

EXPERIENCES WITH THE CENTRALIZATION OF CULTURE IN SERBIA

CASE STUDY

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Experiences relating to the centralisation of culture in Serbia

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Abstract

In this case study, we have analysed the cultural offerings, cultural participation, and the measures undertaken by state agencies to decentralise culture in Serbia. In the first part of the text, structural causes of the centralisation of culture in Serbia are identified. Following that, we present the results of a study of cultural participation in different regions of Serbia, and an assessment of the current government programmes aimed at decentralisation. Our findings led us to the conclusion that the level of cultural participation depends more on the audience's characteristics than on the characteristics of the cultural offerings. However, we should not conclude from this that the scarcity of cultural offerings is not important, nor that such a state of things removes any obligation from the creators of cultural policy. On the contrary, the currently low level of cultural needs, habits and tastes is at least partly the result of a lack of effort or misguided work on the part of the creators of cultural, educational, and media policies. Therefore, their task for the future is to improve the cultural offerings and create an audience for them.

Keywords: decentralisation, cultural participation, audiences, Serbia

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Experiences relating to the centralisation of culture in Serbia

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Introduction

In this case study, we have analysed the cultural offer, cultural participation, and the measures undertaken by state agencies to decentralise culture in Serbia. Namely, Serbia is a pronouncedly centralised country, and its cultural policy shares the characteristics of the centralised state system to which it belongs. The analysis of the reasons for such a centralisation of cultural policies, as well as an assessment of the mentioned attempts to decentralise them, can therefore be of interest in contexts that are struggling with similar problems.

Following the information on the methodology and theoretical framework used to carry out the research the case study is based on, the structural causes of the centralisation of culture in Serbia are identified. The second part of the text focuses on presenting the results of a study of cultural participation in different regions of Serbia. The results presented refer to the cultural needs and cultural habits of the citizens of Serbia, the types of audiences that exist in the country and their socio-demographic characteristics. Finally, an assessment of three attempts made by the Ministry of Culture and Information (from 2010 to 2022) to contribute to the decentralisation of culture in Serbia is presented. These attempts were based on programmes such as ‘Serbia in Serbia’ and ‘Cities in Focus’, as well as on the newly established programme ‘The Cultural Capital of Serbia’. The conclusion contains recommendations for cultural policy interventions that could improve the current state of cultural offerings and audiences in Serbia.

Methodology

The case study is based on the results of the project ‘Experiences Relating to the Centralisation of Culture in Serbia’, which the Centre for the Empirical Cultural Studies of South-East Europe (CESK) realised in 2022. The research was carried out as part of the Culture for Democracy programme (CFD), with financial support from the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC), coordinated by the Heartefact Foundation¹.

The research activities were realised from March to December 2022. In July and August 2022, a survey was carried out on a nationally proportional, multi-phase stratified randomised sample extracted from the population of the citizens of Serbia aged between 18 and 80. A standardised survey questionnaire consisting of 45 items was used, and a total of 1026 respondents were surveyed face-to-face using Tablet-Assisted Personal Interviewing (TAPI).

¹ <https://heartefact.org/fond/cfd/>

Then, from October to November 2022, 28 semi-structured interviews were conducted with respondents from 23 cities and municipalities in Serbia (Babušnica, Bor, Kikinda, Kladovo, Kragujevac, Kruševac, Lebane, Leskovac, Mladenovac, Niš, Novi Pazar, Novi Sad, Pirot, Požega, Subotica, Užice, Vranje, Zaječar, Zemun, Zrenjanin). For this part of the study, we used purposeful sampling and snowball techniques to locate interviewees.

At the same time, desk research was also being realised: it included an analysis of theoretical texts on the decentralisation of culture and existing studies on the cultural resources in Serbia. Most of these studies, such as 'The cultural resources of the districts in Serbia'² and 'The cultural resources of the cities in Serbia'³, had been carried out by the Institute for Cultural Development Research. We also took into consideration the list of cultural institutions, concert halls, and exhibition spaces created as part of the project 'E-culture'⁴, as well as an electronic map of the cultural institutions and organisations in Serbia⁵.

Context and background of the case

Theoretical framework: Types of decentralisation in culture

In the article 'Planning for Equality? Decentralization in Cultural Policy', Nobuko Kawashima (2004) distinguishes between three types of decentralisation in the sphere of culture: cultural, fiscal and political decentralisation. These types of decentralisation differ in two aspects: (1) based on their place in the process of defining and carrying out cultural policy, and (2) based on which actors are affected by inequality.

According to Kawashima, *cultural decentralisation* is the aim of cultural policy. It strives to remove barriers that prevent participation (geographical, physical, socio-economic, and cultural) and to provide equal opportunities for all citizens to enjoy culture and the arts, irrespective of their place of residence, physical ability or disability, income, social class, race, or gender. Discussions on cultural decentralisation are usually dominated by indications of geographical barriers and inequality in the availability of a high-quality cultural offer, depending on which part of the country people live in.

Contrary to that, *fiscal decentralisation* has to do with cultural policy measures and refers to the inequality in the distribution of budget funds among the creators of the cultural offer. It could be aimed at overcoming three different types of inequality. Firstly, inequality in the regional budget allocations, whereby the main 'accusation' levelled is that the capital city receives much more funds than the 'rest' of the country. The second aspect of fiscal decentralisation refers to the level of participation of (or inequality among) central, regional, and local authorities in financing culture. In addition, the third aspect is related to the inequality in budget allocations among the various types of arts and the

² <https://zaprokul.org.rs/kulturni-resursi-okruga-srbije/>

³ <https://zaprokul.org.rs/kulturne-politike-gradova-srbije-kulturni-resursi-gradova-uporedni-prikaz/>

⁴ <http://e-kultura.net/>

⁵ <https://a3.geosrbija.rs/share/111135adf09a>

institutions/organisations that create them (film, theatre, the visual arts, music, and the public, private, and civic sectors in culture or established and alternative cultures).

Political decentralisation has to do with the administration of cultural policy and the balance of power among the decision-makers in this area. In most cases, it has to do with central, regional, and local authorities. However, it can also refer to the so-called horizontal decentralisation, the division of responsibility among various governing bodies sharing the same level of power (for example, the Ministry of Culture and Ministry of Education, or even the Ministry of Culture and Art Councils). According to Kawashima, one form of political decentralisation also requires that non-government actors take on more activities in creating cultural policy. The resources which are necessary for political decentralisation to be successful and to lead to cultural decentralisation include: a) a legitimate decision-making power; b) sufficient funds; c) possession of knowledge, skills, and information; and d) the availability of suitable organisations/institutions (human, spatial, and technical resources).

Political decentralisation is a means of achieving an end (cultural decentralisation). The dominant understanding is that political decentralisation is a prerequisite of cultural decentralisation. However, Kawashima indicates that at least two strategies are possible: (1) cultural decentralisation without political decentralisation; (2) cultural decentralisation and political decentralisation.

According to Kawashima, three strategies can be used to achieve cultural decentralisation without political decentralisation:

- a) First, the central government can form regional structures which promote regional development (decomposition). Even though the activities focus on regional development, the central government appoints officials, provides the means, and establishes standards. A case in point is France, where regional directorates have been founded since 1974.
- b) The second strategy is for the central government to build cultural infrastructure, cultural institutions, and art organisations across the country, which will then be jointly funded by the centre and local funds (for example, the cultural centres in France in the 1960s–70s).
- c) The third strategy, which is dominant in, for example, Sweden, is based on the organisation of tours of art exhibitions and theatrical performances (and the establishment of agencies that deal with this), premised on the obligation of national institutions to be available to all citizens who finance their work with their taxes.

On the other hand, there are two strategies of cultural decentralisation with the accompanying political decentralisation:

- a) The first includes a shift of power from the central government to the local ones and represents a 'zero-sum game'. The transfer of power includes a transfer of control over an entire group of resources (legitimate decision-making power, funds, increased skill levels and levels of knowledge, control over organisations/institutions), for the local authorities to be able to realise their aim of cultural decentralisation successfully.

b) The second is focused on strengthening the power of the local authorities without reducing the power of centralised government and represents a 'win-win situation'. This second strategy includes increasing the capacities of the local authorities while retaining the central government as a guarantee of stability and an actor of strategic focus.

Of these three types of decentralisation, this case study mainly deals with cultural centralisation – unequal opportunities for participation in culture and the arts depending on place of residence – and the effects of such a cultural policy.

The centralisation of culture in Serbia

Serbia is a pronouncedly centralised country. The structural reasons for the centralisation of culture in Serbia can be found in the political and economic sphere. On the one hand, there is state capture (of the executive, legislative, and judiciary branches) by the political elite, as well as oligarchic tendencies in the political parties (in which careers are made by carrying out the policy of party centrals, and not by promoting the interests of the citizens who voted them into office). On the other hand, there is fiscal policy in which most of the income is funnelled into central institutions, only to be 'returned', in a certain amount (based on estimates of the centre), to the cities and municipalities. Furthermore, the property rights are such that the property located in the very same cities and municipalities is national property.

The cultural policy in Serbia shares the characteristics of the centralised state system to which it belongs. Consequently, there is inequality in the availability of cultural resources (the institutions/organisations of culture) in different regions of Serbia. This can be seen from the list of institutions of culture, created as part of the 'E-culture' project, and the electronic map of the cultural institutions and organisations in Serbia, 'Geo-Serbia'. We should note that inequalities are not limited solely to the differences between Belgrade as the capital and the provinces. Nevertheless, the differences in terms of the availability of cultural resources and the levels of satisfying cultural needs between the citizens of Belgrade and those of all the other cities in Serbia are so great that they inevitably require special attention.

In the former Yugoslav federation, in which there were other cities with similar potential, Belgrade, by virtue of its size, number of citizens, and economic and cultural capacities, was the first among more or less equals. Today, it is the capital of a country in relation to which it seems clumsily large. Namely, almost one-quarter of Serbia's population lives in Belgrade, which is five times greater than the population of Novi Sad and six times the population of Niš, the following two largest cities in the country.

Data compiled as part of the desk research indicate that in terms of the availability of cultural institutions and organisations in Serbia, it is possible to note four groups. The first group is made up of libraries and culture centres, which can be found in almost all the larger settlements in Serbia. The second group, which is also mostly territorially equally distributed across the regions in Serbia, is made up of organisations that deal with amateur cultural production. The third group is made up of traditional cultural institutions: theatres, museums,

orchestras, and galleries. Of the total number of these institutions in Serbia, more than one-half are to be found in the capital. Finally, there is a fourth group of organisations that deal with the distribution of cultural production (publishing houses, discography houses, magazines, electronic media with a national frequency, and cinematographic companies), which are almost completely located in Belgrade.

In addition to 30 city cultural institutions (12 theatres, 8 institutes for protection, 4 libraries, and 6 culture halls) and 21 national cultural institutions, there are an additional 568 active cultural agents in Belgrade (film producers and distributors, private galleries and museums, concert halls, orchestras, amateur societies, non-profit organisations). Based on the number of cultural agents, Novi Sad comes in second with 101 institutions/organisations/associations involved in culture, followed by Niš, where 41 cultural agents are active, Kragujevac with 39, and Subotica with 28 cultural agents. Almost one-third of all the cultural agents live and work in Belgrade, while in the 26 settlements that have city status, there are approximately 20% more. Only 1,037 cultural agents, or 48.5% of their total number, are active in all the other settlements in Serbia.

Table 1 – The territorial distribution of cultural agents in Serbia (per city)

City	Number	%	City	Number	%
Belgrade	619	28.9%	Novi Sad	101	4.7%
Bor	9	0.4%	Pančevo	22	1.0%
Valjevo	13	0.6%	Piroć	13	0.6%
Vranje	12	0.6%	Požarevac	12	0.6%
Zaječar	10	0.5%	Prokuplje	10	0.5%
Jagodina	13	0.6%	Smederevo	13	0.6%
Kikinda	14	0.7%	Sombor	13	0.6%
Kragujevac	39	1.8%	S. Mitrovica	19	0.9%
Kraljevo	20	0.9%	Subotica	28	1.3%
Kruševac	10	0.5%	Užice	15	0.7%
Leskovac	21	1.0%	Čačak	12	0.6%
Loznica	10	0.5%	Other cities	1037	48.5%
Niš	41	1.9%	Total	2140	100.0%
Novi Pazar	14	0.7%			

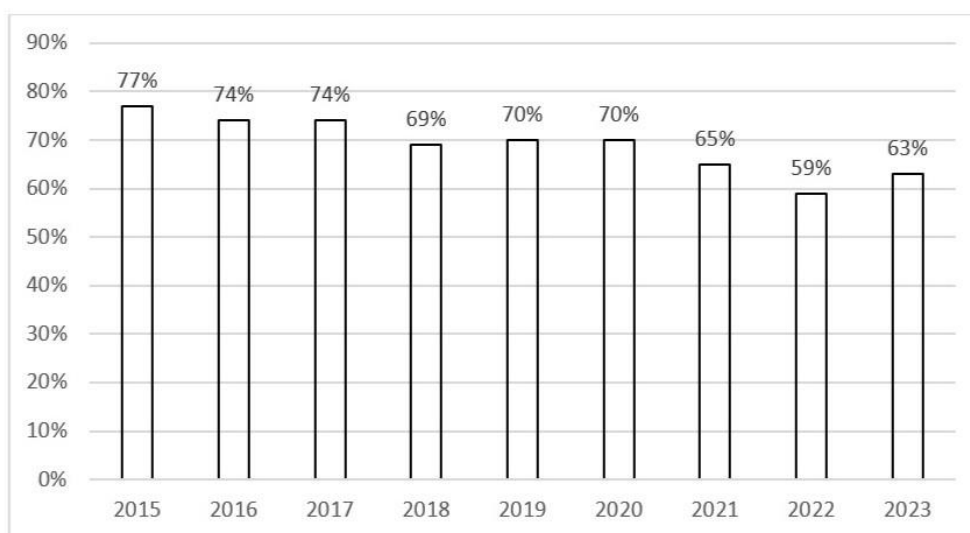
A somewhat more favourable image is obtained when the distribution of cultural agents is viewed based on the statistical regions of Serbia. As can be seen from Table 2, the number of cultural agents in the region of Belgrade is similar to that of the region of Vojvodina but is almost 10 per cent lower in the region of Šumadija and West Serbia, while it is lowest in South and East Serbia.

