

STANJE RAVNOPRavnosti spolova- EFEKTI IMPLEMENTACIJE GENDER AKCIONOG PLANA BIH NA LOKALNOM NIVOU U ŠEST ODABRANIH LOKALNIH ZAJEDNICA

(Tuzla, Srebrenik, Gračanica, Bratunac, Milići i Srebrenica)



Iz recenzije Prof. dr Biserka Košarac: "U istraživanju položaja žena u konkretnim lokalnim zajednicama autorce prvo polaze od njihovog stepena razvijenosti i ističu da se spuštanjem na niže institucionalne nivoe pravni okviri rodne ravnopravnosti manje poštuju, a položaj žena postaje teži, što je posebno izraženo u manjim i nerazvijenim lokalnim zajednicama u kojima je snažno prisutan patrijarhalni sistem vrednosti".

Iz recenzije prof.dr.Sanela Šadić: "Kroz vrlo precizno definirane indikatore poput geografskog određenja, obrazovanja, nezaposlenosti, socijalne zaštite i drugih značajnih parametara moguće je steći kvalitetan uvid u probleme žene u njihovim lokalnim zajednicama Logičkom strukturon i argumentiranom raspravom dobijenih rezultat potvrđena je tezu o teškom položaju žena i upitnoj ravnopravnosti."

**Prof. dr. Zlatiborka Popov Momčinović
Doc. dr. Amila Ždralović**

**STANJE RAVNOPRAVNOSTI SPOLOVA -
EFEKTI IMPLEMENTACIJE GENDER AKCIONOG
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1. TEORIJSKI OKVIR RADA

Žene u Bosni i Hercegovini i dalje predstavljaju glavnu marginalizovanu grupu u društvu. Unatoč činjenici da su brojnije od muškaraca (rezultat Popisa u Bosni i Hercegovini iz 2013. godine), žene i dalje, zbog socio-kulturalnih barijera, nemaju pristup vlastitim pravima. Uprkos činjenici da se pravni okvir u Bosni i Hercegovini smatra usklađenim sa standardima demokratskih modernih društava, postoji ogroman jaz između *de iure* i *de facto* stanja ženskih ljudskih prava. Različita istraživanja pokazuju da se Zakon o ravnopravnosti spolova Bosne i Hercegovine ne provodi onako kako bi trebalo, kao i da se mehanizmi, strategije i planovi za njegovu provedbu ne primjenjuju, ili ne čine značajan društveni uticaj na stvarni život žena, a posebno višestruko marginaliziranih grupa žena. Istraživanja potvrđuju da su posebno ranjive marginalizovane grupe, poput žena koje žive u malim lokalnim zajednicama, žena s invaliditetom i majki djece s invaliditetom, samostalnih roditeljki, žene koje pripadaju etničkim manjinama (posebno Romkinje), žene koje su preživjele nasilje i žene u trećoj životnoj dobi.

U nekim istraživanjima (kao što su ženski pokret u Bosni i Hercegovini: artikulacija jedne kontrakulture, Žene koje inspirišu... istraživanje o mogućnostima i uslovima života žena u malim lokalnim zajednicama u BiH, Moj glas odjekuje..., Žene u institucijama BiH marionete zakonske kvote, *Analiza rodno inkluzivne zajednice u BiH, Aktivizmi s margini: procjena kapaciteta deset odabralih ženskih organizacija* i dr.) opisana je i objašnjena marginalizacija spomenutih kategorija žena. U ovom, ali i drugim istraživanjima, prepozнат je značaj ženskih organizacija u Bosni i Hercegovini, kao i ženskih mreža (poput Ženske mreže, Romske mreže, Sigurne mreže) koje se bave rješavanjem različitih pitanja navedenih kategorija, ali se suočavaju i sa različitim izazovima u vlastitom radu. To je posebno slučaj sa ženskim organizacijama iz manjih lokalnih zajednica koje su udaljene od urbanih središta, nemaju dovoljno tehničkih kapaciteta, a i ljudski resursi su osjetljivi. Njihov pristup institucijama kao što su entitetski gender centri, Agencija za ravnopravnost spolova Bosne i Hercegovine, strani donatori i kao i njihov pristup ostalim važnim sudionicima i partnerima u procesu, značajno je ograničen. Specifičan položaj marginalizovanih grupa žena i djevojčica u tim zajednicama problematičniji je i zbog njihove isključenost, prepreka, nedostatka vremena i društvenih predrasuda o vlastitom organiziranju, a socijalna uključenost još je upitnija. S obzirom na sve specifičnosti konteksta, mnoga udruženja ne mogu pokriti sve probleme s kojima se žene suočavaju, posebno u manjim zajednicama, te u potpunosti na sebe preuzeti ulogu servisa za sve građanke i građane u svojoj lokalnoj zajednici. Stoga je nužno da zakoni i institucionalni mehanizami koji se provode na lokalnom nivou rezultiraju pozitivnim društvenim promjenama, a ne da prosto, kako pokazuju prethodna istraživanja, budu shvaćeni kao formalne obaveze.

Pandemija virusa COVID-19 uslovila je novi način života koji globalno iz temelja mijenja svakodnevnicu. Pogađa sve, al i marginalizovane grupe pogađa dodatno i na specifične načine. Stoga odgovori na efekte nove krize nužno traže integrisanje rodne perspektive u sve programe i aktivnosti na svim nivoima i institucijama vlasti, u svim fazama i svim sferama društva. Na pristup nazvan ‘gender mainstreaming’ (urodnjavanje) obavezuju i međunarodni (npr. Pekinške deklaracije) i nacionalni (npr. Zakon o ravnopravnosti spolova BiH) pravni okviri za rodnu ravnopravnost. Pri tome, posebno treba naglasiti da u vremenu krize rodna ravnopravnost ne smije biti suspendovana, ili skinuta s dnevnog reda radi drugih, „važnijih“ pitanja, već upravo suprotno – rodna ravnopravnost jeste, posebno u vremenu krize, središte svih ostalih pitanja. Treba, takođe, uzeti u obzir da prirodne i druge katastrofe i nesreće iziskuju

posebno rodno-osjetljive akcije na smanjenju rizika, budući da se društvena stratifikacija dodatno produbljuje, a postojeće slabosti socijalne i zdravstvene zaštite postaju još vidljivije u kriznim situacijama.

Generalni cilj ovog istraživanja je bio steći dublji i slojevitiji uvid u položaj marginaliziranih skupina u ciljanim zajednicama. Specifični cilj istraživanja je bila procjena implementacije gender akcionih planova na lokalnom nivou, s fokusom na analizu rada komisija za jednakopravnost spolova na lokom nivou, kao i analiza uticaja pandemije COVID-19 na žene u šest (6) odabranih lokalnih zajednica (Tuzla, Srebrenik, Gračanica, Bratunac, Milići i Srebrenica).

Istraživanje je bilo uokvireno u sljedeća istraživačka pitanja:

- 1) Koji su glavni problemi implementacije gender akcionih planova u BiH ida li su postojeći programi, politike i budžeti – urodnjeni?
- 2) Koje su konkretnе aktivnosti komisija za jednakopravnost spolova na lokalnom nivou i kakvi su kapaciteti ovih komisija da razumiju djelovanje rodnih obrazaca u svojim lokalnim zajednicama, odnosno kakvi su stavovi članova/ica komisija o rodoj ravnopravnosti, te da li se u lokalnoj zajednici provode programi koji promovišu rodnu ravnopravnost?
- 3) Koje su konkretnе posljedice pandemije COVID-19 na različite aspekte života žena u lokalnim zajednicama, šta je u lokalnim zajednicama urađeno da se ovi negativni efekti uklone, ili bar ublaže, te da li se generalno pri usvajanju programa i politika vodi računa o specifičnim potrebama žena, posebno marginaliziranih grupa žena?
- 4) Koliko su mjere koje su uslijedile nakon proglašenja vanrednog stanja bile urodnjene, te na koji način se postojeće mjere, programi i druge aktivnosti, mogu urodniti?

2. METODOLOGIJA ISTRAŽIVANJA

Za potrebe ove analize korišteno je nekoliko metodoloških pristupa, s ciljem sticanja dubljeg i relevantnijeg uvida u problem istraživanja. Korištena je kvantitativna i kvalitativna metododologija, a od istraživačkih tehnika: desk analiza dostupnih istraživanja i dokumenata, anketni upitnik i dubinski polustrukturisani intervjuji.

Desk analiza: Uz pomoć *search engine* pronađena su relevantna istraživanja i dokumenti koji se tiču položaja žena u Bosni i Hercegovini, s akcentom na rad komisija za ravnopravnost spolova i provedbu gender akcionalih planova na lokalnom nivou. Posjećene su zvanične web-stranice ciljanih lokalnih zajednica radi nalaženja relevantnih dokumenata i sticanja generalnog uvida u aktivnosti lokalne zajednice vezano za ravnopravnost spolova .

Dubinski polustrukturisani intervjuji: Najprije su urađeni dubinski polistrukturisani intervjuji sa aktivisticama iz ciljanih zajednica, s obzirom na njihovu dugogodišnju posvećenost i rad na ravnopravnosti spolova u Bosni i Hercegovini i u njihovim lokalnim zajednicama. Na taj način je stečen uvid u njihov rad i angažman kada je riječ o funkcionalisanju komisija na lokalnom nivou, o položaju žena na lokalu i njihovom učešću u političkom životu, o nasilju u porodici i drugim problemima sa kojima se žene suočavaju, posebno u periodu pandemije COVID-19. Navedeni intervjuji su trajali u prosjeku nešto više od sat vremena, a polistrukturalni oblik se ogleda u činjenici da su bila definisana okvirna pitanja za razgovor, ali uz prostor sagovornicama da ih prošire, nadopune pa i preformulišu.

Nakon toga su obavljeni razgovori sa članovima komisija za ravnopravnost spolova iz ciljanih lokalnih zajednica i obavljeno je ukupno sedam razgovora. Neki od njih su imali formu intervjeta, ali je većina, zbog manjka informacija od intervjuisanih, imala formu razgovora, odnosno konsultovanja oko određenih podataka koji su relevantni za analizu i koji su trajali u prosjeku od 15 do 20 minuta. Intervju/razgovori su obavljeni sa po tri člana/ice komisija iz Bratunca i Srebrenice, dva/dvije člana/ice iz Milića, dok su, kada je riječ o Tuzli, zbog zauzetosti članica, dobijeni zvanični dokumenti putem mail-a, a članica komisije iz Gračanice je ispunila anketni upitnik. Zbog neaktivnosti komisije u Srebreniku i nemogućnosti da se sazna ko je u njenom sastavu (nakon više pokušaja da se do ovih informacija dođe) nisu dobijene informacije vezano za ovu lokalnu zajednicu.

Anketni upitnik: Anketa je kreirana putem google obrasca (*google form*) s ciljem sticanja uvida u načine na koji žene u ciljanim lokalnim zajednicama percipiraju svoj položaj. Anketni upitnik je sadržavao ukupno 19 pitanja, od čega 13 zatvorenog, a 6 otvorenog tipa. Pitanja koja su postavljena na početku su se ticala demografskih karakteristika (starosna dob, stepen obrazovanja, radni odnos), a naredna pitanja su se ticala percepcije ispitanica o položaju žena u bosansko-hercegovačkom društvu, u njihovim lokalnim zajednicama i u različitim sferama koje su od posebnog značaja kada je riječ o ženskim ljudskim pravima, posebno u periodu izbjivanja pandemije COVID-19.

Ova pitanja su se odnosila na opšte percepcije, a posebna grupa pitanja zatvorenog i otvorenog tipa se odnosila na specifičnosti lokalnih strategija razvoja, gender akcione planove i

donošenje mjera na lokalnom nivou koje se tiču unaprjeđenja položaja žena, posebno u periodu pandemije. Pri izradi anketnog upitnika se, prije svega, vodilo računa o ekonomičnosti i o činjenici da u nekim od ciljanih zajednica postoje problemi sa internet konekcijom, odnosno sa korišćenjem interneta od strane potencijalnih ispitanica.

Anketa je distribuisana uz pomoć udruženja „HO Horizonti“ iz Tuzle, „Forum žena“ Bratunac, ženske lobi grupe iz Gračanice kao i ličnih kontakata. Pri distribuciji ankete vodilo se računa da ona bude proslijedena različitim kategorijama žena, uzimajući kao osnovicu stepen njihovog učešća u političkom životu, nivo obrazovanja i godine starosti. Ukupno je prikupljeno 118 odgovora na anketu, pri čemu su tri bila odbačena jer su dolazila iz lokalnih zajednica koje nisu bile predviđene za istraživanje, te je na kraju ukupan broj odgovora iznosio 115. Obuhvaćene su različite kategorije žena koje približno, u određenim segmentima, odgovaraju strukturi stanovništva, a bitno je i istaći da su u uzorak ušle žene različite životne dobi, stepena obrazovanja i koje su u različitom obliku radnog odnosa (Tabela br. 1). Odgovori na pitanje otvorenog tipa: *Ako ste zaposleni, na kojem radnom mjestu?* takođe ukazuju da su obuhvaćene različite kategorije žena koje obavljaju različita zanimanja: trgovkinje, kuharice, medicinske sestre, poljoprivredne radnice, prosvjetne radnice, ekonomistice, novinarke, bibliotekarke, psihologinje, projekt-menadžerice i aktivistice, inspektorice i žene uposlene u organima lokalne samouprave.

Tabela br. 1:

Struktura uzorka na osnovu mjesta, dobi, stepena obrazovanja i radnog odnosa

Lokalna zajednica	Dob	Stepen obrazovanja	Radni odnos
Bratunac: 16 ispitanica	18-35 godina: 33,9% ispitanica	Nedovršena osnovna škola: 1,7% ispitanica	Puno radno vrijeme: 54,8% ispitanica
Milići: 21 ispitanica	36-50 godina: 38,3% ispitanica	Osnovna škola: 2,6% ispitanica	Pola radnog vremena: 2,6% ispitanica
Srebrenica: 7 ispitanica	51-65 godina: 24,3% ispitanica	Srednja škola: 39,1% ispitanica	Nezaposlena, u potrazi za poslom: 18,4% ispitanica
Tuzla: 23 ispitanica	Preko 65 godina: 3,5% ispitanica	Više/visoko obrazovanje: 49,6% ispitanica	Domaćica: 9,6% ispitanica
Gračanica: 24 ispitanica		Naučni stepen (Mr ili Dr): 7% ispitanica	Penzionerka: 6,1% ispitanica
Srebrenik: 20 ispitanica			U procesu obrazovanja (studentica ili učenica): 8,7% ispitanica

Kao i svako istraživanje i ovo ima određene nedostatke koji proizlaze iz njegovih naučnih i aktivističkih ciljeva. Glavni problem proizlazi iz činjenice da je istraživanje sprovedeno u periodu pandemije COVID-19, što je onemogućilo posjete na terenu, razgovore uživo sa relevantnim akterima/kama,a pojavile su se i tehničke poteškoće koje se tiču zakazivanja i obavljanja razgovora putem *online* platformi.

