-ways through which education influences fertility in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The main findings showed the importance of compulsory primary education at the state level, which was established in the very late 1950s. This was very important for the young female population, especially in rural areas, but in urban areas as well. It is noted that there is a relationship between fertility decline and the fall in the number of women without any education as well as notable increases in both the numbers of women with completed secondary school education and also university-educated women. In addition there are clear reproductive differences between higher educated and lower educated women in association with socio-economic changes and the fertility

transition. The findings through analyzing data relevant to the second half of the 20th century support the view that economic development and mass education influence changes in child-bearing behaviour in Bosnia and Herzegovina. A slight increase was recorded in the average age at getting married for women and average age at first childbirth. At the same time the average age at childbirth has had a downward tendency and this decline has been affected to a considerable extent by the decline in the rates in the higher birth orders.

Analysis at municipality level has provided a detailed examination of variation in fertility throughout the various communities within Bosnia and Herzegovina. The patterns of fertility levels associated with rising urbanization and growing income per capita highlight the fact that urbanization may not have been always the cause of fertility decline, but instead urbanization can be regarded as a response to the already changing social and economic structures within society. Bosnia and Herzegovina is shown to be distinctive as a country in economic transition where the shift from agriculture to urban occupation and from rural to urban residence has not had an immediate impact on fertility decline. The process of intensive de-agrarianization and de-ruralisation in the second half of the 20th century, including the recent post-war period, came exclusively as an outcome of rural-urban migration. Due to the characteristic migration patterns by age and sex, migration had a substantial impact towards rapid demographic ageing of the rural population. So, higher total fertility rates in more urban than rural areas as well as a higher average number of births per woman in urban areas are characteristic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In fact, migration and fertility as interrelated processes lead to confirmation of the finding that migration has a notable impact on lower fertility in rural areas. In particular, the findings support the statement that fertility at or above replacement level is characteristic of weakly urbanized municipalities that belong to those municipalities with a low GDP \$ per capita.

It can be argued that women's economic activity leads to a decrease in fertility. The large body of evidence highlights how in municipalities with a high proportion of economically active female population fertility levels are slightly

lower than elsewhere. As the number of municipalities with total fertility rates at or above replacement level declines so the proportion of economically active females has grown. The comparison of total fertility rates among women working in higher prestige occupations with those working in lower prestige occupations shows somewhat lower fertility levels amongst the former.

As ethnic-religious affiliation as a determinant of demographic behaviour has received renewed attention in population research generally, interest in the role of ethnicity affecting fertility found its place within the thesis. There is obvious evidence from the overview of analyzed data on fertility according to the ethnicity of women that significant differences exist between ethnic groups. Ethnic affiliation to some extent relates to other cultural and socio-economic factors and has an impact on fertility level. Examination of the data underlines some differences in fertility rates among the three main ethnic groups in the country. The fertility rates recorded for Bosniac women were higher than those registered for the other two ethnic groups, and fertility among Serb women was the lowest. At the same time, a traditionally longer life span of fertility was related to Bosniac women.

The findings underlined fertility patterns in 1991 whilst the earlier period can be related to the demographic transition in Bosnia and Herzegovina that followed industrialisation and de-agrarianization, as well as urbanization. It could be argued that changes in fertility behaviour were the expected consequences influenced by different factors as discussed above. The main findings support the conclusion that Bosnia and Herzegovina has been in the last stage of the first demographic transition in 1991. On the other hand the recent post-war demographic situation and fertility behaviour have some characteristics of the concept of the second demographic transition and can be explained as ongoing changes in family and fertility patterns. Numerous societal and cultural changes have contributed to the country's modernization, and it can be argued that the recent sharp decline of fertility is a consequence of the very difficult and unenviable socio-economic situation in the country, rather than as a consequence of the rise of individualistic values and the importance of self-fulfilment, which is the case in the majority of developed

European countries. The choice for new types of households (premarital single living, cohabitation and parenthood within cohabitation) have contributed to a delay in starting a marriage union or birth of the first or second child and are all linked to such individualistic and non-conformist value orientations in a great variety of spheres. These associations between household types and value orientations not only hold for northern and western Europe but, by now, equally for southern, central and eastern Europe. A major stepping stone of the SDT-theory has also been Maslow's theory of changing needs mentioned earlier. As the population becomes wealthier and more educated, people's attention shifts away from needs associated with survival, security and solidarity. Instead greater weight is attached to individual self-realization, recognition, grassroots democracy and expressive work and education values. Reproductive behaviour and its effects on fertility and patterns of intensity and timing of nuptiality as well as the dissolution of unions in Bosnia and Herzegovina are more closely related to socio-economic difficulties and problems than to modernization.