Table 2 – The territorial distribution of cultural agents in Serbia (per region)

	Number	%
The Belgrade Region	636	29.7
The Vojvodina Region	658	30.7
The Šumadija and West Serbia Region	449	21.0
The South and East Serbia Region	375	17.5
The Kosovo and Metohija Region	20	0.9
Total	2140	100.0

The most significant contribution to the centralisation of culture in Serbia is made by the fact that almost all the national cultural institutions are located in Belgrade. Likewise, almost all the local, provincial cultural institutions are located in Novi Sad, in the Vojvodina region. In addition to the 30 institutions founded by the City of Belgrade, there are a further 21 active national cultural institutions that are only 'national' based on the fact that their work is funded by all the taxes paid by the citizens of Serbia. Their programmes, theatrical performances, exhibitions, concerts, opera and ballet performances, with rare exceptions, are attended only by people who reside in Belgrade. At the same time, a huge part of the total budget of the Ministry of Culture is allocated to these institutions – between 60% and 70% (see Graph 1).

Graph 1 – The percentage of the budget of the Ministry of Culture allocated to national cultural institutions



The situation is very similar in Novi Sad, where, in addition to the 13 cultural institutions and 8 cultural stations created in relation to its status as the European Capital of Culture, there are 14 to 17 provincial cultural institutions, which are also provided with significant funding from the provincial budget.

The successful participation in the competition for the European Capital of Culture (ECoC) for 2021 had a significant impact on the improvement of the cultural infrastructure, the cultural

offer, and the position of Novi Sad in the cultural system of Serbia. It is a remarkable achievement that is of significance to the culture of Serbia as a whole. However, it is important to know that the Melina Mercouri Award, that is, the participation of the European Union, amounts to one million and five hundred thousand euros. In comparison, approximately 30 million euros, which is how much was allocated for activities related to the ECoC and at least as much for infrastructural work, were mainly provided from the national and provincial budgets. Those sixty million euros were pumped over a short period of time into the cultural infrastructure and programmes in Novi Sad, increasing the differences between it and the other cities in Serbia even more.

Even though they could be one of the instruments that contribute to levelling out the drastically unequal distribution of funding for culture, open calls for funding and co-funding projects of the Ministry of Culture and Information, as well as the Provincial Secretariat for Culture, Public Information and Relations with Religious Communities of Vojvodina, themselves further contribute to the increase in inequality⁶.

For example, the open call of the Ministry of Culture and Information for 2022 provided support for 448 projects that were submitted by organisations from the region of Belgrade (with a total of 265,125,000 dinars, or more than one-half of the total budget for the open competition), for 294 projects from Vojvodina (a total of 116,300,000 dinars), 130 projects from Šumadija and West Serbia (a total of 57,390,000 dinars), and 167 projects from South and East Serbia (a total of 60,750,000 dinars).

Structurally, a virtually identical distribution of funds is to be found for the open competition in 2023 (see Table 3).

Table 3 – The territorial distribution of projects supported by the Ministry of Culture and Information for 2023 (per region)

	Number of projects per region	Funds per region	On average per project	% of total funds
The Belgrade Region	449	223,105,000 RSD	496,893 RSD	48.91%
Vojvodina	293	114,097,000 RSD	389,409 RSD	25.01%
Šumadija and West Serbia	159	58,318,500 RSD	366,783 RSD	12.79%
South and East Serbia	153	48,356,000 RSD	316,052 RSD	10.60%
Kosovo	38	12,250,000 RSD	322,368 RSD	2.69%
Total	1092	456,126,500 RSD	417,698 RSD	100%

The situation was similar to the open call of the Provincial Secretariat for Culture, Public Information and Relations with Religious Communities. In 2023, almost one-half of the

⁶ Support for the projects, of course, depends on their quality, but the cultural policy that tends toward the decentralisation of culture could, through programmes of positive discrimination, render the open calls a vital tool in the process of strengthening the capacities of institutions and organisations originating from smaller environments in Serbia.

supported projects and more than one-half of the total funds were allocated to organisations from the South Banat Region, whose capital is Novi Sad (see Table 4).

Table 4 – The territorial distribution of the projects supported at the open competition of the Provincial Secretariat for Culture of Vojvodina for 2023 (per district)

District	Number of projects per region	Funds per region	% of the total number of projects	% of the total funds
South Bačka (N. Sad)	273	388,383,000 RSD	49.54%	56.32%
North Bačka (Subotica)	55	36,260,000 RSD	9.98%	5.26%
West Bačka (Sombor)	42	8,052,000 RSD	7.62%	1.17%
South Banat (Pančevo)	69	42,250,000 RSD	12.52%	6.13%
Central Banat (Zrenjanin)	41	10,970,000 RSD	7.44%	1.59%
North Banat (Kikinda)	34	8,315,000 RSD	6.18%	1.21%
The Srem District (S. Mitrovica)	37	195,400,000 RSD	6.72%	28.32%
Total	551	689.630.000 RSD	100%	100%

Altogether, these data indicate that the centralisation of culture in Serbia is structurally conditioned. Since only one-third of the citizens of Serbia live in Belgrade and Novi Sad, it is necessary to take measures to provide the remaining two-thirds with an opportunity to participate in cultural life (and not only because they also pay taxes from which these cultural activities are financed).

Cultural participation in Serbia

In our research on cultural participation in Serbia, we studied the cultural needs (as a potential aspect of cultural participation) and cultural habits (as active participation) of citizens of Serbia. Based on these, we reconstructed three types of audiences (active, passive and non-audience). In addition, we studied their socio-economic correlates.

We operationalised the question related to cultural needs, asking respondents what they like to do in their leisure time, even if they are currently unable to do so (for various reasons). In the questionnaire, we offered 17 different activities that fall within the domains of elite, popular, and everyday culture. We asked the respondents to express their attitudes towards them on a Likert-type scale, ranging from whether this activity is something they like to do most to whether they expressly do not like to participate in it.

As can be seen in Table 5, the analysis of cultural needs indicated that the dominant culture in Serbia is expressly anti-elitist. Some of the favourite leisure time activities include activities that belong to popular culture (such as watching television and listening to folk music) or belong to the domain of everyday culture (attending family festivities related to patron saints, going to restaurants and cafes, or using social media). No more than one-third of the respondents like to attend events and enjoy the content of elite culture, which represents the traditional domain of cultural policy.

**Table 5 – What the respondents like to do in their leisure time
(even if they are not currently able to do so)**

		I like to do the most	I like to do	I neither like nor dislike	I dislike to do	I expressly do not like to do	Total
Watching television	n	223	644	107	37	15	1026
	%	21.7%	62.8%	10.4%	3.6%	1.5%	100%
Attending family festivities	n	181	610	141	73	21	1026
	%	17.6%	59.5%	13.7%	7.1%	2.0%	100%
Going to a restaurant or cafe	n	174	535	142	111	64	1026
	%	17.0%	52.1%	13.8%	10.8%	6.2%	100%
Listening to folk music	n	112	550	206	110	48	1026
	%	10.9%	53.6%	20.1%	10.7%	4.7%	100%
Taking up a hobby	n	90	539	200	143	54	1026
	%	8.8%	52.5%	19.5%	13.9%	5.3%	100%
Outings into nature (hiking)	n	113	475	213	156	69	1026
	%	11.0%	46.3%	20.8%	15.2%	6.7%	100%
Using social media	n	146	451	135	139	155	1026
	%	14.2%	44.0%	13.2%	13.5%	15.1%	100%
Decorating/ redecorating the apartment	n	87	435	246	187	71	1026
	%	8.5%	42.4%	24.0%	18.2%	6.9%	100%
Reading books	n	74	362	198	268	124	1026
	%	7.2%	35.3%	19.3%	26.1%	12.1%	100%
Attending sports events	n	108	311	160	275	172	1026
	%	10.5%	30.3%	15.6%	26.8%	16.8%	100%
Going to the theatre	n	28	338	249	266	145	1026
	%	2.7%	32.9%	24.3%	25.9%	14.1%	100%
Sports activities with friends	n	64	300	185	283	194	1026
	%	6.2%	29.2%	18.0%	27.6%	18.9%	100%
Singing. Playing an instrument. Dancing. Drawing	n	33	227	227	345	194	1026
	%	3.2%	22.1%	22.1%	33.6%	18.9%	100%
Attending an exhibition in an art gallery/museum	n	16	260	248	298	204	1026
	%	1.6%	25.3%	24.2%	29.0%	19.9%	100%
Playing games (gaming)	n	51	218	142	263	352	1026
	%	5.0%	21.2%	13.8%	25.6%	34.3%	100%
Handicrafts (knitting. crocheting)	n	31	166	109	303	417	1026
	%	3.0%	16.2%	10.6%	29.5%	40.6%	100%
Listening to classical music	n	6	145	168	385	322	1026
	%	0.6%	14.1%	16.4%	37.5%	31.4%	100%

In the following step, we compared the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents with certain types of cultural needs.

The results shown in Tables 6A and 6B (see Appendix⁷) indicate significant differences in cultural needs, depending on the respondents' education level. They do not differ considerably when it comes to activities in the fields of everyday culture and popular culture, but there are significant differences in participation in traditional elite culture. Thus, for example, 66.5% of the respondents with a higher education prefer going to the theatre, while 70.7% of those with an elementary education do not like to do so. The situation is similar

⁷ Appendix can be found at the following link: <https://figshare.com/s/8155632735cac705011e>

when it comes to listening to classical music, whereby 30.6% of the respondents with a higher education like to do it in their free time, and only 3.3% of those with an elementary school education.

In addition to the impact of education on the formation of cultural needs, we studied the impact of economic capital, that is, the average monthly income per household member (Tables 7A and 7B in the Appendix). Even though lower than the impact of education (cultural capital), it is still present, especially in terms of affinities towards elite cultural activities. One-half of the respondents from the group with the highest income like to go to the theatre (50.0%), forty per cent like going to exhibitions in galleries and museums (40.8%), while one quarter like to listen to classical music in their free time (25.9%), which is greater than all the other groups identified based on income.

We were also interested in generational differences, especially bearing in mind that the previous studies carried out locally and abroad indicate that education and age have a very strong impact on cultural practices. As can be seen from tables 8A, 8B and 8C (see Appendix), even in the case of cultural needs, there are apparent differences between the respondents of various generations.

The most frequent responses of the respondents from the generation aged 18 to 29, which are above the average ratio of their presence in the sample, are that they neither like nor dislike certain activities, except for using social media and playing video games, stereotypically confirming the image of millennials and post-millennials.

For the generation aged 30 to 39, the most favourite ways of spending one's free time are also social media and video games, while for the other activities, they remain within the framework of the ratio of their presence in the sample. Unlike them, the respondents aged 40 to 54 have the clearest attitudes regarding what they do and do not like to do in their free time. They like to read books above average, like to attend exhibitions in galleries and museums, like to watch theatrical performances, and do not like to watch television. Only when it comes to using social media and playing games are they divided; that is, the occurrence of the response that they neither like nor dislike these activities is greater among these respondents than the actual ratio of their presence in the sample.

The generation aged 55 to 64 is the first in which most of the respondents do not like to use social media. In the case of the oldest generation, aged 65 to 80, most of their responses are related to things that they do not like to do (they do not like to go out to restaurants, go to the theatre, go to exhibitions, read books, or use the internet), except for listening to folk music.

Bearing in mind the main topic of our study, we analysed whether there were any differences in terms of the cultural needs of the respondents based on the region in which they live (see Tables 9A and 9B in the Appendix). As could be expected, the fact that they live in various parts of Serbia proved to have a small independent impact on shaping what the respondents like to do in their leisure time.

The second aspect of cultural participation we analysed were the habits of the respondents, that is, the citizens of Serbia. Cultural habits are the actualisation of cultural needs – what the respondents actually do in the sphere of culture. Bearing in mind that this is a study in the field of cultural policy, the survey focused on cultural habits in the public sphere. The respondents were asked how many times during the six-month period⁸ prior to the survey they attended cultural events (including those that belong to the elite, popular, and everyday culture).