Jedan od problema predstavlja neujednačenost kada je riječ o dostupnim dokumentima (posebno gender akcionalih planova) kao i različita struktura oficijelnih stranica lokalnih zajednica koje su ušle u istraživanje. Uprkos tome, kombinovanjem različitih metodoloških pristupa i istraživačkih tehnika, smatramo da su obuhvaćeni ključni aspekti koji ulaze u ciljeve ovog istraživanja. Uvidom u druga relevantna istraživanja, posebno ona koji se tiču položaja žena u lokalnim zajednicama, rada komisija za ravnopravnost spolova i mjera koje se sprovode, smatramo da su uspješno formulisani relevantni zaključci.

3. SOCIOLOŠKA ANALIZA PRAVNOG OKVIR ZA RODNU RAVNOPRAVNOST U BIH

Međunarodni standardi o rodnoj ravnopravnosti obavezujući su dio ustavnog prava Bosne i Hercegovine. U maju 2003. godine usvojen je iZakon o ravnopravnosti spolova Bosne i Hercegovine, koji je državu približio evropskim standardima u pogledu garantovanja jednakih mogućnosti građankama i građanima, ali i evropskim integracijama koje za države-aplikante postavljaju precizne uslove, od kojih je jedan postojanje Zakona o rodnoj ravnopravnosti. Na svim nivoima vlasti osnovana su tijela koja se bave pitanjima ravnopravnosti, odnosno na lokalnim i entiteskim nivoima, kao i na državnom nivou vlasti osnovane su komisije/odbori za rodna pitanja. Na entetskim nivoima osnovani su i gender centri Federacije Bosne i Hercegovine, a na državnom nivou formirana je Agencija za ravnopravnost spolova Bosne i Hercegovine.

Značaj zakonodavnih reform¹i daljnja unaprjeđenja institucionalnog i političkog okvira rodne ravnopravnosti² prepoznati su i u zapažanjima CEDAW komiteta koja su data na periodične izvještaje Bosne i Hercegovine. Ipak, na temelju prethodnih teorijskih rasprava, istraživanja i zaključnih zapažanja na izvještaje BiH i u ovom pravnom segmentu moguće je preliminarno izdvojiti dva spomenutaopšta problema postizanja rodne ravnopravnosti u bosansko-hercegovačkom društvu.

Prvi problem se tiče se interpretacije samog principa rodne ravnopravnosti koja se reflektira i na samu upotrebu terminologije, koja je onda i indikator skučenih tumačenja i uzrok diskriminacije određenih društvenih grupa.

1 U Zaključnim zapažanjima na kombinovani četvrti i peti periodični izvještaj Bosne i Hercegovine iz jula 2013. godine posebno se ističe usvajanje Zakona o zabrani diskriminacije, koji uključuje spol, spolno izražavanje i seksualnu orijentaciju kao zabranjene osnove za diskriminaciju, te amandmana na Zakon o ravnopravnosti spolova BiH i Krivični zakon Bosne i Hercegovine, koji uključuju definiciju trgovine ljudskim bićima u skladu sa međunarodnim standardima. U Zaključnim zapažanjima na šesti periodični izvještaj Bosne i Hercegovine iz novembra 2019. godine, kao značajan napredak u pogledu zakonodavnih reformi, izdvaja se: „a) izmjena i dopuna Zakona o zabrani diskriminacije koja obuhvata i definiciju uznemiravanja i spolnog uznemiravanja, 2016. godine; b) Zakona o pružanju besplatne pravne pomoći koji olakšava pristup žena pravdi, 2016. godine; c) Zakona o strancima koji predviđa podršku žrtvama trgovine ljudima kojima je odobren privremeni boravak u Državi članici, 2015. godine; d) Zakona o azilu kojim se zabranjuje diskriminacija na osnovu zabrana iz člana 2 (1) Zakona o zabrani diskriminacije Bosne i Hercegovine, uključujući diskriminaciju po osnovu spola, seksualne orijentacije, rodnog identiteta i spolnih obilježja, 2016. godine; e) izmjena i dopuna Krivičnog zakona kojim se utvrđuju određeni oblici seksualnog nasilja kao što je ono koje je počinjeno u toku rata, kao i osiguravanje strožijih kazni za počinitelje trgovine ljudima“.

2 U tom kontekstu, u Zaključnim zapažanjima na kombinovani Četvrti i Peti periodični izvještaj Bosne i Hercegovine iz jula 2013. godine, izdvaja se: „a) usvajanje Gender akcionog plana Bosne i Hercegovine (2006-2011) i finansijskog mehanizma za sprovođenje Gender akcionog plana, b) usvajanje državnog Akcionog plana za borbu protiv trgovine ljudima i ilegalne migracije (2008-2012); c) usvajanje Akcionog plana za sprovođenje Rezolucije Vijeća sigurnosti o ženama, miru i sigurnosti (2010-2013) i uspostavljanje Koordinacionog odbora u 2011. godini; i d) Usvajanje državne Strategije za procesuiranje ratnih zločina, u 2008. godini“. U zaključnim zapažanjima na šesti periodični izvještaj, posebno se prepoznaje značaj usvanjanja Gender akcionog plana Bosne i Hercegovine (2018-2022. godine); b) Akcionih planova rezolucija Vijeća sigurnosti Ujedinjenih naroda: 1325 (2000) o ženama, miru i sigurnosti (2014-2017. godine; 2018-2022. godine); c) Državnih akcionih planova za borbu protiv trgovine ljudima (2016- 2019. godine); (d) Okvirne strategije za provođenje Konvencije Vijeća Evrope o spriječavanju i borbi protiv nasilja nad ženama i nasilja u porodici (2015-2018. godine).

Naime, sam naziv ZoRSa i objašnjenje terminologije unutar njega, pokazuju dozu nerazumijevanja i nerazlikovanje distinkcije spol/rod. Prema Zakonu o jednakopravnosti spolova iz 2003. godine, spol je definisan kao „društveno uspostavljena uloga žena i muškaraca u javnom i privatnom životu za razliku od istog izraza koji daje biološko određenje“ (ZoRS, 2003, član 4.). Izraz spol, u duhu ovog zakona iz 2003. godine, pokazuje značaj koji je unutar društva dat biološkom određenju spola, iako je definicija u suštini odgovarala onome što se u feminističkim teorijama označilo kao rod. Unatoč činjenici da su izmjenama i dopunama ZoRSa iz 2009. godine redefinisani pojmovi, i dalje je zadržan u suštini isti princip, te se u članu 9. navodi: „Spol predstavlja biološke i psihološke karakteristike po kojima se razlikuju osobe muškog i ženskog spola, a označava i gender/rod kao sociološki i kulturološki uvjetovani razliku između osoba muškog i ženskog spola i odnosi se na sve uloge i osobine koje nisu uvjetovane ili određene isključivo prirodnim ili biološkim faktorima, nego su prije proizvod normi, prakse, običaja i tradicije i kroz vrijeme su promjenljivi“.

Zakon o zabrani diskriminacije Bosne i Hercegovine nudi nešto širi koncept, ali su terminoške nedoumice i dalje prisutne. Tako se u Zakonu iz 2009. govori o spolnom izražavanju ili orijentaciji, dok se njegovim izmjenama i dopunama 2016. godine, uvođe precizniji pojmovi seksualne orijentacije i rodnog identiteta. S druge strane, teorijska debata, posebno u poststrukturalističkim radovima, otišla je i mnogo dalje, ali i u okviru naziva zakona i komisija zadržano je insistiranje na pojmu „spola“. Preskriptivni sadržaj pojma „spola“ ostavlja i prostor za šira i drugaćija tumačenja, ali izbor terminologije simbolički demonstrira pristup rođnoj ravnopravnosti. Iako se opravdano prepoznaju značajne zakonodavne reforme, i dalje se, već u analizi terminologije u zakonima i nazivima institucionalnih mehanizama, indirektno može prepoznati patrijarhalni, heteronormativni, socio-kulturalni kontekstu kojem se uvažavanje individualnih prava i sloboda automnih pojedinki/ca, svodi na jedva prihvatljivu i načelnu egalitarnu ranopravnost muškaraca i žena.

Drugo, vidljiva je diskrepancija između društvenog i dogmatsko-normativnog prava. Društveno pravo oblikuje stabilan društveni red i poredak, zasniva se na uvjerenju u zajedničke vrijednosti koje se kroz procese rodne socijalizaciju internaliziraju, a očekivana ponašanja jasno su definisana i predvidiva. Promjene su i dalje neminovne, ali veoma spore, prihvatljive samo onda kada dolaze iznutra, od samog društva i kada se dešavaju u okviru postojećeg poretku. Na primjer, možemo identifikovati brojne promjene u oblasti obrazovanja, ali unatoč Zakonu o ravnopravnosti spolova BiH koji zahtijeva „eliminaciju nastavnih programa koji sadrže stereotipnu društvenu ulogu muškaraca i žena“ i obavezuje na uvođenje sadržaja koji „promovišu jednakost spolova“ u nastavne programe za sve nivoe obrazovanja (član 11), rodni stereotipi i predrasude se i dalje reprodukuju kroz udžbenike i nastavnu praksu. Problem je u tome što usko-definisane principe rodne ravnopravnosti spuštamo u kontekst u kojem već snažno djeluje društveno pravo koje pozitivno pravo čini neefikasnim i neefektivnim.

Odnosno, ono što je već duboko društveno normirano po patrijarhalnim kalupima, sada pokušavamo drugačije pravno normirati uvodeći u heteronormativnu kulturu podnošljivi princip ravnopravnosti spolova, umjesto šireg koncepta rodne ravnopravnosti. Ovo, pak, ne znači da su patrijarhalni vrijednosni obrasci nešto statično i nepromjenljivo. Marina Blagojević Hughson ukazuje da su npr. burne promjene, kada je u pitanju tradicija na ovim prostorima, dovele i do krize tradicionalnog shvatanja maskuliniteta, te do nestabilne slike muškaraca o sebi. Druga istraživanja na generalnoj populaciji ukazuju da je patrijarhalna orijentacija prisutnija od liberalne, ali da je u opadanju (Babović i dr., 2016, str. 31). Patrijarhalni uticaj je znatno veći kod muškaraca nego kod žena, a na ove razlike dodatno utiču, ili ih pak smanjuju,

stepen obrazovanja i dob. Osobe mlađe i srednje životne dobi sa visokim obrazovanjem imaju liberalnije orijentacije i među osobama sa fakultetskim obrazovanjem su u značajnoj mjeri prisutne liberalne vrijednosti (42%), a kod osoba sa osnovnim obrazovanjem izrazito patrijarhalne (75%) (Babović i dr., 2016, str. 31). I istraživanja na studentskoj populaciji ukazuju na prisutne trendove individualizacije kada je riječ o odnosu prema porodici, braku i reprodukciji, ali i na prisustvo patrijarhalnih stavova, posebno kod mladića (Košarac, 2020, str. 32-33).

Kada uzmemo u obzir rezultate Popisa iz 2013, uviđamo da je došlo do značajnog porasta broja žena sa visokom obrazovanjem, ali je, u odnosu na muškarce, i dalje znatno više žena bez ikakvog obrazovanja ili sa nedovršenom osnovnom školom (Popov-Momčinović, 2017, str. 62). Ovi disbalansi su još više izraženi u manjim lokalnim zajednicama u odnosu na urbane centre i upravo su takve sredine (sa izuzetkom Tuzle) ušle u ovo istraživanje. Nepovoljna starosna struktura i izražen trend starenja stanovništva usložnjava navedenu demografsku sliku i otežava položaj žena u društvu, posebno u manjim i slabije razvijenim lokalnim zajednicama. Trendovi koji se odnose na starenje stanovništva, zajedno sa lošom ekonomskom situacijom i opustošenom socijalnom politikom, dovode do porasta broja tzv. vertikalno proširenih porodica ili pak raspršenih priširenih porodica u kojima se, zapravo, najčešće mlađe žene brinu kako o svojoj djeci, tako i o roditeljima svog supruga (Košarac, 2019, str. 39-40). Navedeni faktori dodatno dovode do jačanja patrijarhalnih vrijednosti.

Brojne nedaće na putu ka ostvarivanju rodne ravnopravnosti susrećemo i u drugim sferama. Ipak, razvoj međunarodnih standarda, ali i daljnji planovi, programi i mjere na državnom nivou ostavljaju mogućnost da se ponudi jedno drugačije i šire tumačenje rodne ravnopravnosti, ali i da se iznutra mijenja društveno pravo, što potencijalno ostavlja i prostor za uticaje pravne norme na društvenu stvarnost. Treba uzeti u obzir da je riječ o dugotrajnim procesima koji traže kontinuirane napore, unatoč razočaranjima koji slijede onda kada se očekivane radikalne društvene promjene ne dese. Ali upravo ti spori pomaci su i pretpostavka dalnjeg rada i djelovanja na putu ka ostvarenju demokratičnijeg društva, koje je uvijek samo utopija kojoj stremimo. Čak i u onim društvima koja se, na temelju različitih pokazatelja, mogu pohvaliti rezultatima, ne samo da je potrebno stalno bdjeti nad ostvarenim, jer iskustvo nas uči da se ostvareno uvijek može (ponovo) naći na udaru (novih) konzervativnih politika, već je nužno održati nivo kritičke svijesti, preispitivati i dalje razvijati senzibilitet kako bi uopšte bilo moguće prepoznati lošije položaje kako društvenih grupa, tako i pojedinki i pojedinaca.

Usvajanjem Zakona o ravnopravnosti spolova Bosne i Hercegovine 2003. godine, stvorene su pretpostavke za daljnji razvoj koherentne strategije za ostvarivanje jednakopravnosti žena i muškaraca. Zakonom je predviđeno i periodično donošenje Gender akcionog plana koji je definisan kao „strategija kojom se definiraju programski ciljevi za ostvarivanje ravnopravnosti spolova u svim oblastima društvenog života i rada, u javnoj i privatnoj sferi“ (ZoRS BiH, član 9). Prvi Gender akcioni plan BiH usvojen je u septembru 2006. godine, za period 2006 – 2011. godina. Ovo je ujedno bio i „prvi gender akcioni plan u regiji“ (UNICEF, 2009, str. 13). Drugi GAP BiH je relalizovan u periodu 2013 – 2017. godina, dok se treći za period od 2018. do 2022. trenutno provodi.

Kako uočava Kadribašić (2019), struktura do sada usvojenih GAP-ova je „različita i pratila je razvoj javnih politika“ (str.140). Autor dalje navodi da je prvi GAP „utvrđivao strateški pristup u ostvarivanju principa ravnopravnosti spolova (gender mainstreaming) i osnaživanju žena u BiH u 15 oblasti javnog i privatnog života: evropske integracije u svjetlu ravnopravnosti spolova, saradnja i jačanje kapaciteta, makroekonomske i razvojne strategije, gender senzitivni

budžeti, politički život i donošenje odluka, zapošljavanje i tržište rada, socijalna inkluzija, gender senzitivni mediji, cjeloživotno obrazovanje, zdravlje, prevencija i zaštita, nasilje u porodici, seksualno uznenemiravanje, uznenemiravanje i trgovina ljudima, uloga muškaraca, usklađivanje profesionalnog i porodičnog života, gender i održivi okoliš, komunikacijske i informacijske tehnologije“ (Kadrišić, 2019, str. 140). S druge strane, drugi i treći periodični GAP-ovi su „značajno drugačije strukturirani i sadrže tri strateška cilja“ (Kadrišić, 2019, 141). Ta tri cilja, koja se navode u drugom i trećem GAP-u BiH, su: 1) izrada, sprovođenje i praćenje programa mjera za unaprjeđenje ravnopravnosti spolova u institucijama vlasti, po prioritetnim oblastima; 2. izgradnja i jačanje sistema, mehanizama i instrumenata za postizanje ravnopravnosti spolova; 3. uspostavljanje i jačanje saradnje i partnerstva. Kadrišić (2019) zaključuje da „akcioni planovi nisu imali željeni uticaj“, a razloge vidi u nedostatku „odgovornosti nadležnih institucija vlasti“ kao i u ograničenom izdvajaju za sprovođenje aktivnosti (Kadrišić, 2019, str. 141).