In post-war BiH economic hardships have added strains to family life; young couples have found it very hard to find available and affordable housing; unemployment rates have been very high; there is also high reliance on part-time jobs and jobs with low salaries; and there is no guarantee of continuing employment for women who leave the workforce to have children.

While analyzing the recent economic and social status of women in Bosnia and Herzegovina it is obvious that patriarchal influence still exists. Beside the fact that women had gained the energy and the ideas to organize themselves and in the recent period to occupy more prestigious positions within society, finding the means for improvement and strengthening of the status of women, men are still dominant in all economic and political spheres of life. Furthermore, the recent demographic characteristics of the country as described in this thesis have shown that the downward trend in the number of live births and low fertility rates were directly connected with the non-existence of an adequate population policy adopted by the State Government and the very difficult post-war socio-economic and political

situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The key findings for recent period are:

- The post-war period is marked by the creation of a number of Non-Governmental Organizations involved in various activities which rendered visible not only women's issues, but women's activism as well.
- The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination of Women (CEDAW), which BiH took over at its succession on 1 September 1993, entered into force on 1 October 1993.
- Gender Centers have been established at the state and entity levels as autonomous governmental agencies and play an important role in strengthening the position of women.
- Significant efforts have been made to secure only civil and political rights, while those efforts have at times undermined various economic rights, especially the right to work.
- The key roles in the process of privatization, as an essential aspect of the country's economic reform, are dominated by men while influence of women is largely insignificant.
- Statistical data, which would better show the situation in BiH, in most cases are not good indicators because they are not divided according to gender
- Some of the international organizations together with women's associations in the country have taken a series of measures in order to improve participation of women in different spheres of public life.
- Women's absence from the political realm entails their exclusion from the decision-making processes which impact upon many aspects of their lives.
- Professional and business organizations are often exclusively male associations.
- The readiness of women to develop their own businesses is the exclusion of business experience from the sphere of traditional women's activities, which can be attributed to patriarchal influence.

- Violence against women, and particularly domestic violence, is deeply rooted and widespread social problem in BiH.
- The female population is the most vulnerable part of the population in almost all forms of poverty.
- The natural increase declined in recent years with some differences in the population natural rates between the FBiH and the RS
- The average number of household members recorded continuous fall.
- There are just a few municipalities that have recorded an increase in the total number of population
- The decline in natality rates has taken place over the analyzed period.
- The displacement of the population during and after the war as an additional cause of the slightly higher number of live births in urban areas.
- There are not enough efforts by the BiH Government to assist the sustainability of return either for ethnic minority or majority environment.
- The more emphasized decline in natality in recent years than in years immediately after the war ended, besides the influence of factors other factors, is the consequence of more difficult economic situation lately.
- Family behaviour is changing and marriages are in decline while divorces recorded some increase
- Age at marriage and age at childbirth are increased.
- The fertility trends have shown a more emphasized decline in the recent period
- The age composition of the population is remarkably changed and population ageing in BiH is related to the demographic transition.

Finally, this thesis represents a contribution to research on fertility issues and offers a sound basis for future investigations of specific characteristics of fertility in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Such an analysis has the potential to be of broader significance in the understanding of the future social, cultural and economic

development of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The future work on the theme of fertility needs to be extended further. The new population census in Bosnia and Herzegovina is urgent need but some research can be based on the field work. Some further research needs to investigate the fertility of particular group of women in order to highlights the existing differences in fertility level among them. For example the fertility rates of displaced women and of those who have not changed the place of residence with accordance to their education attainment and occupation. The ongoing ethnic division within society deserves more research focusing on fertility variation within Bosnia and Herzegovina population. All future research should help in the adoption of an adequate population policy in the country.

My main intention in the near future is to start an initiative that will establish a Demographic Centre, which the country desperately needs. The basic aim would be creating possibilities for serious demographic research not just with respect to fertility but also research regarding migration as well as other demographic characteristics of the population in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

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