The results obtained indicate a very low level of cultural participation for all types of cultural activity. If we were to take as a measure of active participation that the respondents attended any one of these cultural events at least four times (during the course of the six months prior to the survey), then the most frequently mentioned events (restaurants with live music) were attended by one-quarter of the respondents (24.6%). Some 6.8% went to the library during this period, 5.4% to the movies, 4.8% to a pop/rock music concert, 4.5% to folk music concerts, 2.9% to the theatre, 2.8% to art galleries/museums, and 0.9% to classical music concerts.

Yet, if we were to analyse the number of those who took part in these activities at all (at least once), then the level of participation would revolve around one-third of the respondents or citizens of Serbia. Sports events were attended – at least once – by 35.5% of the respondents, movie theatres by 30.8%, fairs by 27.7%, pop/rock music concerts by 27.1%, folk music concerts by 25.4%, and the theatre by 21.4%. Our respondents mostly attended restaurants with live music (59.8%), and most infrequently, exhibitions of the visual arts (16.2%), and classical music concerts (6.7%).

On the other hand, the percentage of those who did not take part in any of these activities over the past six months prior to the survey was quite large. Some 40.2% of the respondents had not gone to a restaurant with live music (as the most frequently attended form of cultural event), while somewhere between 70% and 90% of the respondents had not participated in cultural activities understood in a narrower sense (elite and popular culture). Thus, 69.2% of the respondents had not been to the movies; 72.9% to a pop/rock music concert; 76.6% to any folk music concert; 78.6% to the theatre; 83.8% to art exhibitions; and 93.3% to classical music concerts.

⁸ A typical question of this type in survey questionnaires takes into consideration a timeframe of 12 months prior to the survey. However, bearing in mind the restrictions related to public gatherings during the fall and winter of 2021 due to the COVID-19 pandemic, we limited our study to visits to cultural events in 2022.

Table 10⁹ – How many times did the respondents attend cultural programmes over the course of six months prior to the survey

		7+ times	4 – 6 times	1 – 3 times	Not once	Total
Went to a restaurant with live music	n	82	170	362	412	1026
	%	8.0%	16.6%	35.3%	40.2%	100%
Attended a sports event	n	49	92	223	662	1026
	%	4.8%	9.0%	21.7%	64.5%	100%
Went to the movies	n	11	44	261	710	1026
	%	1.1%	4.3%	25.4%	69.2%	100%
Went to a fair	n	3	23	258	742	1026
	%	0.3%	2.2%	25.1%	72.3%	100%
Went to a pop/rock music concert	n	8	41	229	748	1026
	%	0.8%	4.0%	22.3%	72.9%	100%
Went to a folk music concert	n	5	41	194	786	1026
	%	0.5%	4.0%	18.9%	76.6%	100%
Went to the library	n	26	44	110	846	1026
	%	2.5%	4.3%	10.7%	82.5%	100%
Went to the theatre	n	3	27	190	806	1026
	%	0.3%	2.6%	18.5%	78.6%	100%
Visited an art museum or gallery	n	3	26	137	860	1026
	%	0.3%	2.5%	13.4%	83.8%	100%
Went to a classical music concert	n	1	8	60	957	1026
	%	0.1%	0.8%	5.8%	93.3%	100%

The data obtained by analysing the relationship between the level of education and the cultural habits of the respondents indicate that the cultural habits of respondents with elementary school education and those with higher education are inverse as if they were mirror images of each other (see tables 11A and 11B in the Appendix). The data on the (in)activity of the respondents with only an elementary school education is quite disheartening. The fact that only 94.9% of them had never been to a library six months prior to the survey might not be surprising, but 87% of them had never been to a folk music concert, 93% had never been to the movies, 97.2% had never been to the theatre, 97.2% had never been to a gallery exhibition. In a group of 215 people with only elementary school, only one or two had attended any of these cultural programmes more than four times.

The levels of cultural participation of those with a university education were not particularly high. Nevertheless, for each of the analysed activities, one-third of these respondents had attended cultural programmes at least once (except for folk and classical music concerts).

⁹ The tables are not numbered consecutively but correspond to their numbers in the Appendix.

Furthermore, the percentage of those who attended cultural events four or more times significantly exceeded the ratio of their presence in the sample. The frequency with which respondents with a high school education attended all the activities was, however, at the level of their presence in the sample.

As expected, income per household member has a greater impact on cultural habits than on cultural needs. The respondents from households with an income of less than 20,000 dinars (about €170) and with an income between 20,000 and 30,000 dinars per household member (between €170 and €250) did not participate in cultural activities at the level corresponding to the ratio of their presence in the sample, except for attending folk music concerts (1-3 times during the six months prior to the survey).

Respondents with a monthly income of between 30,000 and 48,000 dinars (between €250 and €400) per household member had been to the library (1-3 times), the cinema (1-3 times), and folk music concerts (4 times and more) at a level above the ratio of their presence in the sample. The members of the active audience – those who attended cultural events four or more times during the six months before the survey – are mostly found among individuals from households with an income exceeding 48,000 dinars (€400) per household member. They attended the theatre, the cinema, art galleries, the library, pop and rock music concerts, and restaurants with live music with a frequency above the ratio of their presence in the sample (see tables 12A and 12B in the Appendix).

We also studied the impact of generational differences on cultural habits. The respondents belonging to the youngest generation (ages 18 to 30) and the generation aged 31 to 39 participate more than any other age group in popular and everyday culture activities (going to the movies, attending pop and rock music concerts, folk music concerts, going to restaurants with live music), at a rate that is above the ratio of their presence in the sample.

The events that fall under the domain of traditional elite culture are attended by respondents aged 40 to 54 more frequently than others. However, they also relatively frequently go to restaurants with live music and folk music concerts.

The respondents aged 55 to 64 mostly participate in cultural activities to a very small extent, except for a certain number of them who go to the theatre. For the respondents over the age of 65, participation in cultural activities has almost come to a stop (tables 13A and 13B in the Appendix).

It was of particular interest to us to find out whether there were any differences in cultural habits between citizens living in different parts of the country, bearing in mind the differences in the cultural offer among them. To our surprise, the differences proved not to be extensive and also emerged where they were not expected.

In all the regions, participation in cultural activities mostly ranged around the ratio of their presence in the sample. The highest levels of cultural participation were found in Šumadija and West Serbia. The region of Belgrade is the only one to stand out with a slightly higher percentage of the most active respondents, those who attend cultural events 4 times and more (for example, going to the library, movies, galleries and museums), but even there the

number of such respondents is low. In Vojvodina and South and East Serbia, above-average frequencies of attendance were mostly noted for respondents whose ratio of presence in the sample was low. For example, in Vojvodina, this refers to cultural activities such as going to the library, movies, and classical and folk music concerts, while in South and East Serbia, it refers to attending galleries, the theatre, pop and rock music concerts and classical music concerts (see tables 14A and 14B).

By combining data on the level of the respondents' cultural needs and habits, we constructed the types of audiences in Serbia. We determined that the active audience consisted of individuals with a high level of needs and a high or moderate level of habits, or those with a moderate level of needs but a high level of cultural habits. We defined the non-audience as the respondents with a low level of cultural needs and cultural habits. Those who exhibited signs of the remaining combinations of cultural needs and habits were defined as the potential audience.

The distribution of these types of audiences can be seen in Table 15.

Table 15 – Types of audiences

Type of audience	Number	Valid %
Active audience	291	28.4%
Potential audience	318	31.0%
Non-audience	417	40.6%
Total	1026	100.0%

Even for these different types of audiences, education proved to be a key determinant. The respondents with an incomplete elementary school education, elementary education, and a three-year high school education belong to the non-audience at an above-average rate. Those with a completed high school education or a four-year vocational education are members of the potential audience at an above-average rate, while those with a community college or university education or even higher levels of education, mainly belong to the active audience (see table 18 in the Appendix).

Citizens from households with a monthly income exceeding 48,000 dinars (€400) per household member make up the majority of the active audience. In contrast, those from the lowest income group mostly belong to the non-audience (see table 19 in the Appendix). In a generational sense, the core of the active audience is made up of citizens aged 18 to 54. The potential audience is mostly evenly distributed among all the generations, while respondents over the age of 65 represent the majority of the non-audience (table 17 of the Appendix). There are slightly more men among the non-audience members and women among the potential audience, at an above-average rate (table 16 of the Appendix).

Again, bearing in mind the focus of this case study, it was of particular importance for us to see the distribution of the types of audiences based on region. However, no significant differences emerged. In all the regions, most of the respondents belong to the non-audience (44.5% in Vojvodina, 41.6% in South and East Serbia, 41.7% in Belgrade, and 35.5% in Šumadija and West Serbia).

Table 20 – Types of audiences and their distribution in regions in Serbia

		Active audience	Potential audience	Non-audience	Total
Belgrade region	n	56	84	100	240
	% region	23.3%	35.0%	41.7%	100.0%
	% audience	19.2%	26.4%	24.0%	23.4%
Vojvodina region	n	73	74	118	265
	% region	27.5%	27.9%	44.5%	100.0%
	% audience	25.1%	23.3%	28.3%	25.8%
Šumadija and West Serbia	n	89	98	103	290
	% region	30.7%	33.8%	35.5%	100.0%
	% audience	30.6%	30.8%	24.7%	28.3%
South and East Serbia	n	73	62	96	231
	% region	31.6%	26.8%	41.6%	100.0%
	% audience	25.1%	19.5%	23.0%	22.5%
Total	n	291	318	417	1026
	% region	28.4%	31.0%	40.6%	100.0%
	% audience	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Despite the richest cultural offer, members of the active audience were the least prevalent in Belgrade (19.2%). Most of them were to be found in Šumadija and West Serbia (30.6%), while their percentages were the same in Vojvodina and South and East Serbia (25.1%). The potential audience mostly follows the ratio of their presence in the sample, and most of them were again to be found in Šumadija and West Serbia (30.8%), and least of all in South and East Serbia (19.5%).

In the final segment of this report, we analysed the relationship between class membership and class fractions¹⁰, on the one hand, and belonging to various types of audiences that we identified, on the other.

As can be seen in Table 21, the majority of the active audience is made up of members of the middle class (73.5%), while the majority of the non-audience are members of the working class (62.5%). The members of all class fractions, except to an extent the agrarian fraction of the working class, take part in the potential audience to an extent similar to that of the ratio of their presence in the sample. All this confirms the class division of cultural practices among the citizens of Serbia.

¹⁰ Our identification of classes and class fractions was based on a model outlined in the articles by Cvetičanin et al. (2021) and Petrić et al. (2022). Using indicators of economic, political, social, and cultural capital, we employed Multiple Correspondence Analysis to construct the social space in Serbia. We identified four class fractions: the upper middle class, the lower middle class, the working class–precarious fraction and the working class–agrarian fraction (see Graph 2 in the Appendix).

Table 21 – Types of audiences and class fractions

Class fraction/ Type of audience	Upper middle class	Lower middle class	Working class – precarious fraction	Working class – agricultural fraction	Total
Active audience	95 (32.6%) 47.0%	119 (40.9%) 33.0%	56 (19.2%) 23.5%	21 (7.2%) 9.3%	291 (100%) 28.4%
Potential audience	71 (22.3%) 35.1%	122 (38.4%) 33.8%	68 (21.4%) 28.6%	57 (17.9%) 25.3%	318 (100%) 31.0%
Non-audience	36 (8.6) 17.8%	120 (28.8%) 33.2%	114 (27.2%) 47.9%	147 (35.3%) 65.3%	417 (100%) 40.6%
Total	202 (19.7%) 100%	361 (35.2%) 100%	238 (23.2%) 100%	225 (21.9%) 100%	1026 (100%) 100%

Our results seem to indicate that a low level of cultural participation does not depend primarily on the cultural offer but on the characteristics of the audience. It seems that as a consequence of an entire sequence of causes, a large part of the audience was lost for cultural events in the public sphere, especially those that belong to the elite culture.

Programmes of the Ministry of Culture focused on the decentralisation of culture

Since 2010, the Ministry of Culture has organised three programmes whose aim is to contribute to the decentralisation of culture in Serbia: ‘Serbia in Serbia’, ‘Cities in Focus’, and ‘The Cultural Capital of Serbia’.

The ‘Serbia in Serbia’ programme, realised during 2009 and 2010, was a kind of reaction to the report of the Commission for Decentralisation of Culture in Serbia, published in 2008. The report contained a series of suggestions for structural changes to the cultural policy of Serbia. Among them, as one of the less important measures¹¹, it was stipulated that ‘a legal obligation should be instituted on national cultural institutions to present their programmes and content to all the citizens of Serbia, that is, all those who finance them with their taxes. This would require national theatres, ballet companies, operas, and philharmonics to go on obligatory tours, obligatory exhibitions to be organised by the national museum, the Museum of Contemporary Art, obligatory showings of movies from Yugoslav cinematography to be made public, etc. This would contribute not only to the satisfaction of the existing cultural needs of the citizens of Serbia, but also to their education and the development of new cultural habits’ (page 11).

The ‘Serbia in Serbia’ programme required that the Ministry of Culture finance visits from national cultural institutions to smaller cities in Serbia based on requests issued by local cultural institutions. The programme lasted for a relatively short period of time. It was

¹¹ The proposal was inspired by the model based on which national institutions in Scotland and Sweden function; these institutions are national in the sense that they are constantly touring across the country, thereby rendering their programme accessible to all citizens in these two states.

conceived of as a sequence of one-time activities and could not have significant effects, even though some of our interlocutors in the interviews gave very positive evaluations of both the quality of the programmes that made the rounds and the impact that they had on the cultural life in their small environments.