U Zaključnim napomenama o Šestom periodičnom izvještaju Bosne i Hercegovine iz novembra 2019. godine, Odbor za ukidanje diskriminacije žena, u pogledu provođenja Gender akcionog plana Bosne i Hercegovine za period 2018-2021, izražava zabrinutost, između ostalog i zbog toga što Agencija za ravnopravnost spolova BiH „nema dovoljno ljudskih i finansijskih resursa“. Međutim, osim toga što Odbor zapaža da je potrebno obezbijediti odgovarajuće ljudske i finansijske resurse tijelima za ravnopravnost spolova, daje i preporuku da se u provođenju Gender akcionog plana BiH 2018-2021. pojača „saradnja s organizacijama civilnog društva“ (posebno ženskim organizacijama) i da se uspostave mehanizmi praćenja i procjene njegovog provođenja, te da se pojačaju „napori za donošenje rodno-osjetljivog budžeta u svim tijelima državne uprave“.

Na temelju ovih zapažanja, ali i drugih vladinih i nevladinih izvještaja i istraživanja, može se uočiti disproporcija između uloženih naporu i ostvarenih rezultata. S jedne strane, uloženi su veliki napori kako u izradu Gender akcionog plana BiH, tako i u izradu drugih planova, kao što su na primjer, državni akcioni planovi za provedbu Rezolucije 1325³. Međutim, nalazi prethodnih istraživanja upućuju da, kako se spuštamo od viših nivoa vlasti ka nižim nivoima vlasti, tako se principi rodne ravnopravnosti razvodnjavaju umjesto da se konkretiziraju (Ždralović, Popov-Momčinović i Hrnjić-Kuduzović, 2018, str. 10).

³ Prvi Akcioni plan (AP) za implementaciju UNSCR 1325 u Bosni i Hercegovini (AP UNSCR 1325 u BiH), proveden je u periodu 2010–2013., drugi u periodu 2014–2017., dok se treći plan za 2018–2022. trenutno provodi. BiH je prepoznata i kao država koja je prva u regiji jugoistočne Evrope usvojila NAP za provedbu Rezolucije 1325 i kontinuirano nakon završenih ciklusa provedbe radila nove, unaprijeđene planove.

4. RODNA RAVNOPRAVNOST U JEDINICAMA LOKALNE SAMOUPRAVE

4.1. Stepen razvoja lokalne zajednice kao okvir rodne ravnopravnosti

Različita istraživanja ukazuju na to da se, što se više spuštamo na tzv. niže administrativne nivoje, položaj žena dodatno usložnjava i postojeći zakoni i norme koje se odnose na ravnopravnost spolova slabije poštuju. To je posebno izraženo u manje razvijenim lokalnim zajednicama i posebno manjim i izolovanim sredinama u kojima dominiraju patrijarhalne vrijednosti. Istraživanja ukazuju i na to da etnička homogenost doprinosi tradicionaliziranju društva i jačanju stereotipa o rodnim ulogama (Polazna studija o barijerama političkom učešću žena u Bosni i Hercegovini, str. 41). Rezultati Popisa iz 2013. ukazuju na radikalnu promjenu etničke strukture u opština i gradovima Bosne i Hercegovine, gdje njih 2/3, kako navodi Pejanović, ima jednonacionalnu strukturu u procentu od 70 do 99%. Nasuprot tome, po popisu iz 1991. godine od 109 opština, samo njih 18 je imalo dvotrećinsku većinu jedne nacije, odnosno etničke grupe (Pejanović, 2017, str. 70, 74). Upravo su neke od lokalnih zajednica, koje su ušle u ovu analizu, školski primjer ovih drastičnih promjena koje su se desile.

Potrebno je, takođe, navesti da, na osnovu odluke Vlade Republike Srpske, Milići spadaju u srednje razvijene, Bratunac u nerazvijene a Srebrenica u izrazito nerazvijene lokalne zajednice. Na osnovu indeksa razvijenosti u Federaciji Bosne i Hercegovine lokalne zajednice su podijeljene u V grupa - Tuzla se nalazi u II grupi, a Gračanica i Srebrenik u III (Federalni zavod za programiranje razvoja, 2018, str. 9). Uprkos ovim razlikama, postoje i brojne sličnosti koje ukazuju kako se u cijelom društvu i na lokalu zaobilaze norme i zakonski standardi i obaveze koje se tiču ravnopravnosti spolova. Pri tome treba također imati u vidu da stepen razvoja određene lokalne zajednice, iako predstavlja pozitivniji okvir za uslovno rečeno bolji položaj žena i unaprjeđenje njihovih prava i da ova veza nije linearna (Ždralović i Popov-Momčinović, 2019, str. 12).

Neke od analiziranih lokalnih sredina nose velike traume iz prethodnog rata, posebno opštine kao što su Srebrenica i Bratunac. Članica Komisije za ravnopravnost spolova u Milićima iz reda istaknutih osoba koje se bave ravnopravnosću spolova, koja je inače i aktivistkinja u civilnom društvu, navodi kako žene u ovoj regiji „ne polaze od nule, već od minusa“ a što treba imati u vidu kada je riječ o osnaživanju žena i brojim preprekama koje se susreću na tom mukotrpnom putu. S druge strane, položaj žena u većim sredinama i tzv. „urbanim“ centrima, ne treba idealizovati.

U jednom ranijem istraživanju upravo su nam aktivistice iz Tuzle navele kako žene u većim gradovima, koje su visoko obrazovane, zaposlene i sebe smatraju emancipovanim nisu dovoljno upoznate sa suštinom pojma rodne ravnopravnosti i imaju slabo razvijenu svijest o kršenju vlastitih prava:

„[...] žene iz grada imaju više tih sadržaja, ali nekada su one u istoj poziciji o poznavanju ženskih ljudskih prava kao i ove sa sela, ali je to, znaš, ako si neka činovnica, ako si sređena žena, ako voziš auto, sramota je to da kažeš. Međutim, mi smo to jako dobro prepoznale da to nije baš tako. Ne znači ti ni vozački ispit, ni lijepo skockana haljina dati znaš šta ti sve kao žena imaš pravo...“⁴

⁴ Intervju sa aktivisticama iz Tuzle, obavljen 26.03.2019. u okviru istraživanja *Aktivizmi s marginama: Procjena kapaciteta deset odabranih ženskih organizacija*.

I istraživanja na generalnom uzorku (i žena i muškaraca) ukazivala su i ukazuju na nepotpuna i fragmentirana znanja o rodnoj ravnopravnosti. Ona se najčešće poima kao iskorjenjivanje nasilja nad ženama, potom, u manjoj mjeri, kao oblik političke i ekonomske participacije žena, a najrjeđe se ispoljava u oblasti podjele rada u domaćinstvu i upotrebi rodno senzitivnog jezika (Babović, Vuković i Petrović, 2012, str. 75). Nasilje u porodici se posmatra kao glavni problem koji treba riješiti da bi se postigla ravnopravnost spolova. Druga pitanja se smatraju manje, ili daleko manje važnima, što ukazuje da dominira fragmentaran pristup kada je riječ o načinu na koji građani i građanke poimaju ravnopravnost spolova (Babović, Vuković i Petrović, 2012, str. 82).

4.2. Fragmentirani pristupi

Konkretniji podaci, kada je riječ o rodnoj ravnopravnosti na lokalnom nivou, se dobijaju analizom statuta lokalnih zajednica, njihovih strateških planova i budžeta, a od posebnog značaja su uvidi u aktivnosti komisija za ravnopravnost spolova.

Statuti analiziranih lokalnih zajednica ne predviđaju rodnu ravnopravnost pri izboru organa i vršioca dužnosti na lokalnom nivou. Donošenje mjera za ravnopravnost spolova spada, u velikom broju lokalnih zajednica koje pripadaju entitetu Republika Srpska, u samostalne poslove opštine/grada i nije prioritet na listi navedenih poslova (nalazi se na pretposlednjem mestu navedenih samostalnih nadležnosti). Statuti i pravilnici o imenovanjima ne predviđaju kvote za ravnopravnost spolova.

Istovremeno, opisane nadležnosti u sferi zdravstva, obrazovanja, socijalne zaštite, ekologije i sl. ne sadrže odredbe na osnovu kojih bi se moglo zaključiti da se u ovim važnim sferama vodi računa o ravnopravnosti spolova i specifičnom položaju žena. Statuti su pisani jezikom kojim se muški rod nameće kao norma. Statut opštine Milići u Članu 1.2. navodi da: „Pojedini izrazi upotrebljeni u ovom statutu za označavanje muškog ili ženskog roda podrazumijevaju oba pola“⁵, dok statuti opština Bratunac i Srebrenica nemaju takvu odredbu. Ravnopravnost spolova se u statutima grada Tuzla, Gračanice i opštine Srebrenik uopšte ne navodi kao jedna od nadležnosti. Intervjujsana aktivistica iz Gračanice je istakla kako su se ženske lobi grupe stoga zalagale da rodna ravnopravnost uđe u sam Statut, no pregledom dokumenata na zvaničnoj stranici ne može se dobiti jasan uvid, s obzirom da je na snazi prelazna statutarna odluka o organizaciji Grada (nekadašnje općine Gračanica) do donošenja Statuta Grada⁶.

Podaci na osnovu kojih se formulišu strategije lokalnog razvoja nisu razvrstani prema spolu. Ovo ukazuje da se ne vodi računa o „drugom spolu“ a što je u koliziji sa Zakonom o ravnopravnosti spolova a i sa visokoparnim tonom kojim ovakve strategije obično počinju ili završavaju. U većini strategija se rodna pitanja, ako se uopšte i navode, spominju u uvodnom djelu kada je riječ o demografskoj strukturi stanovništva. Podaci koji se tiču starosne dobi, stepena obrazovanja i zaposlenosti su razvrstani prema spolu, dok npr. u Srebreniku nema ni tih podataka⁷. Na naše upite, tokom obavljanja intervjuja, vezane za korištenje *gender* statistike, najčešći odgovor koji smo doatile od aktivistkinja i članova/ica komisija za ravnopravnost spolova je bio da se ne vodi gender statistika. Ovo je u direktnoj koliziji sa Zakonom o

5 <http://opstinamilići.org/fajlovi/statutopstina17.pdf>

6 <https://gracanica.gov.ba/download/statutarna-odluka-o-organizaciji-grada-gracanica-u-skladu-sa-zakonom-o-gradu-gracanica/?wpdmdl=23037>

7 https://www.srebrenik.ba/images/vijesti/2016/20160704/Revidirana_Strategija_lokalnog_razvoja_2016-2020.pdf

ravnopravnosti spolova koji decitno naleže da je ovo obaveza na svim nivoima vlasti. Nevođenje rodne statistike i fragmentaran pristup ravnopravnosti spolovaje ono što je zajedničko za sve analizirane zajednice.

Fragmentaran pristup rodnoj ravnopravnosti se takođe primjećuje kada je riječ o budžetima lokalnih zajednica. Druge značajne analize koje su u fokusu imale gotovo sve lokalne zajednice u Bosni i Hercegovini takođe ukazuju da gotovo nijedna lokalna zajednica ne primjenjuje rodno-osjetljivo budžetiranje (Miftari, 2017, str. 4). Kao što smo ukazale i u nekim svojim ranijim analizama, rodnoj ravnopravnosti, ako joj se uopšte i pristupa, to se radi na način da se izdvajaju određena, najčešće veoma ograničena, sredstava iz budžeta za rad ženskih udruženja i organizacija u lokalnim zajednicama u kojima ona djeluju, ili pak za udruženja roditelja sa više djece, odnosno djece s poteškoćama u koja su, pretpostavljamo, uključene i majke.

Ono što je evidentno za sve lokalne zajednice je da se najviše izdvaja za muška, prije svega boračka i slična udruženja i da se redovno izdvajaju (a i tu govorimo o simboličnim iznosima) sredstva za udruženja penzionera, slijepih i slabovidih lica i sličnih kategorija. U nekim od budžeta postoje i budžetske linije koje se tiču vantjelesne oplodnje (npr. u Srebrenici i Milićima) a u budžetu opštine Milići navodi se i stavka „projekti dnevнog zbrinjavanja, smještaja u sigurnu kuću i zaštite od nasilja u porodici“ u iznosu od 2 500 KM⁸. No, ako imamo u vidu navedeni iznos, kao i to da je riječ o šire definisanoj budžetskoj liniji, treba ukazati da, kao što se navodi na web-stranici udruženja „Vive žene“ Tuzla, tzv. smještaj u sigurnu kuću ne podrazumjeva puko zbrinjavanje, već i pružanje psihološke i druge pomoći,⁹ na šta su ukazale i intervjuisane aktivistkinje. O problemima finansiranja sigurnih kuća više će biti riječi u posebnom poglavlju o nasilju nad ženama i nasilju u porodici.

Na lokalnom novu djeluju i komisije za rodnu ravnopravnost u okviru opštinskih vijeća i skupština. Nazivi ovih komisija su različiti, a najčešće se koristi formulacija ‘komisija za ravnopravnost spolova’, iako se susreću i drugi nazivi, kao što je na primjerslučaj sa komisijom Gradskog vijeća Gračanica -Komisija za etički kodeks, ravnopravnost spolova, prava i slobode čovjeka, predstavke i pritužbe¹⁰. Korištenje ovakvih naziva otvara pitanje koliko se proširuje njihov djelokrug i time gubi primarni fokus, ali i upućuje na eventualna nepoznavanja koncepta zaštite (ženskih) ljudskih prava.