Unlike the 'Serbia in Serbia' programme, whose aim was the improvement of the cultural offer by organising visits from elite cultural institutions, the programme 'Cities in Focus' aimed at improvements in the cultural infrastructure (objects and equipment) in smaller towns in Serbia. It was initiated in 2016 and continues to this day. One of the specifics of this programme is that only local self-government units (cities and municipalities) can apply for the grants.

The general goals of this programme were defined as improvements in the field of culture and art in local communities; enriching cultural life; encouraging creativity and cultural diversity and the recognisable specificities of the cultural identity, and sustainable development of the local community.

The specific aims of the programme include:

1. encouraging cultural contribution through the long-term and sustainable development of local governments in accordance with their strategic priorities;
2. strengthening capacities of culture at the local level, as well as improving inter-resource (education, the environment, urban development, social policy, economic development, and cultural tourism) and inter-sector (the public, private, and civic sector) cooperation;
3. enriching the cultural offer and enhancing the quality of the content;
4. preserving and improving cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue;
5. improving and modernising cultural infrastructure;
6. protecting and revitalising cultural monuments;
7. improving regional and international cultural exchange and cooperation;
8. improving the availability of cultural content for all citizens and encouraging cultural participation with a special view to sensitive social groups;
9. providing an encouraging environment for the creative expression of independent artists and individuals in culture.

As part of the 'Cities in Focus' programme, to date, a total of 169 local government projects have been financed in the Republic of Serbia as part of seven open calls. In sum, 1,657,130,823 dinars, or approximately €14,163,000, were allocated to the improvement of working conditions in theatres, museums, galleries, libraries, as well as the state of cultural monuments, with a significant increase in the number of supported projects and the extent of funding from 2021 to 2023.

Table 22 – Projects financed within the ‘Cities in Focus’ programme

Year	No. of projects	Amount in RSD	Amount in EUR
2016	6	151.763.442 RSD	1.297.000 €
2017	10	140.200.000 RSD	1.198.000 €
2018	22	150.000.000 RSD	1.282.000 €
2019	11	133.000.000 RSD	1.137.000 €
2020	22	83.400.000 RSD	713.000 €
2021	41	339.200.000 RSD	2.899.000 €
2022	35	345.517.381 RSD	2.953.000 €
2023	33	314,050,000 RSD	2.684.000 €
Total 2016 - 2023	169	1.657.130.823 RSD	14.163.000 EUR

‘The Cultural Capital of Serbia’ programme was initiated in 2021, but its realisation only began in 2023 with the selection of the City of Čačak as the first cultural capital of Serbia. This programme, inspired by the European Capital of Culture programme, offers all-encompassing support for one local government in Serbia in order to improve the key factors of its cultural development, solve or mitigate structural problems in the field of culture, and increase the quality of cultural life in it. This includes initiating the cultural, artistic, and tourist development of the local government in question, reviving the existing and establishing new cultural institutions, and encouraging new strategies of cultural development at the local level, with a particular emphasis on the inclusion of citizens and professionals in the process of creating and realising cultural policies at the level of the local government.

The general aims of this programme include:

1. positioning cities/municipalities as cultural-tourist centres based on the authenticity and uniqueness of their cultural identity;
2. enriching cultural life through devising, developing, and providing capital investment in culture and the development of creative and innovative programmes;
3. the protection, renewal, and revitalisation of cultural heritage through contemporary models of presentation and sustainable use;
4. the design of new and innovative uses for existing public objects and open public and green areas for cultural programmes.

The idea is that, as part of this programme, over the course of several years of preparation and realisation, the selected municipality would place culture at the centre of the strategic development of the city, not just in a cultural but also in an economic and social aspect. The expectation is that after the completion of the realisation, the legacy of the completed process will be clearly visible and that the long-term plan of development of the local community in the field of culture will continue. This would be enabled by adopting a strategy of cultural development, which is one of the preconditions for obtaining the title. The idea is

that the city, which becomes the cultural capital, will also become the centre of artistic creation in Serbia in that same year, thereby gaining the opportunity to present everything that renders the local community authentic and appealing.

With this programme, focused on making a contribution to the decentralisation of culture in Serbia, provisions are made so that the national and provincial capitals of Belgrade and Novi Sad do not have the right to participate in the open calls. Mid-sized cities from Central and West Serbia have been chosen as the first two capitals of culture in Serbia, Čačak (with approximately 70,000 inhabitants) in 2023 and Užice (with approximately 50,000 inhabitants) in 2024.

In the case of Čačak, the total value of the project was 500 million dinars (€4,273,000), of which the contribution of the Ministry of Culture was 298.5 million dinars (€2,551,000), and for Čačak 201.5 million dinars (€1,722,000). For the project The Cultural Capital of Serbia in 2024, the Ministry of Culture allocated 294 million dinars (€2,513,000) and the City of Užice 196 million dinars (€1,675,000).

Viewed as a whole, none of these programmes attempted to deal with the crucial problems of the centralisation of culture in Serbia or to apply any of the strategies of decentralisation that were presented by Kawashima (2004). However, it would be a considerable mistake to underestimate their significance.

The contribution of the 'Cities in Focus' programme, which has been underway since 2016, to the improvement of the cultural infrastructure in smaller settlements in Serbia is significant and visible. The realisation of the 'The Cultural Capital of Serbia' programme is still ongoing in Čačak. The report is expected in the first half of 2024, so it is not yet possible to assess the effects of this programme. It is possible that it will be negatively impacted by the same issues as the European Capital of Culture. Most importantly, this means that with the end of the additional funding and media attention, the cultural life in that city could revert back to its old monotonous ways. However, for medium-sized cities in Serbia, the title could nevertheless be an incentive to begin viewing culture as a developmental resource and not just a luxury or source of pressure on humble city budgets.

Finally, it would be a good idea to continue the practice of visits from national cultural institutions to smaller settlements, financed by the Ministry of Culture. This was the core of the 'Serbia in Serbia' programme, premised on the idea that national cultural institutions should be obliged to present their programmes all over the country since their work is funded by the taxes paid by all citizens of Serbia. Since the three programmes mentioned in this assessment have different priorities, it is worth mentioning that they could jointly contribute to mitigating the sense of isolation of cultural life in small or medium-sized cities in the country. These joint activities and their effect could represent an introduction to the more specific activities directed toward the decentralisation of culture in Serbia.

CONCLUSION

Our study indicated the structural causes of the centralisation of culture in Serbia, which are to be found in the political or economic spheres. However, the distribution of cultural

institutions and organisations, especially the national and provincial ones, also contributes to the centralisation of culture in the country. The same is true of the budget allocation of the Ministry of Culture and the Provincial Secretariat for Culture, as well as of the allocation of funds at open competitions organised by these state authorities. Namely, more than one-half of the funds in these open calls flow into Belgrade and Novi Sad.

On the other hand, our research into cultural participation in Serbia in 2022 indicated the dominant anti-elitist character of cultural needs, a very low level of cultural habits, small regional differences, and a class division of the cultural practices of the citizens of Serbia. Bearing in mind the topic of this case study, it is important to emphasise that our research has shown that, irrespective of the significant differences in the cultural offer, regional differences in the cultural practices are small. In other words, the fact that respondents live in various parts of Serbia does not have a great independent impact on the shaping of their cultural needs, habits, and tastes.

This finding led us to the provocative thesis that the level of cultural participation decidedly depends on the audience's characteristics and less so on the characteristics of the cultural offer.

However, we should not conclude from this that the scarcity of cultural offerings is not important, nor that such a state of things removes any obligation from the creators of cultural policy. Since we are aware that cultural needs, cultural habits, and tastes are something that is not inborn but acquired, it is not unreasonable to conclude that the current poverty of cultural needs, the low level of cultural habits, and the uniformity of the taste of the citizens of Serbia are based on what they have for decades been bombarded with in the mass media. In other words, the currently low level of cultural needs, habits and tastes in the country is at least partly the result of a lack of effort or misguided work on the part of the creators of cultural, educational, and media policies. Therefore, their task for the future is to improve the cultural offerings and create an audience for them.

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APPENDIX – EXPERIENCES RELATING TO THE CENTRALIZATION OF CULTURE IN SERBIA

Table 1 – The territorial distribution of cultural agents in Serbia (per city)

City	Number	%	City	Number	%
Belgrade	619	28.9%	Novi Sad	101	4.7%
Bor	9	0.4%	Pančevo	22	1.0%
Valjevo	13	0.6%	Pirot	13	0.6%
Vranje	12	0.6%	Požarevac	12	0.6%
Zaječar	10	0.5%	Prokuplje	10	0.5%
Jagodina	13	0.6%	Smederevo	13	0.6%
Kikinda	14	0.7%	Sombor	13	0.6%
Kragujevac	39	1.8%	S. Mitrovica	19	0.9%
Kraljevo	20	0.9%	Subotica	28	1.3%
Kruševac	10	0.5%	Užice	15	0.7%
Leskovac	21	1.0%	Čačak	12	0.6%
Loznica	10	0.5%	Other cities	1037	48.5%
Niš	41	1.9%	Total	2140	100.0%
Novi Pazar	14	0.7%			

Table 2 – The territorial distribution of the cultural agents in Serbia (per region)

	Number	%
The Belgrade Region	636	29.7%
The Vojvodina Region	658	30.7%
The Šumadija and West Serbia Region	449	21.0%
The South and East Serbia Region	375	17.5%
The Kosovo and Metohija Region	20	0.9%
Total	2140	100.0%

Graph 1 – The percentage of the budget of the Ministry of Culture allocated to national cultural institutions

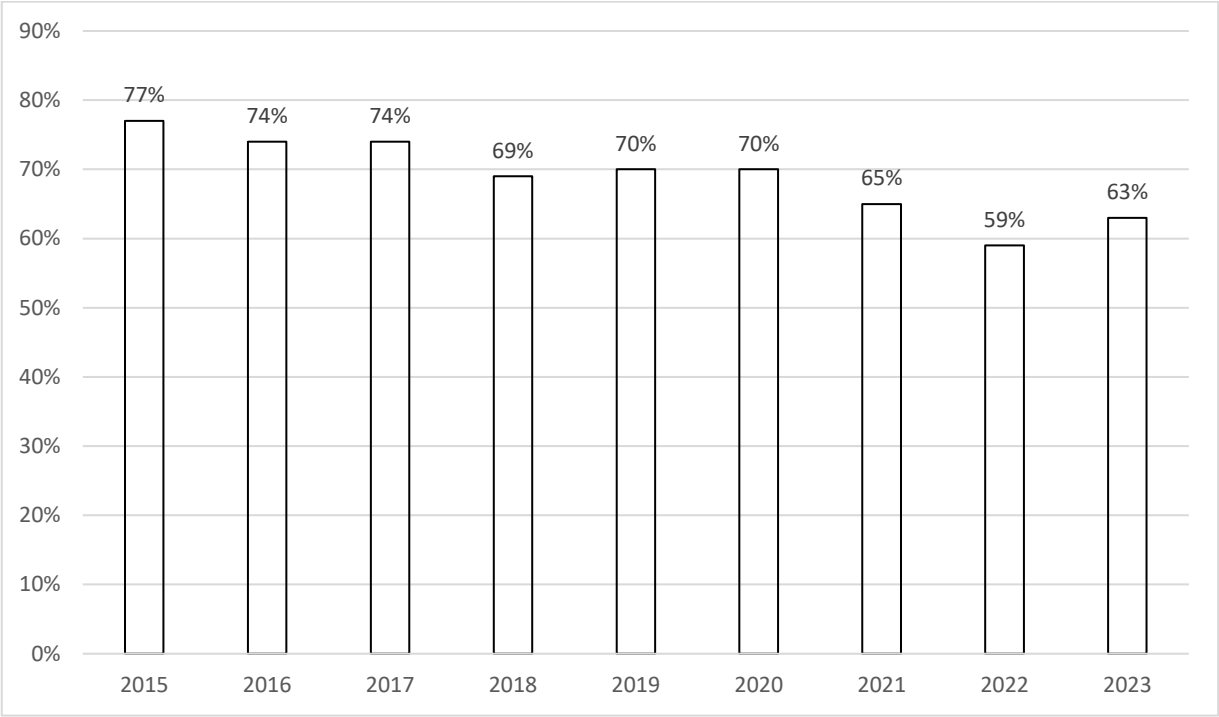


Table 3 – The territorial distribution of projects supported by the Ministry of Culture and Information for 2023 (per region)

	Number of projects per region	Funds per region	On average per project	% of total funds
Vojvodina	293	114,097,000 RSD	389,409 RSD	25.01%
The Belgrade Region	449	223,105,000 RSD	496,893 RSD	48.91%
Šumadija and West Serbia	159	58,318,500 RSD	366,783 RSD	12.79%
South and East Serbia	153	48,356,000 RSD	316,052 RSD	10.60%
Kosovo	38	12,250,000 RSD	322,368 RSD	2.69%
Total	1092	456,126,500 RSD	417,698 RSD	100%

Table 4 – The territorial distribution of the projects supported at the open competition of the Provincial Secretariat for Culture of Vojvodina for 2023 (per district)