Svakako da su aktivnosti komisija mnogo važnije nego njihovi nazivi. S druge strane, aktivistkinja iz Gračanice je navela da se iz samog naziva vidi koliko je ova komisija „bitna“, „odnosno u kojoj mjeri joj je fokus na ravnopravnost spolova u lokalnoj zajednici iz koje žena dolazi. Ako zanemarimo terminološke nedoumice, ohrabruje informacija da su komisije za ravnopravnost spolova formirane u „skoro svim“ opštinama Bosne i Hercegovine¹¹, ali također

8 Prijedlog budžeta opštine Milići za 2020. godinu- analitički prikaz prihoda i primitka. URL: <http://opstinamilići.org/fajlovi/budžet/budžet301219.pdf>

9 „Pandemija izazavna korona virusom ponovo pokazala sve slabosti našeg sistema, a u ovom slučaju ogolila je svu krhost I nestabilnost tzv. Sistema zaštite i oporavka žrtava nasilja u obitelji. Stotine žena i djece, žrtava nasilja bude zbrinuto u sigurnim kućama u toku godine. Javnost treba da čuje da sigurna kuća nije samo mjesto gdje se osobe smjeste i pruži im se krov nad glavom, hrana i higijena. Tretmani koji se sprovode u sigurnim kućama, psihosocijalni oporavak i stalna briga o žrtvama nasilja i njihovoј djeci, rad sa počiniteljima nasilja, suradnja sa svim institucijama u pronalaženju dugoročnog rješenja za žrte nasilja, sistemski pristup u radu sa porodicama, sve je to jedna dugoročni isveobuhvatni , komplikirani proces koje vode stručnjaci zaposleni u sigurnim Kućama“. Preuzeto sa:<https://www.vivezene.ba/vijesti3/vijest54.htm>

10 Informacija komisijama Gradskog vijeća Gračanica je dostupna na: <https://gracanica.gov.ba/komisije-općinskog-vijeća/>.

11 Informacija dostupna na: <https://arsbih.gov.ba/oblasti/institucionalni-mehanizmi-za-ravnopravnost-spolova/>.

zabrinjavaju i zapažanja o njihovoj pasivnosti. Generalno je važno, ne samo u pogledu konkretnih aktivnosti komisija, već uopšteno u pogledu svih aktivnosti usmjerenih na postizanje rodne ravnopravnosti, da one budu vidljive. Ovakve informacije su često skromne, ili ih nikako nema na oficijelnim stranicama opština/gradova, te veoma često građanke i građani nisu ni upoznate/i sa onim što se (istina, često tek kao formalno preuzeta obaveza) radi u lokalnoj zajednici. Kao što se ukazuje u strateškim smjernicama za izgradnju i jačanje mehanizama i instrumenata za ravnopravnost spolova, neophodno je da ovi instrumenti (uključujući i komisije na lokalnom nivou) „imaju autoritet, vidljivost, političko priznanje, potrebno finansiranje i ljudske resurse, te da njihovo djelovanje u potpunosti podrži politička vlast na svim nivoima“ (Savičić, 2016, str. 14).

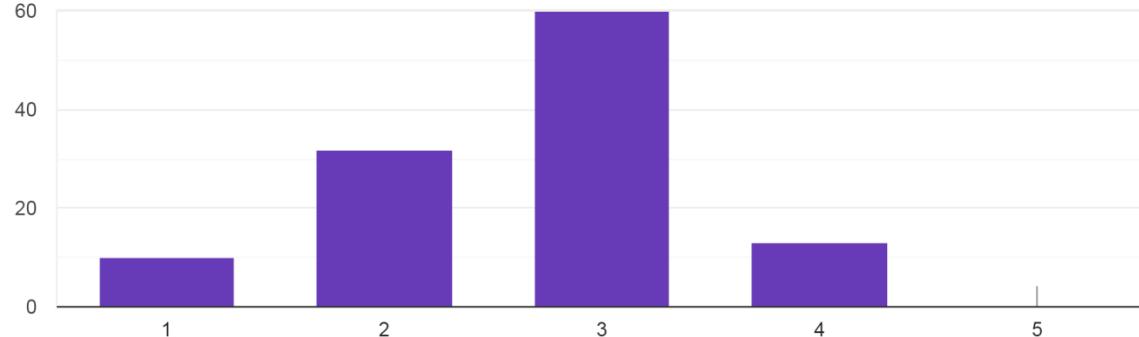
4.3. Percepције властитог položaja

Kada je reč o percepцијама žena o vlastitom položaju u lokalnim zajednicama, one često osciliraju od velikog nezadovoljstva, preko relativnog zadovoljstva (više u smislu mirenja s postojećim stanjem), pa sve do ponosa na svoju lokalnu zajednicu, najčešće zbog njenih prirodnih i kulturnih karakteristika. Na to je ukazano u jednom ranijem istraživanju kada su u fokusu bile druge lokalne zajednice (Ždralović, Popov-Momčinović, 2019, str. 17), ali se mogu i ovdje povući neke paralele. Vezano za percepцију vlastitog položaja u lokalnoj zajednici ispitanice su se u anketi mogле opredijeliti za odgovor na skali od ‘1-veoma loš’ do ‘5-odličan’. Prosječna dobijena ocjena je iznosila 2,7, a istom prosječnom ocjenom je ocijenjen i položaj žena u Bosni i Hercegovini. S druge strane, veći broj žena je dao najlošiju ocjenu kada je riječ o položaju žena na lokalnom nivou u odnosu na državni (12,9% naspram 8,6%) i u većem broju slučajeva je dao ocjenu ‘4- vrlo dobar’ za lokalni nivo u odnosu na državni (15,5% naspram 11,2%). I ovi rezultati ukazuju na tendenciju da na lokalnom nivou žene u većoj meri primjećuju nedostatke, odnosno eventualne pomake (Grafikon br.1 i Grafikon br.2), s naznakom da je riječ o njihovim percepцијамa koje nose i subjektivne elemente, budući da su neravnopravnost i marginalizacija uvijek i specifično, živuće iskustvo.

Grafikon br. 1: Distribucija odgovora na pitanje br. 8 (grafikon kopiran iz google form)

8. Kakav je po Vašem mišljenju položaj žena u Bosni i Hercegovini? (opredijelite se za jedan od ponuđenih odgovora na skali od 1-veoma loš do 5-odličan)

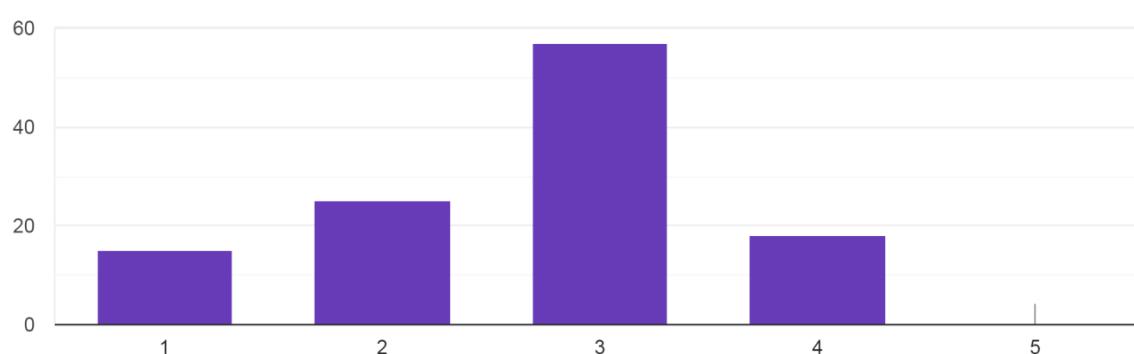
115 odgovora



Grafikon br. 2: Distribucija odgovora na pitanje br. 9 (grafikon kopiran iz google form)

9. Kakav je po Vašem mišljenju položaj žena u Vašoj lokalnoj zajednici? (opredijelite se za jedan od ponuđenih odgovora na skali od 1-veoma loš do 5-odličan)

115 odgovora



Dodatni uvid u vezi sa percepcijom vlastitog položaja dobijamo na osnovu odgovora ispitanica koji se tiču položaja žena u konkretnijim sferama na lokalnom nivou. Najlošije je ocijenjena zaštita od nasilja u porodici i učešće u političkom životu i donošenju odluka, dok je najvišu ocjenu dobila sfera obrazovanja i stepen i dostupnosti zdravstvene zaštite (Tabela br.2). Obrazovanje je i po drugim istraživanjima sfera u kojoj je gender gap najmanje izražen (Hughson, 2006; Popov-Momčinović, 2019), no ono što je specifikum za lokalni nivo je niska percepcija učešća u političkom životu.

Na državnom nivou je ovaj gap manji, uglavnom zbog relativnog prisustva i vidljivosti žena na višim nivoima vlasti (npr. u državnim i entitetskim parlamentima i sl.) što je, kada je riječ o lokalnom nivou, dosta lošije. Aktivistice s kojima smo razgovarali, kako u ovom tako i u drugim istraživanjima, stoga ukazuju na važnost fokusiranja upravo na lokalni nivo, s obzirom da se tu zadovoljava više od 70% potreba, prava i sloboda građana i građanki.

Najlošije procjene se tiču zaštite od nasilja u porodici iako, kako nam sprovedeni intervju i druge analize ukazuju, tu ima određenih pomaka, uglavnom zbog postojanja svijesti o problemu nasilja u porodici koja je prisutna i u generalnoj populaciji, a što je vidljivo iz ranijih istraživanja, pa se manjkavosti u ovoj oblasti više i prepoznaju. S druge strane, treba naglasiti da lokalne zajednice u velikom broju slučajeva imaju potpisane protokole u vezi sa nasiljem u porodici, ali gotovo nijedna nema usvojen strateški plan za prevenciju nasilja nad ženama i djevojčicama (Miftari, 2017, str. 4).

Kakav je po Vašem mišljenju položaj žena u Vašoj lokalnoj zajednici u navedenim oblastima na skali od 1 veoma loš do 5 odličan	Veoma Loš	Loš	Dobar	Vrlo dobar	Odličan	Ne mogu da odredim	Prosječna ocjena ¹²
Učešće u političkom životu i donošenju odluka	47	42	18	6	1	2	1.9
Stepen i dostupnost zdravstvene zaštite	16	42	28	21	6	3	2.6
Socijalna zaštita	33	38	26	14	2	3	2.2
Obrazovanje	11	27	38	28	9	3	3
Civilno društvo	15	43	35	16	2	5	2.5
Zaštita od nasilja u porodici	48	43	18	3	3	1	1.9
Podsticaji za žensko preduzetništvo	38	41	25	7	1	4	2.0
Besplatna pravna pomoć	46	36	18	7	6	3	2.0
Organizovanje i zadovoljavanje kulturnih potreba	34	44	25	8	4	1	2.2
Organizovanje sportskih aktivnosti	38	40	27	3	5	3	2.1

Tabela br. 2: Distribucija odgovora na pitanja *Kakav je po Vašem mišljenju položaj žena unavedenim oblastima* i prosječna vrijednost (ocjena)

Potrebno je ukazati i na neke lokalne razlike, s obzirom da su u uzorak ušle različite zajednice koje imaju određene sličnosti i razlike. Rezultate, pri tome, treba uzimati sa određenom rezervom s obzirom da, iako generalni uzorak predstavlja gotovo sve relevantne kategorije žena, postoji odstupanja na lokalnu s obzirom na broj dobijenih odgovora i nivo zastupljenosti određenih kategorija žena. Ono što je zajedničko za sve ispitivane sredine jeste da se sfera obrazovanja najpozitivnije ocenjuje, a učešće u političkom životu i donošenju odluka i zaštita od nasilja u porodici najlošije. Izuzetak, kada je reč o nasilju u porodici, predstavlja Srebrenica, s obzirom da su druge sfere lošije ocijenjene od ove, no riječ je o zanemarljivim razlikama.

12 Prosječne ocjene date u tabeli predstavljaju aritmetičke sredine.

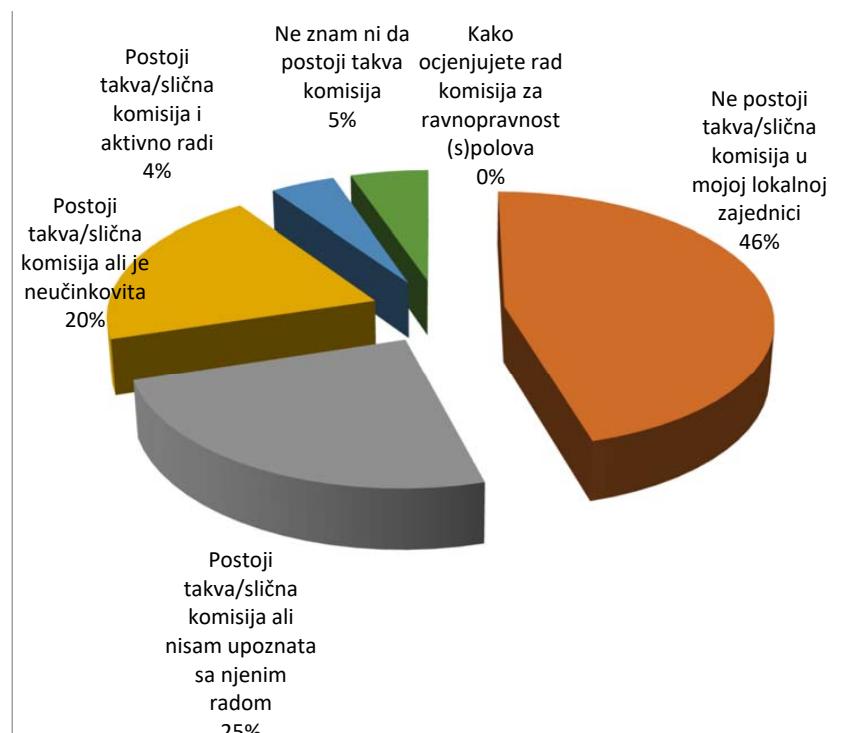
	Bratunac	Milići	Srebrenica	Tuzla	Gračanica	Srebrenik
Položaj žena u BiH	2.5	3	2.9	2.5	2.7	2.4
Položaj žena u lokalnoj zajednici lokalnu	2.5	3.3	2.4	2.5	2.8	2.3
Učešće u političkom životu i donošenju odluka	2.2	2.3	1.9	1.8	1.7	1.5
Stepen i dostupnost zdravstvene zaštite	2.4	2.9	3.3	2.3	2.5	2.6
Socijalna zaštita	2.1	2.7	2.7	1.9	2	2.2
Obrazovanje	3.3	3.1	3.5	2.9	2.4	3
Civilno društvo	2.8	2.8	2.4	2.7	2.1	2.3
Zaštita od nasilja u porodici	1.8	2.4	2.6	1.7	1.5	1.7
Podsticaji za žensko preduzetništvo	2.5	2.5	2	1.7	1.9	1.5
Besplatna pravna pomoć	2.6	2.7	2	1.7	1.7	1.4
Organizovanje i zadovoljavanje kulturnih potreba	2.6	2.4	2.3	1.9	2.2	1.7
Organizovanje sportskih aktivnosti	2.3	2.1	2.2	2	2.4	1.7

Tabela br. 3: Distribucija odgovora i prosječna ocjena (vrijednost) po lokalnim zajednicama

Značajan segment ovog problema predstavlja tzv. posvećenost lokalnih vlasti ravnopravnosti spolova. U našem istraživanju dobijena je prosječna ocjena u iznosu od 2.5 (na skali od 1 do 5). No, kada analiziramo odgovore na druga anketna pitanja koja se tiču komisija za ravnopravost spolova i strateških akcionih planova, vidimo da ne postoji dovoljno poznavanje funkcionisanja ovih tijela i mehanizama.

Naime, čak 46% ispitanica navodi da takva ili slična komisija ne postoji u njihovoj lokalnoj zajednici, odnosno da takva ili slična komisija postoji, ali da nisu upoznate sa njenim radom (25% ispitanica). Dalje, 20% ispitanica smatra da postoji takva komisija, ali da je

neučinkovita, dok je samo 5 ispitanica navelo da komisija aktivno radi na poboljšanju položaja žena u lokalnoj zajednici. Ukupno 6 ispitanica je dopisalo svoj odgovor kojim se sumarno može opisati da nisu upoznate sa postojanjem takve komisije (Grafikon br. 3)



Grafikon br. 3: Distribucija odgovora na pitanje *Kako ocjenjujete rad komisija za ravnopravnost (s)spolova*

Očigledno je da postoje problemi nedovoljne učinkovitosti i gotovo nikakve vidljivosti ovih komisija, ali je u velikoj mjeri prisutno i nepoznavanje mehanizama za ravnopravnost spolovakod ispitanica. Tako je u jednom istraživanju primjećeno djelimično poznavanje rada Agencije za ravnopravnost spolova na državnom nivou, odnosno gender centara na entitetskoj razini, iako su oni u priličnoj mjeri aktivni i (uslovno rečeno) učinkoviti, s tim da se rad agencije na državnom nivou više prepoznaje. Prisutan je širok raspon neupoznatosti, s obzirom da su neke ispitanice u potpunosti upoznate a neke uopšte ne (Dimić Vugec, Pavić-Rogišić, 2015, str. 9). Ovo takođe govori u prilog nedovoljnog poznavanju i nedostatku svijesti kod ženske populacije.

Pitanje koje se tiče gender akcionih planova i lokalnih strategija je bilo otvorenog tipa, a analiza odgovora ukazuje da ispitanice u velikom broju slučajeva i ne znaju šta su zapravo gender akcioni planovi. Neki od odgovora na ovo pitanje to ilustruju:

„Veoma loše, tj mislim da nemaju strategiju“.

„Formirano je Udruženje žena koje radi kroz niz aktivnosti...strategija i akcionih planova nema kako ja znam...“

„Žene se trude da budu od koristi kako podjelom maski,tako i edukacijom.“

„Mislim da žene mogu mnogo više da doprinesu razvoju, ali slabo da mogu doći do izražaja“

Ispitanice su dodavale u velikom broju slučajeva odgovore kao što su „jako loše“, „loše“, „može bolje“, „srednje“, „ali i iz ovih odgovora ne možemo zaključiti da se radi o poznavanju, a neke ispitanice su i navele da nisu upućene, npr.: „U našoj lokalnoj zajednici nema akcionih planova za žene , nisam upućena.“.

Iscrpnije odgovore smo doatile u šest slučajeva i oni ukazuju na probleme vezane kako za donošenje, tako i implementaciju gender akcionih planova na lokalnom nivou. Npr.:

„Akcioni plan je istekao prije dvije godine, ali i pored naše inicijative i inicijative Komisije za jednakopravnost spolova ništa do sada nije urađeno. Akcioni plan koji je istekao bio je jako loš i nije predstavlja bitna pitanja žena u našem gradu. Takođe, nikada nije prezentovan i usvojen izvještaj o njegovim rezultatima.“

„GAP nije donesen novi, niti postoji analiza i informacija o ranijem Planu. Samo ispunjena forma i ne dostavljaju odgovori lokalne zajednice na takva pitanja.“

„Sama za sebe govori činjenica da je LAP, koji se tiče gender tematike, istekao prije 3 godine, mislim da novi nikada nije razmatran i usvojen. Tadašnji plan se odnosio samo na rad KUD-ova i sportskih klubova.“

Na osnovu nekih od podataka iz istraživanja, možemo govoriti o velikom raskoraku koji postoji između viših i nižih nivoa vlasti. Intervjuisana aktivistkinja navodi:

„Što se tiče vlade RS-a mi to pratimo, fantastični su rezultati, ali oni imaju prednost u odnosu na lokalni nivo, oni imaju kontinuitet u radu [prim. Entitetski gender centri]. Pa će svakoj ministrici dostaviti šta treba popraviti, pa to prođe. I ima pet ministarstva, šumarstva, pravde, lokalne samouprave itd. koji rade na genderu ali kad se dođe do lokala mi tu nemamo rezultate“¹³.

I u drugim istraživanjima se na ovom fonu ukazuje na važnost kombinovanja pristupa „od dna ka vrhu“ i od „vrha ka dnu“ s ciljem poboljšanja položaja žena. Određenih oblika ovog uvezivanja ima s obzirom da se, npr. u jednom ranijem izvještaju Gender Centra Vlade Republike Srbije, upravo opštine koje su ovdje ušle u analizu navode kao dobar primjer u smislu saradnje i traženje podrške od Gender centra (Milinović, Krunić, 2011, str. 30). S druge strane, s obzirom da se u navedenom izvještaju navodi da veliki broj inicijativa dolazi iz nevladinog sektora, odnosno od istaknutih pojedinaca/ki koji su posvećeni/e ravnopravnosti spolova, ostaje nejasno koliko je zapravo riječ o uvezivanju samih komisija na lokalnom nivou sa entitetskim Gender centrom.

4.4. Komisije za ravnopravnost spolova i akcioni planovi

Temeljni problem pojedinih komisija na lokalnom nivou je njihova pasivnost, te se na koncu čini da je formiranje komisija za rodnu ravnopravnost, iako izuzetno važno, svedeno na formalnu obavezu. Kroz druga istraživanja zaključuje se da je nužno da se komisije redovno sastaju, kontinuirano prate stanje rodne ravnopravnosti u svojoj lokalnoj zajednici, iniciraju i provode konkretne aktivnosti i dostavljaju izvještaje o svom radu (Ždralović, Popov-Momčinović i Hrnjić-Kuduzović, 2018, str. 60, 75). Ipak, da bi se postigli takvi učinci, nužno je ostvariti i određene prepostavke, od kojih se posebno izdvajaju dvije. Prva se tiče motiviranosti članova/ica komisije, premda se ova prepostavka jednim dijelom podudara i sa problemima opterećenost pojedinih članica/ova komisija, visinama naknada koje primaju (ili uopšte ne primaju) za rad u ovim komisijama i ličnom posvećenošću rodnoj ravnopravnosti.

13 Intervju sa aktivistkinjama iz Bratunca, obavljen putem zoom-a 27.avgusta 2020..

Druga se tiče kompetencija, znanja i vještina članica/ova komisija, s obzirom na složen djelokrug. U istraživanju iz 2009. godine je ukazano na gotovo alarmatnu situaciju kada je riječ o komisijama na lokalnom nivou, u kojima mnogi članovi nemaju osnovna znanja iz oblasti rodne ravnopravnosti i posebno načina na koji je to pitanje povezano sa lokalnom samoupravom i radom komisija (OSCE, 2009, str. 80). I recentnije analize takođe ukazuju na to da mnogi imenovani/e članovi/ce ne posjeduju dovoljno znanja, ili pak imaju pogrešne predstave o ravnopravnosti spolova, najčešće kao nečega što je samo u interesu žena (Savičić, 2016, str. 21 Sproveđenje Zakona i standarda o ravnopravnosti spolova Bosne i Hercegovine na lokalnom nivou je generalno obaveza komisija za rodnu ravnopravnost.

U gender akcionim planovima Bosne i Hercegovine posebno je prepoznata uloga ovih komisija u realizaciji planova. Obaveze komisija koje se bave pitanjima rodne ravnopravnosti definisane su i Okvirnom strategijom za provedbu Konvencije o prevenciji i borbi protiv nasilja nad ženama i nasilja u porodici u Bosni i Hercegovini, gdje se navodi da ove institucije imaju, između ostalog, i mandat za gender mainstreaming i kreiranje rodno-osjetljivih politika kao polaznih osnova za sprječavanje diskriminacije i prevenciju nasilja na osnovu spola. U istom dokumentu dalje se navodi da su u tom smislu „gender institucionalni mehanizmi preuzeli aktivnu ulogu u davanju mišljenja na akte vlada o njihovoj usklađenosti sa Zakonom o ravnopravnosti spolova BiH, te predlaganju posebnih politika kojima se nastoji uticati na poboljšanje položaja žena u bosansko-hercegovačkom društvu“ (Okvirna strategija za provedbu Konvencije o prevenciji i borbi protiv nasilja nad ženama i nasilja u porodici u BiH za period 2015 - 2018, str. 12).

Imajući u vidu neke od navedenih uloga, članice/ovi komisija na lokalnom nivou bi trebali posjedovati i visok stepen senzibiliteta za rodna pitanja, ali i znanja i vještina iz oblasti rodne ravnopravnosti. Ovo zapažanje je potvrđeno i kroz razgovore s članovima/cama komisija za rodnu ravnopravnost na lokalnom nivou, a koji su obavljeni tokom ovog istraživanja. Tako jedna/an članica/an komisije na lokalnom nivou navodi da je nakon imenovanja u Komisiju, uzela/o „brošure i druge materijale“ kako bi bila/o spremna/an za daljnji rad. Međutim, dalje navodi da nisu imali „neke konkretnе zadatke“ i Komisija se nije sastajala jer „nije bilo potrebe“. Iz ovog razgovora, kao i iz drugih razgovora, jasno se dalje potvrđuje da članovi/ce komisija uglavnom ne znaju koji je njihov djelokrug rada te, s obzirom na postojeća znanja i vještine, nisu u mogućnosti da samoinicijativna predlažu i poduzimaju određene aktivnosti.

Uloga Agencije za ravnopravnost spolova Bosne i Hercegovine i entitetskih gender centara ovdje se nameće kao važna i u kontekstu potrebe davanja instrukcija komisijama na lokalnom nivou, ali i u kontekstu provođenja kontinuiranih i dobro osmišljenih programa (do) edukacija članica/ova komisija. Ipak, u obzir treba uzeti i finansijske i kadrovske kapacitete ovih instucija, ali i svrshodnost kontinuiteta ovakvih eventualnih edukacija s obzirom na stalne promjene sastava komisija na lokalnom nivou.

Aktivistkinje, sa kojima su obavljeni razgovori tokom ovog istraživanja, zapažaju da su pozitivni primjeri komisija za ravnopravnost spolova koje se izdvajaju brojem i kvalitetom svojih aktivnosti, uglavnom zasluga jedne/og pojedinke/ca koja/i ima kontinuitet u radu na pitanjima rodne ravnopravnosti. Iz ovoga se nameće zaključak da bi, radi pozitivnih učinaka i kontinuiteta aktivnosti komisija na lokalnom nivou, moglo biti od koristi ako bi u njihov rad bile uključeni stalne/i članice/ovi, i to stručnjakinje/ci, a ne kao predstavnice/i političkih stranaka u opštinskom vijeću/skupštini opštine. Na relativno sličnom tragu se nalaze i zapažanja data u Četvrtom i Petom periodičnom CEDAW izvještaju Bosne i Hercegovine iz maja 2011. godine.

U ovom izvještaju se navodi da veliki problem u funkcionisanju komisija na lokalnom nivou, „predstavlja izmjena kadrovske strukture nakon općinskih izbora koji se održavaju svake četiri godine“, te da je „neophodno dalje jačanje kapaciteta općinskih i kantonalnih komisija kako bi mogle provoditi aktivnosti iz svojih mandata“ (2011, str. 6). Na temelju uvida iz ovog izvještaja iz 2011. godine i iz razgovora o iskustvima aktivistkinja koji su obavljeni 2020. godine, izvodimo zaključak da bi stalne/i članice/ovi komisija na općinskom nivou, sa kompetencijama iz oblasti rodne ravnopravnosti, značajno uticali na kvalitet i kontinuitet u radu ovih komisija.

Ovo bi se pozitivno odrazило i na izradu lokalnih gender akcionalih planova. Ono što je, pak, frustrirajuće je da se takvi zahtjevi upućuju kontinuirano već dugi niz godina. Tako su npr. u opštini Bratunac, nakon iscrpnog lobiranja, u saziv komisije iz 2009. godine ušla/le 2 člana/ice iz prethodnog saziva. No, nakon lokalnih izbora 2012. godine, Komisija za ravnopravnost spolova u Bratuncu je formirana tek 2013. i njen sastav je u potpunosti promijenjen (Atlić-Smajlović, 2013, str. 12). O važnosti koninuiteta, kada je riječ o članovima/icama komisije, ukazuju i aktivistkinje iz Tuzle:

„Recimo, sa komisijom na kantonalnom [nivou] se puno bolje sarađuje jer je Azra bila u ranijem mandatu predsjednica Općinske komisije i onda je ona nas prepoznala i odmah nas je na prvi sastanak kantonalne pozvala u želji da s nama sarađuje i da nastavimo tu dobru saradnju, što nama je prilično dosta otvara i vrata i za neke aktivnosti [...] Azra Okić, koja je to sve radila i odradila i stekla edukaciju i ona sad to puno brže i prodornije provodi, što je nama olakšano. One traže i dalju saradnju i uključiće se, evo mi ćemo sad krenuti od septembra sa tom kampanjom za žene, one su nama pismeno to dostavili da žele da budu učesnice toga, znači nije to pusta priča“¹⁴.

Da ravnopravnost spolova nije u fokusu lokalnih zajednica ogleda se i u činjenici da se za rad u ovim komisijama ne prima nikakva naknada. Uvidom u neke od dostupnih lokalnih budžeta vidimo da se isplaćuju dnevnice za sastanke komisija, ali nije navedeno za koje. Na osnovu nekih drugih istraživanja, kao i obavljenih razgovora možemo zaključiti da se ne radi o komisijama za ravnopravnost spolova, što takođe deluje demotivirajuće za veći angažman unutar ovih komisija.

U svima, odnosno u većini lokalnih zajednica su komisije za ravnopravnost spolova neaktivne ili vrlo malo aktivne¹⁵, ili u slučaju da su aktivnije (npr. u Tuzli) postoji veliki jaz između aktivnosti gradske i kantonalne komisije za ravnopravnost spolova. Kantonalna komisija se percepira kao daleko aktivnija i kooperativnija, posebno kada je riječ o saradnji sa ženskim udruženjima. No, period pandemije COVID-19 je mnoge od dogovorenih aktivnosti odložio ili pomjerio, što takođe govori u prilog fragmentarnom pristupu rodnoj ravnopravnosti.

Pojedini lokalni akcioni planovi u Bosni i Hercegovini su već napravljeni, a njihovi ciklusi provedbe su već završeni¹⁶. Zapažanje do kojeg se došlo već u prvoj fazi desk istraživanja,

14 Intervju sa aktivistkinjama iz Tuzle, obavljen putem skype 10.avgusta 2020.

15 Na generalnu neaktivnost komisija za rodnu razvopravnost na lokalnom nivou upućuju i informacije navedene u Narandžastom izvještaju iz novembra 2019. godine (str. 18). Ipak, prema prikazu broja sjednica komisija nadležnih za oblast ravnopravnosti spolova na kantonalnom nivou, Komisija TK se može izdvojiti kao generalno aktivnija (str. 19).