District	Number of projects per region	Funds per region	% of the total number of projects	% of the total funds
South Bačka (N. Sad)	273	388,383,000 RSD	49.54%	56.32%
North Bačka (Subotica)	55	36,260,000 RSD	9.98%	5.26%
West Bačka (Sombor)	42	8,052,000 RSD	7.62%	1.17%
South Banat (Pančevo)	69	42,250,000 RSD	12.52%	6.13%
Central Banat (Zrenjanin)	41	10,970,000 RSD	7.44%	1.59%
North Banat (Kikinda)	34	8,315,000 RSD	6.18%	1.21%
The Srem District (S. Mitrovica)	37	195,400,000 RSD	6.72%	28.32%
Total	551	689.630.000 RSD	100%	100%

Table 5 – What the respondents like to do in their leisure time
(even if they are not currently able to do so)

		I like to do the most	I like to do	I neither like nor dislike	I dislike to do	I expressly do not like to do	Total
Watching television	n	223	644	107	37	15	1026
	%	21.7%	62.8%	10.4%	3.6%	1.5%	100%
Attending family festivities	n	181	610	141	73	21	1026
	%	17.6%	59.5%	13.7%	7.1%	2.0%	100%
Going to a restaurant or cafe	n	174	535	142	111	64	1026
	%	17.0%	52.1%	13.8%	10.8%	6.2%	100%
Listening to folk music	n	112	550	206	110	48	1026
	%	10.9%	53.6%	20.1%	10.7%	4.7%	100%
Taking up a hobby	n	90	539	200	143	54	1026
	%	8.8%	52.5%	19.5%	13.9%	5.3%	100%
Outings into nature (hiking)	n	113	475	213	156	69	1026
	%	11.0%	46.3%	20.8%	15.2%	6.7%	100%
Using social media	n	146	451	135	139	155	1026
	%	14.2%	44.0%	13.2%	13.5%	15.1%	100%
Decorating/ redecorating the apartment	n	87	435	246	187	71	1026
	%	8.5%	42.4%	24.0%	18.2%	6.9%	100%
Reading books	n	74	362	198	268	124	1026
	%	7.2%	35.3%	19.3%	26.1%	12.1%	100%
Attending sports events	n	108	311	160	275	172	1026
	%	10.5%	30.3%	15.6%	26.8%	16.8%	100%
Going to the theatre	n	28	338	249	266	145	1026
	%	2.7%	32.9%	24.3%	25.9%	14.1%	100%
Sports activities with friends	n	64	300	185	283	194	1026
	%	6.2%	29.2%	18.0%	27.6%	18.9%	100%
	n	33	227	227	345	194	1026

Singing. Playing an instrument. Dancing. Drawing	%	3.2%	22.1%	22.1%	33.6%	18.9%	100%
Attending an exhibition in an art gallery/museum	n	16	260	248	298	204	1026
	%	1.6%	25.3%	24.2%	29.0%	19.9%	100%
Playing games (gaming)	n	51	218	142	263	352	1026
	%	5.0%	21.2%	13.8%	25.6%	34.3%	100%
Handicrafts (Knitting. Crocheting)	n	31	166	109	303	417	1026
	%	3.0%	16.2%	10.6%	29.5%	40.6%	100%
Listening to classical music	n	6	145	168	385	322	1026
	%	0.65	14.1%	16.4%	37.5%	31.4%	100%

Table 6A – Cultural needs and the level of education of the respondents

		Attending family festivities			Watching television			Going to the theatre			Listening to classical music			Total
		I like to do	I neither like nor dislike it	I do not like to do	I like to do	I neither like nor dislike	I do not like to do	I like to do	I neither like nor dislike	I do not like to do	I like to do	I neither like nor dislike	I do not like to do	
An incomplete elementary education/an elementary education	n	166	26	23	205	6	4	16	47	152	7	16	192	215
	% of income	77.2%	12.1%	10.7%	95.3%	2.8%	1.9%	7.4%	21.9%	70.7%	3.3%	7.4%	89.3%	100%
	% of need	21.0%	18.4%	24.5%	23.6%	5.6%	7.7%	4.4%	18.9%	37.0%	4.6%	9.5%	27.2%	21.0%
A high school education	n	478	88	50	523	72	21	219	163	234	82	102	432	616
	% of income	81.5%	13.8%	4.6%	90.0%	5.4%	4.6%	19.2%	23.1%	57.7%	7.7%	8.5%	83.8%	100%
	% of need	60.4%	62.4%	53.2%	60.3%	67.3%	40.4%	59.8%	65.4%	56.9%	54.3%	60.7%	61.1%	60.0%
Community college/university/MA/PhD	n	147	27	21	139	29	27	131	39	25	62	50	83	195
	% of income	78.0%	10.4%	11.6%	72.8%	14.5%	12.7%	66.5%	19.7%	13.9%	30.6%	25.4%	43.9%	100%
	% of need	18.6%	19.1%	22.3%	16.1%	27.1%	51.9%	35.8%	15.7%	6.1%	41.1%	29.8%	11.7%	19.0%
Total	n	791	141	94	867	107	52	366	249	411	151	168	707	1026
	% of income	77.1%	13.7%	9.2%	84.5%	10.4%	5.1%	35.7%	24.3%	40.1%	14.7%	16.4%	68.9%	100%
	% of need	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 6B – Cultural needs and level of education of the respondents

		Going to a restaurant or cafe			Listening to folk music			Reading books			Attending an exhibition in an art gallery/museum			
		I like to do	I neither like nor dislike	I do not like to do	I like to do	I neither like nor dislike	I do not like to do	I like to do	I neither like nor dislike	I do not like to do	I like to do	I neither like nor dislike	I do not like to do	Total
An incomplete elementary education/an elementary education	n	80	40	95	175	20	20	33	34	148	18	34	163	215
	% of income	37.2%	18.6%	44.2%	81.4%	9.3%	9.3%	15.3%	15.8%	68.8%	8.4%	15.8%	75.8%	100%
	% of need	11.3%	28.2%	54.3%	26.4%	9.7%	12.7%	7.6%	17.2%	37.8%	6.5%	13.7%	32.4%	17.0%
A high school education	n	479	71	66	415	124	77	261	139	216	165	154	297	616
	% of income	73.8%	12.3%	13.8%	85.4%	8.5%	6.2%	22.3%	24.6%	53.1%	13.8%	23.8%	62.3%	100%
	% of need	67.6%	50.0%	37.7%	62.7%	60.2%	48.7%	59.9%	70.2%	55.1%	59.8%	62.1%	59.9%	60.0%
Community college/university/ MA/PhD	n	150	31	14	72	62	61	142	25	28	93	60	42	195
	% of income	75.7%	17.9%	6.4%	37.6%	31.8%	30.6%	70.5%	13.9%	15.6%	48.0%	28.9%	23.1%	100%
	% of need	21.1%	21.8%	8.0%	10.9%	30.1%	38.6%	32.2%	12.6%	7.1%	33.7%	20.2%	8.4%	16.9%
Total	n	709	142	175	662	206	158	436	198	392	276	248	502	1026
	% of income	69.1%	13.8%	17.1%	64.5%	20.1%	15.4%	42.5%	19.3%	38.2%	26.9%	24.2%	48.9%	100%
	% of need	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 7A – Cultural needs and income per member of the household of the respondents

		Attending family festivities			Watching television			Going to the theatre			Listening to classical music			Total
		I like to do	I neither like nor dislike	I do not like to do	I like to do	I neither like nor dislike	I do not like to do	I like to do	I neither like nor dislike	I do not like to do	I like to do	I neither like nor dislike	I do not like to do	
Monthly income per household member less than 20.000 RSD	n	100	9	9	109	5	4	35	38	45	18	17	83	118
	% income	84.7%	7.6%	7.6%	92.4%	4.2%	3.4%	29.7%	32.2%	38.1%	15.3%	14.4%	70.3%	100%
	% need	18.3%	10.7%	14.5%	18.6%	7.4%	10.0%	13.3%	25.0%	16.2%	15.0%	14.4%	18.2%	17.0%
Monthly income per household member from 20.001 to 30.000 RSD	n	131	16	19	147	12	7	50	35	81	20	30	116	166
	% income	78.9%	9.6%	11.4%	88.6%	7.2%	4.2%	30.1%	21.1%	48.8%	12.0%	18.1%	69.9%	100%
	% need	23.9%	19.0%	30.6%	25.1%	17.6%	17.5%	18.9%	23.0%	29.2%	16.7%	25.4%	25.5%	24.0%
Monthly income per household member 30.001 to 48.000 RSD	n	185	30	20	207	21	7	92	47	96	37	39	159	235
	% income	78.7%	12.8%	8.5%	88.1%	8.9%	3.0%	39.1%	20.0%	40.9%	15.7%	16.6%	67.7%	100%
	% need	33.8%	35.7%	32.3%	35.4%	30.9%	17.5%	34.8%	30.9%	34.7%	30.8%	33.1%	34.9%	33.9%
Monthly income per household member greater than 48.000 RSD	n	131	29	14	122	30	22	87	32	55	45	32	97	174
	% income	75.3%	16.7%	8.0%	70.1%	17.2%	12.6%	50.0%	18.4%	31.6%	25.9%	18.4%	55.7%	100%
	% need	23.9%	34.5%	22.6%	20.9%	44.1%	55.0%	33.0%	21.1%	19.9%	37.5%	27.1%	21.3%	25.1%
Total	n	547	84	62	585	68	40	264	152	277	120	118	455	693
	% income	78.9%	12.1%	8.9%	84.4%	9.8%	5.8%	38.1%	21.9%	40.0%	17.3%	17.0%	65.7%	100%
	% need	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 7B – Cultural needs and income per household member of the respondents

		Going to a restaurant or cafe			Listening to folk music			Reading books			Attending an exhibition in an art gallery/museum			
		I like to do	I neither like nor dislike	I do not like to do	I like to do	I neither like nor dislike	I do not like to do	I like to do	I neither like nor dislike	I do not like to do	I like to do	I neither like nor dislike	I do not like to do	Total
Monthly income per household member less than 20.000 RSD	n	82	21	15	88	16	14	45	18	55	31	30	57	118
	% income	69.5%	17.8%	12.7%	74.6%	13.6%	11.9%	38.1%	15.3%	46.6%	26.3%	25.4%	48.3%	100%
	% need	16.9%	20.6%	14.2%	20.2%	11.2%	12.3%	14.2%	14.2%	22.0%	14.7%	18.4%	17.9%	17.0%
Monthly income per household member from 20.001 to 30.000 RSD	n	108	22	36	106	33	27	69	39	58	37	42	87	166
	% income	65.1%	13.3%	21.7%	63.9%	19.9%	16.3%	41.6%	23.5%	34.9%	22.3%	25.3%	52.4%	100%
	% need	22.3%	21.6%	34.0%	24.3%	23.1%	23.7%	21.8%	30.7%	23.2%	17.5%	25.8%	27.3%	24.0%
Monthly income per household member 30.001 to 48.000 RSD	n	161	36	38	154	46	35	107	44	87	72	55	108	235
	% income	68.5%	15.3%	16.2%	65.5%	19.6%	14.9%	45.5%	18.7%	35.7%	30.6%	23.4%	46.0%	100%
	% need	33.2%	35.3%	35.8%	35.3%	32.2%	30.7%	33.9%	34.6%	33.6%	34.1%	33.7%	33.9%	33.9%
Monthly income per household member greater than 48.000 RSD	n	134	23	17	88	48	38	95	26	53	71	36	67	174
	% income	77.0%	13.2%	9.8%	50.6%	27.6%	21.8%	54.6%	14.9%	30.5%	40.8%	20.7%	38.5%	100%
	% need	27.6%	22.5%	16.0%	20.2%	33.6%	33.3%	30.1%	20.5%	21.2%	33.6%	22.1%	21.0%	25.1%
Total	n	485	102	106	436	143	114	316	127	250	211	163	319	693
	% income	70.0%	14.7%	15.3%	62.9%	20.6%	16.5%	45.6%	18.3%	36.1%	30.4%	23.5%	46.0%	100%
	% need	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 8A – Cultural needs and the age of the respondents

		Attending family festivities			Watching television			Going to the theatre			Listening to classical music			
		I like to do	I neither like nor dislike	I do not like to do	I like to do	I neither like nor dislike	I do not like to do	I like to do	I neither like nor dislike	I do not like to do	I like to do	I neither like nor dislike	I do not like to do	Total
Age 18 – 29	n	111	43	24	131	39	8	63	52	63	15	40	123	178
	% age	62.4%	24.2%	13.5%	73.6%	21.9%	4.5%	35.4%	29.2%	35.4%	8.4%	22.5%	69.1%	100.0%
	% need	14.0%	30.5%	25.5%	15.1%	36.4%	15.4%	17.2%	20.9%	15.3%	9.9%	23.8%	17.4%	17.3%
Age 30 – 39	n	136	19	21	139	23	14	83	34	59	38	27	111	176
	% age	77.3%	10.8%	11.9%	79.0%	13.1%	8.0%	47.2%	19.3%	33.5%	21.6%	15.3%	63.1%	100.0%
	% need	17.2%	13.5%	22.3%	16.0%	21.5%	26.9%	22.7%	13.7%	14.4%	25.2%	16.1%	15.7%	17.2%
Age 40 – 54	n	234	35	20	247	22	20	117	87	85	58	39	192	289
	% age	81.0%	12.1%	6.9%	85.5%	7.6%	6.9%	40.5%	30.1%	29.4%	20.1%	13.5%	66.4%	100.0%
	% need	29.6%	24.8%	21.3%	28.5%	20.6%	38.5%	32.0%	34.9%	20.7%	38.4%	23.2%	27.2%	28.2%
Age 55 – 64	n	152	18	15	160	17	8	74	32	79	30	39	116	185
	% age	82.2%	9.7%	8.1%	86.5%	9.2%	4.3%	40.0%	17.3%	42.7%	16.2%	21.1%	62.7%	100.0%
	% need	19.2%	12.8%	16.0%	18.5%	15.9%	15.4%	20.2%	12.9%	19.2%	19.9%	23.2%	16.4%	18.0%
Age 65 – 80	n	158	26	14	190	6	2	29	44	125	10	23	165	198
	% age	79.8%	13.1%	7.1%	96.0%	3.0%	1.0%	14.6%	22.2%	63.1%	5.1%	11.6%	83.3%	100.0%
	% need	20.0%	18.4%	14.9%	21.9%	5.6%	3.8%	7.9%	17.7%	30.4%	6.6%	13.7%	23.3%	19.3%
Total	n	791	141	94	867	107	52	366	249	411	151	168	707	1026
	% age	77.1%	13.7%	9.2%	84.5%	10.4%	5.1%	35.7%	24.3%	40.1%	14.7%	16.4%	68.9%	100.0%
	% need	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 8B – Cultural needs and the age of the respondents

		Going to a restaurant or cafe			Listening to folk music			Reading books			Attending an exhibition in an art gallery/museum			
		I like to do	I neither like nor dislike	I do not like to do	I like to do	I neither like nor dislike	I do not like to do	I like to do	I neither like nor dislike	I do not like to do	I like to do	I neither like nor dislike	I do not like to do	Total
Age 18 – 29	n	165	7	6	100	49	29	88	33	57	52	44	82	178
	% age	92.7%	3.9%	3.4%	56.2%	27.5%	16.3%	49.4%	18.5%	32.0%	29.2%	24.7%	46.1%	100.0%
	% need	23.3%	4.9%	3.4%	15.1%	23.8%	18.4%	20.2%	16.7%	14.5%	18.8%	17.7%	16.3%	17.3%
Age 30 – 39	n	158	13	5	109	29	38	85	40	51	47	61	68	176
	% age	89.8%	7.4%	2.8%	61.9%	16.5%	21.6%	48.3%	22.7%	29.0%	26.7%	34.7%	38.6%	100.0%
	% need	22.3%	9.2%	2.9%	16.5%	14.1%	24.1%	19.5%	20.2%	13.0%	17.0%	24.6%	13.5%	17.2%
Age 40 – 54	n	224	43	22	165	78	46	148	47	94	102	67	120	289
	% age	77.5%	14.9%	7.6%	57.1%	27.0%	15.9%	51.2%	16.3%	32.5%	35.3%	23.2%	41.5%	100.0%
	% need	31.6%	30.3%	12.6%	24.9%	37.9%	29.1%	33.9%	23.7%	24.0%	37.0%	27.0%	23.9%	28.2%
Age 55 – 64	n	111	39	35	126	29	30	75	41	69	51	38	96	185
	% age	60.0%	21.1%	18.9%	68.1%	15.7%	16.2%	40.5%	22.2%	37.3%	27.6%	20.5%	51.9%	100.0%
	% need	15.7%	27.5%	20.0%	19.0%	14.1%	19.0%	17.2%	20.7%	17.6%	18.5%	15.3%	19.1%	18.0%
Age 65 – 80	n	51	40	107	162	21	15	40	37	121	24	38	136	198
	% age	25.8%	20.2%	54.0%	81.8%	10.6%	7.6%	20.2%	18.7%	61.1%	12.1%	19.2%	68.7%	100.0%
	% need	7.2%	28.2%	61.1%	24.5%	10.2%	9.5%	9.2%	18.7%	30.9%	8.7%	15.3%	27.1%	19.3%
Total	n	709	142	175	662	206	158	436	198	392	276	248	502	1026
	% age	69.1%	13.8%	17.1%	64.5%	20.1%	15.4%	42.5%	19.3%	38.2%	26.9%	24.2%	48.9%	100.0%
	% need	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 8C – Cultural needs and the age of the respondents

		Using social media			Playing games (gaming)			Using social networks				
		I like to do it	I neither like nor dislike	I like to do it	I neither like nor dislike	I do not like to do it	Total	I do not like to do it	I like to do it	I neither like nor dislike	I do not like to do it	Total
Age 18 – 29	n	165	10	165	10	3	178	3	104	27	47	178
	% age	92.7%	5.6%	92.7%	5.6%	1.7%	100.0%	1.7%	58.4%	15.2%	26.4%	100.0%
	% needs	27.6%	7.4%	27.6%	7.4%	1.0%	17.3%	1.0%	38.7%	19.0%	7.6%	17.3%
Age 30 – 39	n	152	15	152	15	9	176	9	65	30	81	176
	% age	86.4%	8.5%	86.4%	8.5%	5.1%	100.0%	5.1%	36.9%	17.0%	46.0%	100.0%
	% needs	25.5%	11.1%	25.5%	11.1%	3.1%	17.2%	3.1%	24.2%	21.1%	13.2%	17.2%
Age 40 – 54	n	196	55	196	55	38	289	38	61	60	168	289
	% age	67.8%	19.0%	67.8%	19.0%	13.1%	100.0%	13.1%	21.1%	20.8%	58.1%	100.0%
	% needs	32.8%	40.7%	32.8%	40.7%	12.9%	28.2%	12.9%	22.7%	42.3%	27.3%	28.2%
Age 55 – 64	n	73	37	73	37	75	185	75	35	17	133	185
	% age	39.5%	20.0%	39.5%	20.0%	40.5%	100.0%	40.5%	18.9%	9.2%	71.9%	100.0%
	% needs	12.2%	27.4%	12.2%	27.4%	25.5%	18.0%	25.5%	13.0%	12.0%	21.6%	18.0%
Age 65 – 80	n	11	18	11	18	169	198	169	4	8	186	198
	% age	5.6%	9.1%	5.6%	9.1%	85.4%	100.0%	85.4%	2.0%	4.0%	93.9%	100.0%
	% needs	1.8%	13.3%	1.8%	13.3%	57.5%	19.3%	57.5%	1.5%	5.6%	30.2%	19.3%
Total	n	597	135	597	135	294	1026	294	269	142	615	1026
	% age	58.2%	13.2%	58.2%	13.2%	28.7%	100.0%	28.7%	26.2%	13.8%	59.9%	100.0%

Table 9A – Cultural needs and the regions the respondents live in

		Attending family festivities			Watching television			Going to the theatre			Listening to classical music			
		I like to do it	I neither like nor dislike	I do not like to do it	I like to do it	I neither like nor dislike	I do not like to do it	I like to do it	I neither like nor dislike	I do not like to do it	I like to do it	I neither like nor dislike	I do not like to do it	Total
The Belgrade region	n	162	40	38	188	38	14	92	55	93	43	33	164	240
	% region	67.5%	16.7%	15.8%	78.3%	15.8%	5.8%	38.3%	22.9%	38.8%	17.9%	13.8%	68.3%	100.0%
	% needs	20.5%	28.4%	40.4%	21.7%	35.5%	26.9%	25.1%	22.1%	22.6%	28.5%	19.6%	23.2%	23.4%
Vojvodina	n	207	36	22	221	27	17	75	52	138	29	43	193	265
	% region	78.1%	13.6%	8.3%	83.4%	10.2%	6.4%	28.3%	19.6%	52.1%	10.9%	16.2%	72.8%	100.0%
	% needs	26.2%	25.5%	23.4%	25.5%	25.2%	32.7%	20.5%	20.9%	33.6%	19.2%	25.6%	27.3%	25.8%
Šumadija and West Serbia	n	245	31	14	249	27	14	121	75	94	54	57	179	290
	% region	84.5%	10.7%	4.8%	85.9%	9.3%	4.8%	41.7%	25.9%	32.4%	18.6%	19.7%	61.7%	100.0%
	% needs	31.0%	22.0%	14.9%	28.7%	25.2%	26.9%	33.1%	30.1%	22.9%	35.8%	33.9%	25.3%	28.3%
South and East Serbia	n	177	34	20	209	15	7	78	67	86	25	35	171	231
	% region	76.6%	14.7%	8.7%	90.5%	6.5%	3.0%	33.8%	29.0%	37.2%	10.8%	15.2%	74.0%	100.0%
	% needs	22.4%	24.1%	21.3%	24.1%	14.0%	13.5%	21.3%	26.9%	20.9%	16.6%	20.8%	24.2%	22.5%
Total	n	791	141	94	867	107	52	366	249	411	151	168	707	1026
	% region	77.1%	13.7%	9.2%	84.5%	10.4%	5.1%	35.7%	24.3%	40.1%	14.7%	16.4%	68.9%	100.0%
	% needs	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 9B - Cultural needs and the regions the respondents live in

		Going to a restaurant or cafe			Listening to folk music			Reading books			Attending an exhibition in an art gallery/museum			
		I like to do it	I neither like nor dislike	I do not like to do it	I like to do it	I neither like nor dislike	I do not like to do it	I like to do it	I neither like nor dislike	I do not like to do it	I like to do it	I neither like nor dislike	I do not like to do it	Total
The Belgrade region	n	178	28	34	154	47	39	104	52	84	71	56	113	240
	% region	74.2%	11.7%	14.2%	64.2%	19.6%	16.3%	43.3%	21.7%	35.0%	29.6%	23.3%	47.1%	100.0%
	% needs	25.1%	19.7%	19.4%	23.3%	22.8%	24.7%	23.9%	26.3%	21.4%	25.7%	22.6%	22.5%	23.4%
Vojvodina	n	174	35	56	167	58	40	108	45	112	54	56	155	265
	% region	65.7%	13.2%	21.1%	63.0%	21.9%	15.1%	40.8%	17.0%	42.3%	20.4%	21.1%	58.5%	100.0%
	% needs	24.5%	24.6%	32.0%	25.2%	28.2%	25.3%	24.8%	22.7%	28.6%	19.6%	22.6%	30.9%	25.8%
Šumadija and West Serbia	n	198	46	46	175	60	55	136	65	89	91	77	122	290
	% region	68.3%	15.9%	15.9%	60.3%	20.7%	19.0%	46.9%	22.4%	30.7%	31.4%	26.6%	42.1%	100.0%
	% needs	27.9%	32.4%	26.3%	26.4%	29.1%	34.8%	31.2%	32.8%	22.7%	33.0%	31.0%	24.3%	28.3%
South and East Serbia	n	159	33	39	166	41	24	88	36	107	60	59	112	231
	% region	68.8%	14.3%	16.9%	71.9%	17.7%	10.4%	38.1%	15.6%	46.3%	26.0%	25.5%	48.5%	100.0%
	% needs	22.4%	23.2%	22.3%	25.1%	19.9%	15.2%	20.2%	18.2%	27.3%	21.7%	23.8%	22.3%	22.5%
Total	n	709	142	175	662	206	158	436	198	392	276	248	502	1026
	% region	69.1%	13.8%	17.1%	64.5%	20.1%	15.4%	42.5%	19.3%	38.2%	26.9%	24.2%	48.9%	100.0%
	% needs	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 10. How many times did the respondents attend cultural programs over the course of six months prior to the survey

		7+ times	4 – 6 times	1 – 3 times	Not once	Total
Went to a restaurant with live music	n	82	170	362	412	1026
	%	8.0%	16.6%	35.3%	40.2%	100%
Attended a sports event	n	49	92	223	662	1026
	%	4.8%	9.0%	21.7%	64.5%	100%
Went to the movies	n	11	44	261	710	1026
	%	1.1%	4.3%	25.4%	69.2%	100%
Went to a fair	n	3	23	258	742	1026
	%	0.3%	2.2%	25.1%	72.3%	100%
Went to a pop/rock music concert	n	8	41	229	748	1026
	%	0.8%	4.0%	22.3%	72.9%	100%
Went to a folk music concert	n	5	41	194	786	1026
	%	0.5%	4.0%	18.9%	76.6%	100%
Went to the library	n	26	44	110	846	1026
	%	2.5%	4.3%	10.7%	82.5%	100%
Went to the theatre	n	3	27	190	806	1026
	%	0.3%	2.6%	18.5%	78.6%	100%
Attended an exhibition in an art gallery/museum	n	3	26	137	860	1026
	%	0.3%	2.5%	13.4%	83.8%	100%
Went to a classical music concert	n	1	8	60	957	1026
	%	0.1%	0.8%	5.8%	93.3%	100%