16 Ipak, treba spomenuti da su Sarajevski otvoreni centar i Gender centar FBiH, otvorenim pismom od 21.9.2020. godine pozvali „kantone, gradove i općine da usvoje kantonalne i lokalne gender akcione planove u skladu sa Gender akcionim planom BiH i pratećim operativnim planovima, te da prilikom izrade svih politika, programa

a kasnije je i potvrđeno kroz zapažanja sagovornica tokom dubinskih intervjeta, jeste da nije moguće ponuditi analizu provedenih lokalnih planova.

Generalni uvid je da su lokalni akcioni planovi, u zajednicama u kojima su urađeni, shvaćeni kao formalna obaveza izrade plana. Odnosno, mehanizmi monitoringa i evaluacije lokalnih akcionih planova nisu uspostavljeni, zbog čega nakon završenog ciklusa provedbe izostaju završni izvještaji. Kao što su primjetile intervjuisane aktivistice:

„Dobrim djelom nešto je urađeno ali ne prateći taj akcioni plan, da bi se pratio treba neka sredstva u budžetu planirati pa da to bude u nekoj strategiji to je trebalo, da je to imalo nekakav redoslijed. To je sve bilo ad hoc [...] nije napravljen jedan dokument da bi se mogao raditi monitoring, praćenje nego mi imamo samo neke segmente“¹⁷.

Stoga bi, radi budućih lokalnih akcionih planova, bilo važno uspostaviti neke mehanizme monitoringa i evaluacija. Na primjer, moglo bi se jasno definisati obaveze komisije da podnose i na svojim web-stranicama objavljaju periodične izvještaje o provedenim aktivnostima, kao i obaveza objavljivanja finalnog izvještaja. Pri tome, bilo bi poželjno da u situacijama kada aktivnosti nije bilo, komisije ponude neko obrazloženje o tome zašto su aktivnosti izostale, kako bi se moglo otkloniti realne prepreke u narednim periodima. Na ovo nas upućuju i rezultati iz anketnog istraživanja koji pokazuju da kod 46% ispitanica nije upoznato sa postojanjem komisija, odnosno procenat od 25% ukazuje da veliki broj ispitanica nije upoznat sa radom ovih komisija, u slučaju da se zna da su one formirane. Takođe, i intervju/razgovori sa članovima/ca komisije su takođe više nego indikativni. Veliki broj kontaktiranih članova/ica je navodio da se komisija nije sastajala, odnosno da se sastala samo jednom i to prilikom svog konstituisanja i imenovanja predsjednika/ce komisije.

U dva razgovora je navedeno da nisu u mogućnosti da precizno odgovore jer i ne znaju da li se komisija sastajala, s napomenom da je u jednom od ta dva slučaja neupoznatost sa radom komisije bila uslovljena trudničkim i porodiljskim odsustvom, te su nas uputile da pitamo druge članove/ice komisija. U jednom razgovoru je detaljnije navedeno da se komisija sastajala u vezi sa održavanjem edukacije u školama radi promovisanja rodne ravnopravnosti, kao i edukacije u slučaju nasilja u porodici i smještaja žene koju je nasilnik i dalje proganjan u sigurnu kući. Ovaj poslednji primjer takođe ukazuje na *ad hoc* pristup ravnopravnosti spolova na lokalnu i to najčešće kada se pojave ekstremni slučajevi nasilja u porodici. Iako iz ovog razgovora ne možemo precizno ocijeniti navedenu saradnju sa obrazovnim institucijama, pretpostavljamo da je riječ o pojedinačnim, a ne dugoročnim inicijativama koje bi bile sastavni dio jasno definisanih strategija.

Čak i u onim lokalnim zajednicama u kojima nisu urađeni lokalni akcioni planovi, od komisija se, a ne temelju značajne uloge koja se daje lokalnim nivoima vlasti u Gender akcionom planu Bosne i Hercegovine, može tražiti da podnose entitetskim gender centrima, periodične izvještaje o aktivnostima koje su poduzete na promovisanju i unaprjeđenju rodne ravnopravnosti u određenoj lokalnoj zajednici. Na ovaj način bi se svakako stekao potpuniji uvid u poduzete aktivnosti, ali i potpunija slika o svrsishodnosti komisija. U situacijama u kojima nema nikakvih aktivnosti, obrazloženja koja bi uključivala i razloge pasivnosti komisija, ponudila bi, na koncu, potpuniju sliku, a možda bi i sama ova obaveza motivirala komisije ili bar pojedine članove/ice komisija, da iniciraju bar neke aktivnosti.

17 mjera uključe rodnu perspektivu i primjenjuju Zakon o ravnopravnosti spolova i Gender akcioni plan BiH“. U pismu su ponudili i stručnu podršku za izradu planova.

17 Intervju sa aktivistkinjama iz Bratunca, obavljen putem zoom-a 27.avgusta 2020

Već je skrenuta pažnja da za neke provedene lokalne akcione planove nije moguće napraviti evaluaciju aktivnosti. Na primjer, Opština Tuzla je imala Gender aktioni plan koji se odnosio na period od 2013 – 2016, godinu. Aida Malkić i Emina Bošnjak u istraživanju *Pozicija, uključenost i prava žena koje pripadaju manjinskim i marginaliziranim grupama u Bosni i Hercegovini* iz 2019. godine, navode da je novi Akcioni plan za 2020-2022 „trenutno u fazi izrade, te da će u izradu, pored gradskih vijećnika/ca i predstavnika/ca relevantnih institucija, biti uključeni/e i predstavnici/ce marginaliziranih društvenih grupa“ (str.44). U istom istraživanju navodi se da „Gradsko vijeće naglašava podršku LGBTI zajednici u Tuzli i njihovu jedinstvenu podršku ovoj marginaliziranoj grupi kroz podršku održavanju Merlinka festivala te uključivanju ove skupine u radne grupe za razvoj Strategije za mlade 2017-2026, koju je Gradsko vijeće usvojilo u augustu 2017. godine i mnoge druge projekte i programe“ (Malkić i Bošnjak, 2019, str. 44-45).

Sama informacija o realizaciji Akcionog plana ravnopravnosti spolova Općine Tuzla 2013–2016. data je Gradskom vijeću dvije godine kasnije i dostupna je i u Stenogramu saosamneste sjednice gradskog vijeća Tuzla.¹⁸ Međutim, na osnovu informacije (koja je data dvije godine nakon završenog ciklusa provedbe) nije bilo moguće dati konkretnija zapažanja o realizaciji akcionog plana. Iako je pokrenuta inicijativa i započet rad na izradi novog GAP-a u ovoj lokalnoj zajednici, a aktivistkinje i istraživačice opravdano imaju velika očekivanja od onoga što će on ponuditi, u okolnostima pandemije COVID-19, pitanja koja se tiču rodne ravnopravnosti privremeno su suspendirana, a do usvajanja novog GAP-a u ovoj lokalnoj zajednici nije došlo u prvoj polovini 2020. godine.

Iako je proces (neopravdano) usporen, nalazi našeg istraživanja do kojih smo došli ukazuju na pozitivna iskustva aktivistkinja u dosadašnjoj saradnji sa opštinskim vlastima, te na prepoznavanje značaja ženskih udruženja u ovoj lokalnoj zajednici. Takođe, iz Zapisnika sa 31. sjednice Komisije za jednakopravnost spolova Gradskog vijeća Grada Tuzla, održane u maju 2019. godine, vidljivo je da je održan sastanak Komisije sa udruženjem „HO Horizonti“, a sa ciljem unaprjeđenja međusobne saradnje i iznalaženja mera za uspostavljanje efikasnih mehanizama u borbi za ravnopravnost spolova na nivou BiH“. Iz ovog zapisnika proističu zaključci ne samo načelno o njihovoj daljoj saradnji, već i konkretni zaključci o zajedničkom „pritisku“ na Gradsko vijeće kako bi se „što hitnije usvojio“ novi lokalni gender akcioni plan i traženju da se „u narednoj budžetskoj godini izdvoje znatna novčana sredstva kako u budžetu Grada Tuzla, tako i u budžetu Tuzlanskog kantona, a koja se tiču lokalnog gender akcionog plana“.

Već na temelju dostupnih informacija na zvaničnoj web-stranici¹⁹, uočava se da Komisija za ravnopravnost spolova TK ima brojne aktivnosti. Na temelju dostupnih podataka, zaključuje se da se sjednice Komisije redovnije održavaju, na njima se raspravlja o aktualnim pitanjima i shodno tome podnose se dalje Skupštini različite inicijative. Primjećuje se da se značajno intenzivirao rad Komisije za ravnopravnost spolova Skupštine. Na primjer, prema Informaciji o realizaciji programa rada Skupštine TK za period januar-decembar 2019. godine, tokom 2019. godine održane su tri sjednice Komisije za ravnopravnost spolova . U 2020. godini sjednice Komisije su se održavale skoro svakog mjeseca (21.1.2020, 26.2.2020, 29.4.2020, 13.5.2020, 16.6.2020 i 24.7.2020). Iz dostupnih informacija je vidljivo da postoji saradnja između Komisije i ženskih udruženja – UG „Vive žene“ Tuzla i UG „HO Horizonti“. Na sjednici u julu 2020. je trebala biti pokrenuta inicijativa za izradu Godišnjeg operativnog i finansijskog plana za provedbu Gender akcionog plana u TK za period od 2018. do 2022. godine.

18 Dostupno na: <http://grad.tuzla.ba/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/stenogram-18-GVT-12-04-2018.pdf>

19 Informacije dostupne na: <https://www.skupstina.tk.gov.ba/>.

U nekim lokanim zajednicama komisije za rodnu ravnopravnost nisu imale nikakve aktivnosti. Takva je, recimo, situacija u opštinama Bratunac i Srebrenica, ali i nekim drugim. Negdje su, prema nalazima ovog istraživanja, realizovane dosta skromne aktivnosti, a takva situacija je na primjer u opštini Milići u kojoj je Komisija u ovom mandatu održala tri sastanka. Komisija za etički kodeks, ravnopravnost spolova, prava i slobode čovjeka, predstavke i pritužbe Gračanica, od dana imenovanja (decembar, 2016. godine) održala je „ukupno 35 sjednica, a u toku 2020. godine Komsisija je održala 4 sjednice“ (Grad Gračanica, str. 5). Ipak, smatramo da bi bilo bolje imati izdvojenu Komisiju za ravnopravnost spolova, jer je postojećoj komisiji područje aktivnosti²⁰ znatno povećano. Čak i u postojećem nazivu, ukoliko bi on bio zadržan, termin ‘prava čovjeka’ treba zamijeniti s terminom ‘ljudska prava’.

Može se zapaziti da se u dokumente lokalnih zajednica generalno ne ugrađuju principi rodne ravnopravnosti te da se ne koristi rodno odgovoran jezik. Isključiva upotreba muškog roda i izostavljanje žena, jasno odražavaju hijerarhijske odnose. Korištenje samo jednog gramatičkog roda kao generičkog pojma predstavlja predstavlja diskriminaciju u jeziku. Pri tome treba podsjetiti sa se u Zakonu o ravnopravnosti spolova navodi da „diskriminacija u jeziku postoji kada se koristi isključivo jedan gramatički rod kao generički pojam“ (član 9). Ovakve prakse diskriminacije nisu svojstvene samo nižim nivoima vlasti.

20 Više o djelatnostima Komisije za etički kodeks, ravnopravnost spolova, prava i slobode čovjeka, predstavke i pritužbe Gradskog vijeća Gračanica, vidjeti u: Izvještaj o radu Gradskog vijeća i stalnih tijela od 1.1.2019. (Grad Gračanica, 2020).

5. ODABRANI PROBLEMI

5.1. Politička participacija žena

Odsustvo žena iz političkog života u BiH potvrđuju brojna istraživanja. Ni na lokalnom nivou, kao ni na drugim nivoima vlasti, nije ispunjena adekvatna zastupljenost žena u gradskim i opštinskim vijećima. Prema podacima Agencije za statistiku BiH, u 2016. godini izabrano je 6 načelnica (pet u RS-u i samo jedna u FBiH), i to u općinama: Istočni Drvar, Jezero, Kalinovik, Mrkonjić Grad, Novo Goražde i Visoko, što je za jednu načelnicu više u odnosu na 2012. godinu (2018, str. 97). U Gender akcionom planu BiH za period od 2018. do 2022. godine podatak o samo šest izabralih žena (4,3%) u odnosu na njih pet (3,6%) izabralih 2012. godine, prepoznaje se kao značajan s obzirom da je broj kandidatkinja za načelničke/gradonačelničke pozicije zapravo smanjen sa 39 u 2012. na 26 u 2016. godine (str. 19). Svi gradonačelnici u BiH su muškarci, a u opštinskim/gradskim vijećima i skupština opština/gradova u BiH, „svaki peti mandat pripada ženama“²¹ (Agencija za statistiku BiH, 2018, str.97-98). Svi gradonačelnici u BiH su muškarci, a u opštinskim/gradskim vijećima i skupština opština/gradova u BiH, „svaki peti mandat pripada ženama“ (Agencija za statistiku BiH, 2018., str.97-98). Može se uočiti blago povećanje participacije žena u odnosu na lokalne izbore iz 2012. godine, s obzirom da je udio žena u sastavu vijeća/skupština sa 17,1% porastao na 18.34% žena (Završni izvještaj o provedbi Akcionog plana za implementaciju UN Rezolucije 1325 u BiH 2014-2017. godina, str. 8). Ovakav spor tempo, kada je riječ o većem prisustvu žena u organima vlasti na lokalnu, ukazuje da bi se do ravnopravnosti žena, kada je riječ o političkoj participaciji na lokalnom nivou, moglo stići tek 2060. godine (Tadić, Andelković i Vrbaški, 2018, str. 10).

Istraživanja ukazuju na nisku političku participaciju i nerazvijenu političku kulturu kod stanovništva. S druge strane, postoji svojevrsna paradoksalnost, s obzirom da istraživanja potvrđuju da su manje lokalne zajednice izložene još većoj politizaciji svakodnevnog života (Žarković, 2017, str. 17). Parodoksalnost za neke od istraživanih zajednica se ogleda u tome što, s jedne strane, postoji izrazita nebriga viših nivoa vlasti (na državnom i entitetskom nivou) za ove sredine dok, s druge strane, poruke koje potiču podjele i etničke tenzije, koje se gotovo redovno šalju sa vrha, imaju još negativniji učinak na njih, imajući u vidu recentnu ratnu prošlost i traume (Ždralović, Popov-Momčinović, 2019, str. 29-30). Ovaj negativni učinak se odražava, možemo reći, gotovo na sve lokalne zajednice, s obzirom da disfunkcionalnost i tenzije s vrha stvaraju nepovoljan institucionalni i svaki drugi okvir za unaprjeđenje položaja marginalizovanih grupa (Ždralović, Popov-Momčinović, 2019, str. 30).

CEDAW izvještaji, u sjeni ženskih nevladinih organizacija, ukazuju da su političke stranke glavni kočničari ravnopravnog učešća žena u političkom životu. Aktivistice primjećuju da je posebno na lokalnom nivou i u manjim sredinama ideološki predznak stranke skoro pa nevažan kada je riječ o odnosu prema rodnoj ravnopravnosti. Izuzetak koji se pominje je *Naša stranka* koja se obavezala na kvote od 50% i ima npr. nositeljicu liste za lokalne izbore 2020. u Gračanici. No, u generalnom smislu, političke stranke imaju površni i, možemo reći, manipulativni pristup kada je riječ o položaju i učešću žena u stranačkom životu, posebno u izbornom periodu:

21 Na 566 od ukupno 3.144 vijećničkih/skupštinskih mjesta izabrane su žene (Gender akcioni plan BiH za period od 2018. do 2022. godine, str. 17).