Table 11A – The cultural habits and level of education of the respondents

		Went to the library			Went to the movies			Attended an exhibition in an art gallery/museum			Went to the theatre			
		Not once	1 – 3 times	4 + times	Not once	1 – 3 puta	4 + times	Not once	1 – 3 times	4 + times	Not once	1 – 3 times	4 + times	Total
An incomplete elementary education/an elementary education	n	204	6	5	200	13	2	209	5	1	209	4	2	215
	% education	94.9%	2.8%	2.3%	93.0%	6.0%	0.9%	97.2%	2.3%	0.5%	97.2%	1.9%	0.9%	100.0%
	% habits	24.1%	5.5%	7.1%	28.2%	5.0%	3.6%	24.3%	3.6%	3.4%	25.9%	2.1%	6.7%	21.0%
A high school education	n	517	62	37	408	174	34	524	80	12	501	102	13	616
	% education	83.9%	10.1%	6.0%	66.2%	28.2%	5.5%	85.1%	13.0%	1.9%	81.3%	16.6%	2.1%	100.0%
	% habits	61.1%	56.4%	52.9%	57.5%	66.7%	61.8%	60.9%	58.4%	41.4%	62.2%	53.7%	43.3%	60.0%
Community college/university/MA/PhD	n	125	42	28	102	74	19	127	52	16	96	84	15	195
	% education	64.1%	21.5%	14.4%	52.3%	37.9%	9.7%	65.1%	26.7%	8.2%	49.2%	43.1%	7.7%	100.0%
	% habits	14.8%	38.2%	40.0%	14.4%	28.4%	34.5%	14.8%	38.0%	55.2%	11.9%	44.2%	50.0%	19.0%
Total	n	846	110	70	710	261	55	860	137	29	806	190	30	1026
	% education	82.5%	10.7%	6.8%	69.2%	25.4%	5.4%	83.8%	13.4%	2.8%	78.6%	18.5%	2.9%	100.0%
	% habits	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 11B – Cultural habits and the level of education of the respondents

		Went to a restaurant with live music			Went to a folk music concert			Went to a pop/rock music concert			Went to a classical music concert			
		Not once	1 – 3 times	4 + times	Not once	1 – 3 times	4 + times	Not once	1 – 3 times	4 + times	Not once	1 – 3 times	4 + times	Total
An incomplete elementary education/an elementary education	n	143	52	20	187	26	2	201	14	0	210	4	1	215
	% education	66.5%	24.2%	9.3%	87.0%	12.1%	0.9%	93.5%	6.5%	0.0%	97.7%	1.9%	0.5%	100.0%
	% habits	34.7%	14.4%	7.9%	23.8%	13.4%	4.3%	26.9%	6.1%	0.0%	21.9%	6.7%	11.1%	21.0%
A high school education	n	213	234	169	448	133	35	417	165	34	576	36	4	616
	% education	34.6%	38.0%	27.4%	72.7%	21.6%	5.7%	67.7%	26.8%	5.5%	93.5%	5.8%	0.6%	100.0%
	% habits	51.7%	64.6%	67.1%	57.0%	68.6%	76.1%	55.7%	72.1%	69.4%	60.2%	60.0%	44.4%	60.0%
Community college/university/ MA/PhD	n	56	76	63	151	35	9	130	50	15	171	20	4	195
	% education	28.7%	39.0%	32.3%	77.4%	17.9%	4.6%	66.7%	25.6%	7.7%	87.7%	10.3%	2.1%	100.0%
	% habits	13.6%	21.0%	25.0%	19.2%	18.0%	19.6%	17.4%	21.8%	30.6%	17.9%	33.3%	44.4%	19.0%
Total	n	412	362	252	786	194	46	748	229	49	957	60	9	1026
	% education	40.2%	35.3%	24.6%	76.6%	18.9%	4.5%	72.9%	22.3%	4.8%	93.3%	5.8%	0.9%	100.0%
	% habits	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 12A – Cultural habits and income per household member of the respondents

		Went to the library			Went to the movies			Attended an exhibition in an art gallery/museum			Went to the theatre			
		Not once	1 – 3 times	4 + times	Not once	1 – 3 times	4 + times	Not once	1 – 3 times	4 + times	Not once	1 – 3 times	4 + times	Total
Monthly income per household member less than 20.000 RSD	n	97	13	8	80	35	3	102	13	3	101	16	1	118
	% income	82.2%	11.0%	6.8%	67.8%	29.7%	2.5%	86.4%	11.0%	2.5%	85.6%	13.6%	0.8%	100.0%
	% habits	17.6%	14.1%	15.7%	17.7%	17.9%	6.7%	18.2%	12.3%	11.5%	19.6%	10.3%	4.3%	17.0%
Monthly income per household member from 20.001 to 30.000 RSD	n	141	21	4	121	40	5	141	23	2	136	25	5	166
	% income	84.9%	12.7%	2.4%	72.9%	24.1%	3.0%	84.9%	13.9%	1.2%	81.9%	15.1%	3.0%	100.0%
	% habits	25.6%	22.8%	7.8%	26.7%	20.5%	11.1%	25.1%	21.7%	7.7%	26.5%	16.0%	21.7%	24.0%
Monthly income per household member 30.001 to 48.000 RSD	n	183	40	12	143	77	15	192	36	7	175	53	7	235
	% income	77.9%	17.0%	5.1%	60.9%	32.8%	6.4%	81.7%	15.3%	3.0%	74.5%	22.6%	3.0%	100.0%
	% habits	33.3%	43.5%	23.5%	31.6%	39.5%	33.3%	34.2%	34.0%	26.9%	34.0%	34.0%	30.4%	33.9%
Monthly income per household member greater than 48.000 RSD	n	129	18	27	109	43	22	126	34	14	102	62	10	174
	% income	74.1%	10.3%	15.5%	62.6%	24.7%	12.6%	72.4%	19.5%	8.0%	58.6%	35.6%	5.7%	100.0%
	% habits	23.5%	19.6%	52.9%	24.1%	22.1%	48.9%	22.5%	32.1%	53.8%	19.8%	39.7%	43.5%	25.1%
Total	n	550	92	51	453	195	45	561	106	26	514	156	23	693
	% income	79.4%	13.3%	7.4%	65.4%	28.1%	6.5%	81.0%	15.3%	3.8%	74.2%	22.5%	3.3%	100.0%
	% habits	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 12B – Cultural habits and income per household member of the respondents

		Went to a restaurant with live music			Went to a folk music concert			Went to a pop/rock music concert			Went to a classical music concert			
		Not once	1 – 3 times	4 + times	Not once	1 – 3 times	4 + times	Not once	1 – 3 times	4 + times	Not once	1 – 3 times	4 + times	Total
Monthly income per household member less than 20.000 RSD	n	41	49	28	79	32	7	78	35	5	110	7	1	118
	% income	34.7%	41.5%	23.7%	66.9%	27.1%	5.9%	66.1%	29.7%	4.2%	93.2%	5.9%	0.8%	100.0%
	% habits	15.5%	18.4%	17.4%	15.2%	22.7%	21.2%	15.9%	20.6%	15.2%	17.4%	13.5%	11.1%	17.0%
Monthly income per household member from 20.001 to 30.000 RSD	n	79	61	26	130	34	2	125	37	4	151	13	2	166
	% income	47.6%	36.7%	15.7%	78.3%	20.5%	1.2%	75.3%	22.3%	2.4%	91.0%	7.8%	1.2%	100.0%
	% habits	29.8%	22.8%	16.1%	25.0%	24.1%	6.1%	25.5%	21.8%	12.1%	23.9%	25.0%	22.2%	24.0%
Monthly income per household member 30.001 to 48.000 RSD	n	92	86	57	170	51	14	163	61	11	213	18	4	235
	% income	39.1%	36.6%	24.3%	72.3%	21.7%	6.0%	69.4%	26.0%	4.7%	90.6%	7.7%	1.7%	100.0%
	% habits	34.7%	32.2%	35.4%	32.8%	36.2%	42.4%	33.3%	35.9%	33.3%	33.7%	34.6%	44.4%	33.9%
Monthly income per household member greater than 48.000 RSD	n	53	71	50	140	24	10	124	37	13	158	14	2	174
	% income	30.5%	40.8%	28.7%	80.5%	13.8%	5.7%	71.3%	21.3%	7.5%	90.8%	8.0%	1.1%	100.0%
	% habits	20.0%	26.6%	31.1%	27.0%	17.0%	30.3%	25.3%	21.8%	39.4%	25.0%	26.9%	22.2%	25.1%
Total	n	265	267	161	519	141	33	490	170	33	632	52	9	693
	% income	38.2%	38.5%	23.2%	74.9%	20.3%	4.8%	70.7%	24.5%	4.8%	91.2%	7.5%	1.3%	100.0%
	% habits	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 13A – Cultural habits and the age of the respondents

		Went to the library			Went to the movies			Attended an exhibition in an art gallery/museum			Went to the theatre			
		Not once	1 – 3 times	4 + times	Not once	1 – 3 times	4 + times	Not once	1 – 3 times	4 + times	Not once	1 – 3 times	4 + times	Total
Age 18 – 29	n	128	27	23	74	84	20	148	23	7	137	35	6	178
	% age	71.9%	15.2%	12.9%	41.6%	47.2%	11.2%	83.1%	12.9%	3.9%	77.0%	19.7%	3.4%	100.0%
	% practice	15.1%	24.5%	32.9%	10.4%	32.2%	36.4%	17.2%	16.8%	24.1%	17.0%	18.4%	20.0%	17.3%
Age 30 – 39	n	141	26	9	99	59	18	149	22	5	128	40	8	176
	% age	80.1%	14.8%	5.1%	56.3%	33.5%	10.2%	84.7%	12.5%	2.8%	72.7%	22.7%	4.5%	100.0%
	% practice	16.7%	23.6%	12.9%	13.9%	22.6%	32.7%	17.3%	16.1%	17.2%	15.9%	21.1%	26.7%	17.2%
Age 40 – 54	n	231	35	23	188	86	15	224	54	11	208	75	6	289
	% age	79.9%	12.1%	8.0%	65.1%	29.8%	5.2%	77.5%	18.7%	3.8%	72.0%	26.0%	2.1%	100.0%
	% practice	27.3%	31.8%	32.9%	26.5%	33.0%	27.3%	26.0%	39.4%	37.9%	25.8%	39.5%	20.0%	28.2%
Age 55 – 64	n	156	16	13	157	26	2	153	26	6	149	27	9	185
	% age	84.3%	8.6%	7.0%	84.9%	14.1%	1.1%	82.7%	14.1%	3.2%	80.5%	14.6%	4.9%	100.0%
	% practice	18.4%	14.5%	18.6%	22.1%	10.0%	3.6%	17.8%	19.0%	20.7%	18.5%	14.2%	30.0%	18.0%
Age 65 – 80	n	190	6	2	192	6	0	186	12	0	184	13	1	198
	% age	96.0%	3.0%	1.0%	97.0%	3.0%	0.0%	93.9%	6.1%	0.0%	92.9%	6.6%	0.5%	100.0%
	% practice	22.5%	5.5%	2.9%	27.0%	2.3%	0.0%	21.6%	8.8%	0.0%	22.8%	6.8%	3.3%	19.3%
Total	n	846	110	70	710	261	55	860	137	29	806	190	30	1026
	% age	82.5%	10.7%	6.8%	69.2%	25.4%	5.4%	83.8%	13.4%	2.8%	78.6%	18.5%	2.9%	100.0%
	% practice	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 13B – Cultural habits and the age of the respondents

		Went to a restaurant with live music			Went to a folk music concert			Went to a pop/rock music concert			Went to a classical music concert			
		Not once	1 – 3 times	4 + times	Not once	1 – 3 times	4 + times	Not once	1 – 3 times	4 + times	Not once	1 – 3 times	4 + times	Total
Age 18 – 29	n	40	63	75	115	44	19	89	74	15	172	6	0	178
	% age	22.5%	35.4%	42.1%	64.6%	24.7%	10.7%	50.0%	41.6%	8.4%	96.6%	3.4%	0.0%	100.0%
	% practice	9.7%	17.4%	29.8%	14.6%	22.7%	41.3%	11.9%	32.3%	30.6%	18.0%	10.0%	0.0%	17.3%
Age 30 – 39	n	54	66	56	116	46	14	107	56	13	163	11	2	176
	% age	30.7%	37.5%	31.8%	65.9%	26.1%	8.0%	60.8%	31.8%	7.4%	92.6%	6.3%	1.1%	100.0%
	% practice	13.1%	18.2%	22.2%	14.8%	23.7%	30.4%	14.3%	24.5%	26.5%	17.0%	18.3%	22.2%	17.2%
Age 40 – 54	n	83	119	87	214	65	10	196	78	15	255	29	5	289
	% age	28.7%	41.2%	30.1%	74.0%	22.5%	3.5%	67.8%	27.0%	5.2%	88.2%	10.0%	1.7%	100.0%
	% practice	20.1%	32.9%	34.5%	27.2%	33.5%	21.7%	26.2%	34.1%	30.6%	26.6%	48.3%	55.6%	28.2%
Age 55 – 64	n	87	70	28	150	32	3	158	21	6	170	13	2	185
	% age	47.0%	37.8%	15.1%	81.1%	17.3%	1.6%	85.4%	11.4%	3.2%	91.9%	7.0%	1.1%	100.0%
	% practice	21.1%	19.3%	11.1%	19.1%	16.5%	6.5%	21.1%	9.2%	12.2%	17.8%	21.7%	22.2%	18.0%
Age 65 – 80	n	148	44	6	191	7	0	198	0	0	197	1	0	198
	% age	74.7%	22.2%	3.0%	96.5%	3.5%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	99.5%	0.5%	0.0%	100.0%
	% practice	35.9%	12.2%	2.4%	24.3%	3.6%	0.0%	26.5%	0.0%	0.0%	20.6%	1.7%	0.0%	19.3%
Total	n	412	362	252	786	194	46	748	229	49	957	60	9	1026
	% age	40.2%	35.3%	24.6%	76.6%	18.9%	4.5%	72.9%	22.3%	4.8%	93.3%	5.8%	0.9%	100.0%
	% practice	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 14A – Cultural habits and the regions the respondents live in