„To je sve formalno, jer dosta njih, kad mi sa njima pričamo, ona kaže: meni su oni rekli da će me staviti [na listu] ... i oni tako razgovaraju sa ženama. „Bićeš ti na listi“ i da ona prikupi preko svojih poznanika, prijatelja, glasova, ali ti glasovi neće Bog zna šta uticati jer partija odlučuje ko će je predstavljati a ne onaj ko je dobio najveći broj glasova i posebno ako je to žena. Samo se ispoštjuje da se ima toliko žena na listama, ali se na tome završava gender jednakost [...] Obave razgovor npr. sa ženom: „Mi ćemo tebe staviti na listu, ali eto nemoj ti nešto očekivati, ali ti si kadar za budućnost i sve ali ti pokušaj što više glasova da prikupiš od svojih, ono, znaš, da samo stranka profitira“ i kad tako bude, kaže, nigdje mene nema. Jer stranka odlučuje - onaj ko je dobio puno manje glasova od neke žene može da bude gore zato što stranka odlučuje ko će je predstavljati“²².

Istraživanja na generalnom uzorku populacije takođe ukazuju na zanimljiv trend kada je riječ o razlikama u stranačkom političkom učeštu žena i muškaraca. Participacija izražena kroz članstvo u strankama je najviša kod mladih žena, a što je, kako se navodi, povezano sa brojnim preprekama sa kojima se žene susreću u javnoj sferi i životu uopšte, što pokušavaju da premoste kroz stranačku patronažu (Babović i dr., 2016, str. 32). U srednjoj životnoj dobi kod žena naglo opada želja za stranačkim angažmanom, što je povezano sa patrijarhalnom strukturom porodičnog i drugih sfera života. U smislu onoga što je rečeno o manipulaciji političkih stranaka prilikom imenovanja žena za izborne liste, činjenica da su mlađe i politički manje iskusne žene daleko više participativne takođe omogućava lakšu manipulaciju sa kvotama od 40% koje definiše izborni zakon.

Prema informacijama dostupnim na web-stranici Skupštine TK, žene čine 37,1% saziva Skupštine TK²³. Prema informacijama dostupnim na web-stranici Vlade Tuzlanskog Kantona²⁴ premijer vlade TK je muškarac. Od 12 ministarstava, samo na čelu dva su ministrike (Ministarstvo obrazovanja i nauke TK i Ministarstvo zdravstva TK). Funkcija gradonačelnika/ce u Tuzli, Srebreniku i Gračanici pripada muškarcima. Udio žena u Gradskom vijeću Tuzle iznosi 35,5%.²⁵ U Gradskom vijeću Srebrenika udio žena je 13,8%.²⁶ U GV Gračanice udio žena je 6,7%.²⁷

Predsjednik, potpredsjednik i sekretar Skupštine opštine Milići su muškarci, a od 19 odbornika/ca samo su dvije žene.²⁸ U opštini Bratunac, funkciju sekretarke Skupštine obavlja žena, a od 25 odbornika/ca, četiri su žene.²⁹ U Skupštini opštine Srebrenica samo je jedna žena odbornica.³⁰

Situaciju u Srebreniku ilustrativno opisuje jedna ispitanica u istraživanju Tatjane Žarković:

22 Intervju sa aktivisticama iz Tuzle, obavljen putem Skype-a, 10. avgust 2020.

23 „Poslanici IX saziva skupštine TK 2018.-2020.“, dostupno na: <https://www.skupstina.tk.gov.ba/poslanici-2018-2022>

24 <http://www.vladatdk.kim.ba/>

25 Spisak vijećnika GV 2016-2020 je dostupan na: http://grad.tuzla.ba/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/SPISAK-VIJE%C4%86NIKA-E-ADRESE_21_04_2020.pdf.

26 Spisak GV je dostupan na: <https://www.srebrenik.ba/opcinsko-vijece-2/opcinsko-vijece/opcinski vijecnici>

27 spisak dostupan na: <https://gracanica.gov.ba/vijecnici/>

28 Prema informacijama sa web stranice opštine Milići: <https://www.opstinamilici.org/index.php/skupstina/odbornici>.

29 Prema informacijama sa web stranice opštine Bratunac: <https://www.opstinamilici.org/index.php/skupstina/odbornici>

„Naša lokalna zajednica ne tretira žene kao muškarce. One su tu na margini, gurane ustranu. Za sve ključne pozicije u državnim institucijama, ali i u privatnim firmama, samo se raspravlja o muškarcima i samo oni dolaze u obzir. Muškarce gledaju s većim poštovanjem u odnosu na žene, iako je ista profesija u pitanju, kvalitet, profesionalni doprinos ili čak i kada je to izraženije kod žene.“ (prema Žarković, 2017, str. 39).

Odsustvo žena iz političkog života u BiH (koje posebno dolazi do izražaja na lokalnom nivou) posljedica je i neusklađenosti Izbornog zakona BiH i ZoRSa BiH:

„Svaka kandidatska lista uključuje kandidate muškog i ženskog spola, koji su ravnopravno zastupljeni. Ravnopravna zastupljenost spolova postoji u slučaju kada je jedan od spolova zastupljen s najmanje 40% od ukupnog broja kandidata na listi. Kandidati spola koji je manje zastupljen raspoređuju se na kandidatskoj listi na sljedeći način: najmanje jedan kandidat manje zastupljenog spola među prva dva kandidata, dva kandidata manje zastupljenog spola među prvih pet kandidata i tri kandidata manje zastupljenog spola među prvih osam kandidata, itd.“ (Izborni zakon BiH, član 4.19, stav 3).

„(1) Državna tijela na svim nivoima organizacije vlasti i tijela lokalne samouprave, uključujući zakonodavnu, izvršnu i sudsku vlast, političke stranke, pravna lica s javnim ovlaštenjima, pravna lica koja su u vlasništvu ili pod kontrolom države, entiteta, kantona, grada ili općine ili nad čijim radom javni organ vrši kontrolu, osigurat će i promovirati ravnopravnu zastupljenost spolova u upravljanju, procesu odlučivanja i predstavljanju. Ova obaveza postoji i za sve ovlaštene predlagače prilikom izbora predstavnika i delegacija u međunarodnim organizacijama i tijelima.

(2) Ravnopravna zastupljenost spolova postoji u slučaju kada je jedan od spolova zastupljen najmanje u procentu 40% u tijelima iz stava (1) ovog člana.

(3) Diskriminacijom po osnovu spola smatra se situacija kada ne postoji ravnopravna zastupljenost iz stava (2) ovog člana.

(4) Tijela iz stava (1) ovog člana u cilju ostvarivanja ravnopravne zastupljenosti spolova i otklanjanja diskriminacije dužna su donositi posebne mjere propisane članom 8. ovog Zakona“ (član 20, ZoRS BiH, član 20).

Kvota od 40% u ZoRS BiH odnosi se na stvarnu zastupljenost žena u tijelima na svim nivoima vlasti, dok se kvota od 40% iz Izbornog zakona BiH odnosi na zastupljenost na kandidatskim listama. Na koncu, stvarna zastupljenost zavisi od izbora građana/ki koji su socio-kulturalni definisani. U postojećim nepovoljnim okolnostima, ženska udruženja u lokalnim zajednicama velikim dijelom rade na uklanjanju ovih socio-kulturalnih barijera. Međutim, i dalje je potrebno da lokalne vlasti aktivnije rade na promovisanju rodne ravnopravnosti u svojim zajednicama. Kao što je istakla aktivistkinja Danka Zelić, koja je upoznata sa položajem žena u gotovo svim ruralnim sredinama Bosne i Hercegovine: „Kvota može biti 40%, ali na selu vrijedi kako kaže gazda kuće“ (Durkalić, 2017).

Uvidom u zvanične web-stranice ciljanih lokalnih zajednica obuhvaćenih ovim istraživanjem, svjedočimo podzastupljenosti žena u sferi donošenja odluka. To je potvrđeno i u sprovedenoj anketi, gdje je na skali od ‘1-veoma loše’, do ‘5-odlično’ prosječna dobijena ocjena iznosila samo 1.87.

Kao što je već rečeno, o podzastupljenosti žena svjedoči i činjenica da nema žena na gradonačelničkim/načelničkim, odnosnodo gradonačelničkim/donačelničkim pozicijama, a koje

predstavljaju izvršnu vlast na lokalnom nivou. Ono što je vidljivo je izražena podzastupljenost žena u skupštinama opština. Prisustvo žena u službama na lokalnom nivou i rukovodećim pozicijama varira od jedne do druge lokalne zajednice, što se može tumačiti, u slučajevima njihovog prisustva, kao posljedica „zatrpanja“ žena administrativnim obavezama putem kojih se donijete odluke, zapravo, sprovode.

Uvidom u pojedine medijske sadržaje za regiju Birač, u okviru rubrike ‘Razgovor sa odbornicima’, vidimo da žene koje su intervjuisane uglavnom slijede partijsku liniju i ne govore o položaju žena, što je posljedica toga da su žene uglavnom izabrane (ako jesu) zbog obaveza koje proizlaze iz Izbornog zakona s jedne strane i partijske lojalnosti s druge strane. Ovaj fenomen se ogleda i u činjenici da su lokalne vlasti slabo posvećene ravnopravnosti spolova, što potom uslovjava i mogućnosti za veće učešća žena i njihovu veću angažovanost kada je riječ o rodnoj ravnopravnosti. Glavne prepreke za veće političko učešće žena se nalaze upravo na lokalnom nivou, odakle i kreće politička karijera (Tadić, Andđelković, Vrbaški, 2018, str.9). Ovo potvrđuju i rezultati ankete, gdje je prosječna ocjena, kada je riječ o posvećenosti lokalne vlasti ravnopravnosti spolova, iznosila 2,43. Specifičnost analiziranih lokalnih zajednica je i u tome što je jedna te ista osoba dugi niz godina, odnosno u više mandata, na mjestu pozicije načelnika ili gradonačelnika. U nekim slučajevima aktivistkinje pretvaraju takve situacije u prednost u slučaju da se uspostavi redovna komunikacija, koja se tada lakše održava. Aktivistkinja iz Gračanice navodi kako se tamošnji „prvi čovjek“ obavezao da, kada je u pitanju reprezentacija, „tu uvijek budu proizvodi naših žena“. No, nastaju i problemi, s obzirom na činjenicu da u BiH muškarci gotovo u potpunosti dominiraju na načelničkim odnosno gradonačelničkim pozicijama i komuniciraju preko određenih mreža:

„Ima taj savez opština i gradova i pita: „Šta si ti uradio?“ pa ovaj nije i onda ne moramo ni mi [...]“

Odgovori politički aktivnih žena koje su ispunile anketni upitnik nam daju još neke važne uvide. Pri tome treba naglasiti da veliki broj žena koje su ispunile anektni upitnik ne obavlja, ili nije obavljalo ikakvu političku funkciju (njih 81%), dok je 8,7% navelo da obavlja a 10,4% da je nekad obavljalo neku političku funkciju. Od funkcija koje se obavljaju, ili su se obavljale, riječ je o članicama skupštine opštine, odnosno gradskog vijeća, kantonalne skupštine, zatim o funkcijama predsjednice i potpredsjednice aktiva žena, ministrici na kantonalnom nivou i članice predsjedništva stranke, a jedna ispitanica je navela dvije funkcije i to poslanice u Skupštini Tuzlanskog kantona i delegatkinje u Domu naroda FBiH.

Ono što je zanimljivo je da, ukoliko su ispitanice obavljale ili pak obavljaju neku političku funkciju, negativnije su ocijenile gotovo sve sfere u kontekstu položaja žena (ukupno osam) dok je za tri sfere dobijena identična prosječna ocjena. Pri tome treba naglasiti da nije reč o velikim razlikama. Ovo ukazuje da žene koje obavljaju i koje su obavljale političku funkciju ne odstupaju od prosječnih percepcija koje se tiču položaja žena. Ono što je zanimljivo je da su nešto negativnije od prosjeka ocijenile učešće žena u političkom životu i donošenju odluka i da je generalna ocjena položaja na lokalnu nešto niža od ocjene za cijeli uzorak. Ista je situacija i sa sferama koje se tiču zdravstvene i socijalne zaštite, obrazovanja i zadovoljavanja kulturnih potreba (tabela br. 4.).

	Žene koje obavljaju, ili su nekad obavljale političku funkciju	Žene koje nisu nikad obavljale političku funkciju
Ocjena položaja žena u BiH	2.7	2.7
Ocjena položaja žena u lokalnoj zajednici	2.4	2.7
Ocjena učešća žena u političkom životu i donošenju odluka na lokalnu	1.7	1.9
Dostupnost zdravstvene zaštite	2.5	2.6
Socijalna zaštita	2.1	2.3
Obrazovanje	2.9	3
Civilno društvo	2.5	2.5
Zaštita od nasilja u porodici	1.9	1.9
Podsticaji za žensko preduzetništvo	2	2
Besplatna pravna pomoć	2	2
Organizovanje i zadovoljavanje kulturnih potreba	2.1	2.2
Organizovanje sportskih aktivnosti	2	2.1

Tabela br. 4: Prosječne ocjene (vrijednosti) o položaju žena u različitim oblastima koje su dale ispitanice koje obavljaju, ili su obavljale neku političku funkciju i koje nisu nikad

Iz razloga ove podzastupljenosti i činjenice da svakodnevni život žena na nivou lokalnih zajednica, posebno u onim manjim zajednicama, nosi karakteristične izazove, aktivistice posebnu pažnju posvećuju mehanizmima koji postoje na lokalnu (kao što su, primjerice, mjesne zajednice) i trude se da koriste postojeće zakonske okvire koji omogućavaju direktnu participaciju građanki. Na ovaj način povećano je prisustvo žena na ovom nivou, čemu je doprinijela i mogućnost korištenja prostorija mjesnih zajednica koje su ranije bile prazne i korištene samo za potrebe aktivnosti mjesnih zajednica. Aktivistice su navodile kako su se, prilikom organizovanja raznih aktivnosti u vezi sa edukacijom žena na selu, susretale sa brojnim preprekama i onemogućavanjima u radu kao što je npr. zaključavanje prostorija mjesnih zajednica kada su one planirale održati neke od svojih aktivnosti. Aktivistkinja iz Gračanice je navela kako su postigle da u svakoj mjesnoj zajednici postoji aktiv žena. Aktivistkinje iz Bratunca kao uspjeh navode:

„[...] usklađivanje izbora savjeta mjesnih zajednica [...] sad znači u mjesnim zajednicama mogu da budu i predstavnice udruženja građana i predstavnici, neformalne grupe građana, ne samo političke partije lokalne, što je progres³¹“.