		Went to the library			Went to the movies			Attended an exhibition in an art gallery/museum			Went to the theatre			
		Not once	1 – 3 times	4 + times	Not once	1 – 3 times	4 + times	Not once	1 – 3 times	4 + times	Not once	1 – 3 times	4 + times	Total
Belgrade	n	199	20	21	153	67	20	195	33	12	185	49	6	240
	% region	82.9%	8.3%	8.8%	63.7%	27.9%	8.3%	81.3%	13.8%	5.0%	77.1%	20.4%	2.5%	100.0%
	% practice	23.5%	18.2%	30.0%	21.5%	25.7%	36.4%	22.7%	24.1%	41.4%	23.0%	25.8%	20.0%	23.4%
Vojvodina	n	235	19	11	198	58	9	228	30	7	208	47	10	265
	% region	88.7%	7.2%	4.2%	74.7%	21.9%	3.4%	86.0%	11.3%	2.6%	78.5%	17.7%	3.8%	100.0%
	% practice	27.8%	17.3%	15.7%	27.9%	22.2%	16.4%	26.5%	21.9%	24.1%	25.8%	24.7%	33.3%	25.8%
Šumadija and West Serbia	n	214	56	20	198	71	21	236	45	9	223	55	12	290
	% region	73.8%	19.3%	6.9%	68.3%	24.5%	7.2%	81.4%	15.5%	3.1%	76.9%	19.0%	4.1%	100.0%
	% practice	25.3%	50.9%	28.6%	27.9%	27.2%	38.2%	27.4%	32.8%	31.0%	27.7%	28.9%	40.0%	28.3%
South and East Serbia	n	198	15	18	161	65	5	201	29	1	190	39	2	231
	% region	85.7%	6.5%	7.8%	69.7%	28.1%	2.2%	87.0%	12.6%	0.4%	82.3%	16.9%	0.9%	100.0%
	% practice	23.4%	13.6%	25.7%	22.7%	24.9%	9.1%	23.4%	21.2%	3.4%	23.6%	20.5%	6.7%	22.5%
Total	n	846	110	70	710	261	55	860	137	29	806	190	30	1026
	% region	82.5%	10.7%	6.8%	69.2%	25.4%	5.4%	83.8%	13.4%	2.8%	78.6%	18.5%	2.9%	100.0%
	% practice	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 14B – Cultural habits and the regions the respondents live in

		Went to a restaurant with live music			Went to a folk music concert			Went to a pop/rock music concert			Went to a classical music concert			
		Not once	1 – 3 times	4 + times	Not once	1 – 3 times	4 + times	Not once	1 – 3 times	4 + times	Not once	1 – 3 times	4 + times	Total
Belgrade	n	109	67	64	200	37	3	190	45	5	232	8	0	240
	% region	45.4%	27.9%	26.7%	83.3%	15.4%	1.3%	79.2%	18.8%	2.1%	96.7%	3.3%	0.0%	100.0%
	% practice	26.5%	18.5%	25.4%	25.4%	19.1%	6.5%	25.4%	19.7%	10.2%	24.2%	13.3%	0.0%	23.4%
Vojvodina	n	125	87	53	199	49	17	198	51	16	247	17	1	265
	% region	47.2%	32.8%	20.0%	75.1%	18.5%	6.4%	74.7%	19.2%	6.0%	93.2%	6.4%	0.4%	100.0%
	% practice	30.3%	24.0%	21.0%	25.3%	25.3%	37.0%	26.5%	22.3%	32.7%	25.8%	28.3%	11.1%	25.8%
Šumadija and West Serbia	n	100	113	77	211	61	18	193	77	20	253	29	8	290
	% region	34.5%	39.0%	26.6%	72.8%	21.0%	6.2%	66.6%	26.6%	6.9%	87.2%	10.0%	2.8%	100.0%
	% practice	24.3%	31.2%	30.6%	26.8%	31.4%	39.1%	25.8%	33.6%	40.8%	26.4%	48.3%	88.9%	28.3%
South and East Serbia	n	78	95	58	176	47	8	167	56	8	225	6	0	231
	% region	33.8%	41.1%	25.1%	76.2%	20.3%	3.5%	72.3%	24.2%	3.5%	97.4%	2.6%	0.0%	100.0%
	% practice	18.9%	26.2%	23.0%	22.4%	24.2%	17.4%	22.3%	24.5%	16.3%	23.5%	10.0%	0.0%	22.5%
Total	n	412	362	252	786	194	46	748	229	49	957	60	9	1026
	% region	40.2%	35.3%	24.6%	76.6%	18.9%	4.5%	72.9%	22.3%	4.8%	93.3%	5.8%	0.9%	100.0%
	% practice	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 15 – Types of audiences

Type of audience	Number	Valid %
Active audience	291	28.4
Potential audience	318	31.0
Non-audience	417	40.6
Total	1026	100.0

Table 16 – Type of audiences and gender of the respondents

		Active audience	Potential audience	Non-audience	Total
Men	n	142	141	232	515
	% gender	27.6%	27.4%	45.0%	100.0%
	% audience	48.8%	44.3%	55.6%	50.2%
Women	n	149	177	185	511
	% gender	29.2%	34.6%	36.2%	100.0%
	% audience	51.2%	55.7%	44.4%	49.8%
Total	n	291	318	417	1026
	% gender	28.4%	31.0%	40.6%	100.0%
	% audience	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 17 – Types of audiences and age of the respondents

		Active audience	Potential audience	Non-audience	Total
Age 18 – 29	n	64	72	42	178
	% age	36.0%	40.4%	23.6%	100.0%
	% audience	22.0%	22.6%	10.1%	17.3%
Age 30 – 39	n	65	64	47	176
	% age	36.9%	36.4%	26.7%	100.0%
	% audience	22.3%	20.1%	11.3%	17.2%
Age 40 – 54	n	100	94	95	289
	% age	34.6%	32.5%	32.9%	100.0%
	% audience	34.4%	29.6%	22.8%	28.2%
Age 55 – 64	n	46	56	83	185
	% age	24.9%	30.3%	44.9%	100.0%
	% audience	15.8%	17.6%	19.9%	18.0%
Age 65 – 80	n	16	32	150	198
	% age	8.1%	16.2%	75.8%	100.0%
	% audience	5.5%	10.1%	36.0%	19.3%
Total	n	291	318	417	1026
	% age	28.4%	31.0%	40.6%	100.0%
	% audience	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 18 – Types of audiences and level of education of the respondents

		Active audience	Potential audience	Non-audience	Total
An incomplete elementary education/an elementary education	n	12	40	163	215
	% region	5.6%	18.6%	75.8%	100.0%
	% audience	4.1%	12.6%	39.1%	21.0%
A high school education	n	179	215	222	616
	% region	29.1%	34.9%	36.0%	100.0%
	% audience	61.5%	67.6%	53.2%	60.0%
Community college/university/MA/PhD	n	100	63	32	195
	% region	51.3%	32.3%	16.4%	100.0%
	% audience	34.4%	19.8%	7.7%	19.0%
Total	n	291	318	417	1026
	% region	28.4%	31.0%	40.6%	100.0%
	% audience	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 19 – Types of audiences and income per household member of the respondents

		Active audience	Potential audience	Non-audience	Total
Income up to 20.000 dinars	n	33	36	49	118
	% income	28.0%	30.5%	41.5%	100.0%
	% audience	14.3%	17.1%	19.5%	17.0%
Between 20.001 and 30.000 dinars	n	39	50	77	166
	% income	23.5%	30.1%	46.4%	100.0%
	% audience	16.9%	23.7%	30.7%	24.0%
Between 30.001 and 48.000 dinars	n	80	79	76	235
	% income	34.0%	33.6%	32.3%	100.0%
	% audience	34.6%	37.4%	30.3%	33.9%
In excess of 48.000 dinars	n	79	46	49	174
	% income	45.4%	26.4%	28.2%	100.0%
	% audience	34.2%	21.8%	19.5%	25.1%
Total	n	231	211	251	693
	% income	33.3%	30.4%	36.2%	100.0%
	% audience	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 20 – Types of audiences and their distribution based on region in Serbia

		Active audience	Potential audience	Non-audience	Total
Belgrade region	n	56	84	100	240
	% region	23.3%	35.0%	41.7%	100.0%
	% audience	19.2%	26.4%	24.0%	23.4%
Vojvodina region	n	73	74	118	265
	% region	27.5%	27.9%	44.5%	100.0%
	% audience	25.1%	23.3%	28.3%	25.8%
Šumadija and West Serbia	n	89	98	103	290
	% region	30.7%	33.8%	35.5%	100.0%
	% audience	30.6%	30.8%	24.7%	28.3%
South and East Serbia	n	73	62	96	231
	% region	31.6%	26.8%	41.6%	100.0%
	% audience	25.1%	19.5%	23.0%	22.5%
Total	n	291	318	417	1026
	% region	28.4%	31.0%	40.6%	100.0%
	% audience	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Graph 2 – Class fractions in the social space of Serbia

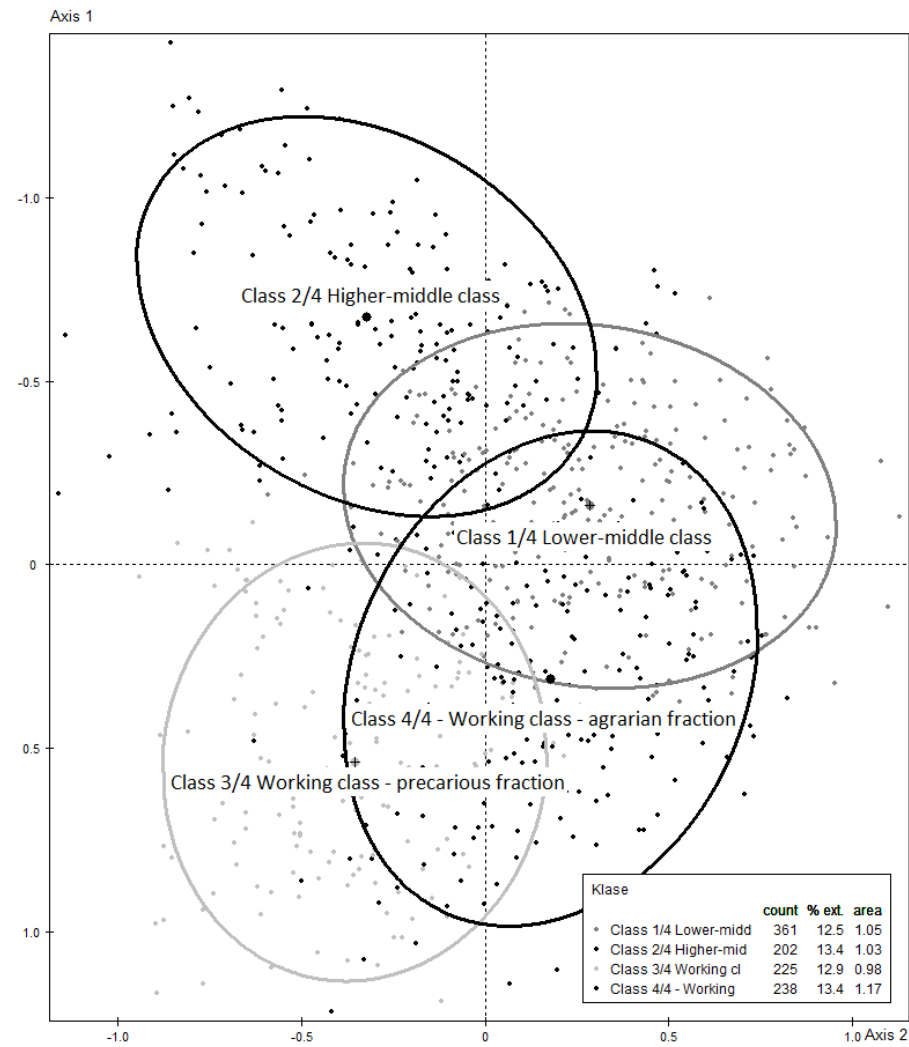


Table 21 – Types of audiences and class fractions

Class fraction/ Type of audience	Upper middle class	Lower middle class	Working class – precarious fraction	Working class – agricultural fraction	Total
Active audience	95 (32.6%) 47.0%	119 (40.9%) 33.0%	56 (19.2%) 23.5%	21 (7.2%) 9.3%	291 (100%)
Potential audience	71 (22.3%) 35.1%	122 (38.4%) 33.8%	68 (21.4%) 28.6%	57 (17.9%) 25.3%	318 (100%)
Non-audience	36 (8.6) 17.8%	120 (28.8%) 33.2%	114 (27.2%) 47.9%	147 (35.3%) 65.3%	417 (100%)
Total	202 (19.7%) 100%	361 (35.2%) 100%	238 (23.2%) 100%	225 (21.9%) 100%	1026 (100%)