31 Intervju sa aktivistkinjama iz Bratunca, obavljen putem zoom-a 27.avgusta 2020.

No, uvidom u dostupne podatke može se zaključiti da i dalje dominiraju muškarci na pozicijama predsjednika savjeta mjesnih zajednica u nekim od ispitvanih opština. I u Bratuncu i Milićima, na osnovu dostupnih podataka sa zvaničnih internet stranica, nalazi se sedam muškaraca, a nijedna žena na ovim pozicijama. Na važnost prisustva žena na nivou mjesnih zajednica ukazuju i aktivistice iz Tuzle:

„Jer evo činjenice: u gradu Tuzla svega dvije mjesne zajednice imaju na čelu žene predsjednice savjeta mjesnih zajednica, a o drugim seoskim i ovim drugim općinama pa ni govora. Eto samo to da krenemo, od baze, najjednostavnije. Odatle mi nemamo jednakost, gender jednakost u prisustvu eto 40% - ne znam što 40% kad nas je 51%, ali eto govorimo i o 40%. I mislim da treba početi govoriti zašto je 40%? Zašto nije 50%? Jer, ako je inicijativa ... što nije istrajala što je stala samo na listama, što nije krenula od mjesne zajednice preko općinskog vijeća, kantonalne i dalje? Što nije istrajala sa 40% žena i na funkcijama da bude 40%, pa onda nek je 40%?! To je ono što smo mi uvijek govorile: da se ne može formirati vlast dok ne bude 40% žena.“³²

Problemi podzastupljenosti žena u političkom životu se često nadoknađuju aktivizmom u civilnom društvu. Kroz civilno društvo žene se osnažuju i povezuju i djeluju u različitim sferama koje su u fokusu u ovom istraživanju. Iako u civilnom društvu aktivistice nalaze više prostora i slobode za djelovanje, često se radi o sferi koju karakteriše humanitarni rad i sl., čime se nadoknađuje ono što je posao državnih institucija (Popov-Momčinović, 2013, str. 178). I u ovom istraživanju primjećuje se kako aktivistice u vreme pandemije obavljaju brojne humanitarne aktivnosti, kao što su pravljenje i besplatno dijeljenje maski i pružanje pomoći ugroženim kategorijama stanovništva, i da to predstavlja svojevrstan nastavak sličnih aktivnosti iz perioda kriznih situacija:

„U ovoj pandemiji su [žene] veliku ulogu imale, kao i kad su bile poplave, napravile mašine za isušivanje zgrada. Sad u vrijeme pandemije, pravile su maske i odmah uskočile u pomoći, dostavljale hranu na adresu, pravile specijalne sokove, svi su dobijali besplatne maske koje su naše žene pravile“³³.

Obavljanje poslova koje bi zapravo trebalo da obavljaju nadležni su brojni, a kao što je ukazano u ranijim, a primijećeno i u ovom istraživanju, aktivistice često obavljaju posao komisije za ravnopravnost spolova, kao što je npr. slučaj u Bratuncu. Kada govorimo o dometu ženskog samoorganizovanja i aktivizma, generalni problem je u tome što postoje organizacije različitog kapaciteta koji se najčešće vezuje za pitanje da li je riječ o organizacijama iz urbanog centra, ili iz neke manje sredine, što automatski znači i da su udaljenije od centara donošenja odluka u kojima su, u prostornom smislu, smješteni i strani donatori. No, kao što je primjećeno u jednom ranijem istraživanju, „postoje sela i manji gradovi ali sa jakim ženskim organizacijama, kao i male odnosno slabo učinkovite organizacije u urbanim centrima“ (Popov-Momčinović, 2020, str. 239).

U kontekstu ovog našeg istraživanja, primjer jake organizacije iz manje sredine je „Forum žena“ Bratunac koja je prepoznatljiva kako od strane donatora, Gender centra na entitetskom nivou i građanki i građana. S obzirom da u drugim lokalnim zajednicama iz regije Birač, koje su takođe ušle u ovu analizu, nema jakih i profilisanih ženskih udruženja, aktivistice iz „Foruma žena Bratunac“ (zajedno sa drugim ženskim organizacijama iz Bratunaca) kao što

32 Intervju sa aktivistkinjom iz Tuzle, obavljen putem Skype 10.avgust 2020.

33 Intervju sa aktivistkinjom iz Gračanice, obavljen 21.08.2020. putem zoom-a.

su „Priroda“ i „Jadar“) preuzimaju na sebe brojne aktivnosti u ovim sredinama. Pri tome se suočavaju sa različitim preprekama s obzirom da ulaze u, kako navode, „prostor druge lokalne zajednice“, a što se od nadležnih institucija nekad tumači kao miješanje. Aktivistice iz „Forum žena Bratunac“ dobrijem djelom preuzimaju i poslove same komisije za ravnopravnost spolova, i u nekim svojim aktivnostima koje organizuju sa mladima iz regije Birač pokušavaju pokrenuti i rad Komisije za mlade u punom kapacitetu.

Uprkos brojnim humanitarnim i različitim drugim aktivnostima, istraživanja ukazuju (kada je riječ o generalnom uzorku bosansko-hercegovačke populacije) na slabu informisanost građanki i građana o radu nevladinih organizacija (Puhalo, Vukojević, 2015, str. 167). Građani i građanke još uvijek nemaju pravu percepciju o važnosti i funkcijama civilnog društva. No, ovakva percepcija proizlazi i iz same strukture nevladinog sektora koji funkcioniše po principu zatvorenih, koncentričnih krugova, a što je prisutno i kod ženskih udruženja (Helms, 2003). U ovom anketnom istraživanju prosječna ocjena koja je data sferi civilnog društva iznosi 2.5, sa neznatnim varijacijama od sfere lokalne zajednice (Tabela br.3). Postoje, posebno u manjim sredinama, slučajevi korupcije i manipulacije i različiti oblici stranačkog uplitanja u rad udruženja. Kako je navela intervjuisana aktivistica:

„Mi smo imali jedno udruženje, brat od predsednice udruženje je [...] i davao podršku gradonačelniku, pa su dobijali 50000 godišnje kao udruženje od javnog značaja [...] i ja sam odlučila da u svakoj mjesnoj zajednici imamo aktiv žena, i da to bude socio-ekonomsko uzdizanje, i da svaka žena ima svoju vrijednost“³⁴.

U kontekstu nedovoljnog povjerenja građana u nevladin sektor, istraživanja u Bosni i Hercegovini ukazuju na privilegovanost određenog tipa udruženja na lokalnom nivou (kao što su udruženja veterana i sportska, uglavnom muška, udruženja) i na izraženi polaritet između donatorskog i lokalnog legitimite. Naime, dok veći donatorski legitimitet uživaju ljudskopravaške uključujući i ženske organizacije, na lokalnom nivou se ovakve organizacije nerijekto posmatraju kao otuđene od „stvarnih“ potreba lokalne zajednice (Puljek-Shank, Verkoren, 2017, str. 192). Ovo treba povezati sa nedostatkom svijesti populacije da su ljudska prava nešto konkretno a ne apstraktno, kao i sa činjenicom da daleko veću podršku vlasti na lokalnom nivou, u smislu izdvajanja sredstava iz lokalnog budžeta, imaju tzv. muška boračka i slična udruženja. U tom smislu su i intervjuisane aktivistice ukazale da se pitanje finansiranja i podrške ženskim udruženjima treba dugoročno riješiti na lokalnom nivou:

„Još uvijek se mi borimo za taj gender senzitivni budžet pri općinama jer najviše sredstava ide za muške sportove, za muške organizacije, još uvijek nije prepoznato da ako je zajednički dinar da to treba popola da se troši. To su sve prilično bolni procesi osvještavanja i muškog dijela publike, da ne postoji samo oni i da postoje i žene [...]“³⁵

U zajednicama koje su ovdje ispitivane, primjetni su neformalni oblici povezivanja preko ženskih lobi grupa, čime se nadomešćuju nedostaci formalnog udruživanja i NGO pristupa i stvaraju veze sa ženama iz političkih stranaka i drugih sfera društva, što predstavlja značajan alternativni model koji nadopunjuje neka ograničenja nevladinog sektora.

34 Intervju sa aktivistikom, obavljen putem Zoom-a 21. avgusta 2020.

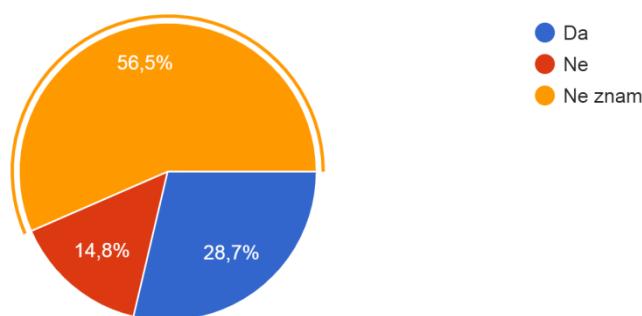
35 Intervju sa aktivistkinjama iz Tuzle, obavljen 26.03.2019. u okviru istraživanja *Aktivizmi s marginom. Procjena kapaciteta deset odabranih ženskih organizacija*.

Aktivnosti preko ovakvih lobi grupa omogućavaju povezivanje sa drugim lokalnim zajednicama u kojima ženske organizacije nisu dovoljno kapacitirane, a čime se preovladavaju gore-pomenute prepreke.

Period pandemije je brojne aktivnosti usporio i usložio, a posebno one koje se tiču političkog učešća žena. Neke od planiranih aktivnosti saradnje između ženskih NVO-a, lokalnih vlasti i komisija su odložene. Kao problem se navodi i to što su se članovi skupštine opština, odnosno gradskih vijeća potpuno prestali sastajati, ili su se neredovno sastajali pa su se brojne aktivnosti i pažnja prebacile na tzv. krizne štabove. S tim u vezi, u anketnom upitniku je postavljeno pitanje o uključenosti žena u rad kriznih štabova na lokalnu kao i pitanje otvorenog tipa *Ako je odgovor 'Da', navedite na koji način.*

17. Da li su žene uključene u rad kriznih štabova u Vašoj lokalnoj zajednici?

115 odgovora



Grafikon br. 4:

Distribucija odgovora na pitanje br. 17 (grafikon kopiran iz google form)

Veliki broj ispitanica (čak njih 56,5%) navodi da ne zna, a za odgovor „Da“ opredijelilo se 28,7% ispitanica. Kada analiziramo odgovore na postavljeno pitanje otvorenog tipa, možemo zaključiti da je riječ o uključenju žena „po funkciji“, tj. ako se nalaze na nekoj funkciji kao što je direktorica bolnice, centra za socijalni rad ili je ministrica zdravstva, žene na tim pozicijama su po automatizmu uključene u rad krizni štabova. U jednom odgovoru je navedena, uslovno rečeno, šira lista žena koje su bile uključene u rad kriznih štabova: „U rad Kriznog štaba opštine Bratunac bio je uključen jedan broj žena koje su po svojoj funkciji izabrane u Krizni štab (direktorica Dječijeg obdaništa, direktorica CZSR, sekretarica OO CK Bratunac, načelnica odjeljenja za finasije, inspektorica zdravstva i članica lobi grupe „Forum žena“, direktorica osnovne škole, sanitarna inspektorica i tržišna inspektorica)“. U pet odgovora se navelo „volontiranje“, što je takođe indikativno i što možemo tumačiti u smislu da se u periodima krize žene dobровoljno javljaju da pomognu drugima u nevolji, a što se često od njih i očekuje u patrijarhalnom društvu.

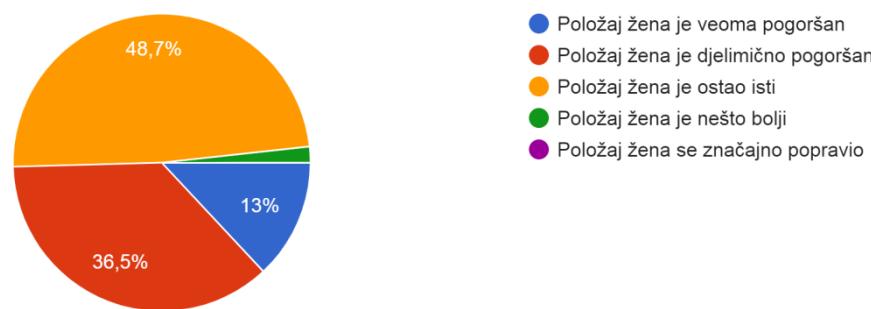
5.2. O integrisanju rodne perspektive s posebnim osvrtom na rodno odgovorno budžetiranje

Gender mainstreaming (urodnjavanje, uvođenje/integrisanje rodne perspektive) predstavlja pristup koji traži uključivanje rodne perspektive u sve programe i aktivnosti, kao i na svim nivoima donošenja odluka, planiranja i provođenja aktivnosti u ovim oblastima (Kadričić, 2019, str. 146; Antonijević, 2019, str. 275). „Ovaj pristup se uzima kao osnovni pristup od donošenja Pekinške deklaracije i prihvaćen je kao osnovni pristup Ujedinjenih naroda, Vijeća Evrope i Evropske unije. U Bosni i Hercegovini, gender mainstreaming (urodnjavanje) je osnovni pristup za postizanje ciljeva ravnopravnosti spolova i predstavlja obavezu svih nadležnih institucija vlasti. Ova obaveza je utvrđena u članu 24. Zakona o ravnopravnosti spolova u BiH prema kojoj institucije svih nivoa vlasti imaju obavezu da aktivno djeluju s ciljem postizanja ravnopravnost spolova i otklanjanja diskriminacije na osnovu spola“ (Kadričić, 2019, str. 146). Dakle, potrebno je sve inicijative i prijedloge općinskih, odnosno gradskih vijeća procjenjivati kroz rodno-odgovornu perspektivu. Nalazi ovog istraživanja, kao i nalazi prethodnih istraživanja, ukazuju i na temeljna nerazumijevanja samog koncepta urodnjavanja, što je posebno vidljivo u segmentu rodno-neodgovornog budžetiranja.

Nova situacija nakon izbijanja pandemije COVID-19 i efekti nove krize, posebno potvrđuju i naglašavaju potrebu integrisanja rodne perspektive u sve programe i aktivnosti na svim nivoima (pa tako i lokalnim) i institucijama vlasti, u svim fazama i svim sferama društva. Kroz ovo istraživanje generalno se stekao dojam da je pitanje rodne ravnopravnosti u vremenu krize skinutno s dnevnog reda formalne politike. S druge strane, tek posebno rodno-osjetljive akcije usmjerene na smanjenje rizika jesu adekvatan odgovor na „novu“ krizu, u kojoj se postojeće društvene nejednakosti dodatno produbljuju. Izostanak posebnih mjera i forsiranje jednakopravnosti shvaćene kao jednakosti koja ignoriše različite društveno-ekonomski statuse pojedinaca/ki i društvenih grupa, u suštinvodi ka tome da će višestruko marginalizirane grupe/ pojedinci/pojedinke ostati nezaštićeni. U anketi koja je provedena tokom ovog istraživanja, ispitanicama su postavljena pitanja o tome kako se pandemija virusa odrazila na položaj žena u njihovoj zajednici i o posebnim odluka i mjerama lokalnih vlasti koje se tiču položaja/ problema žena u kriznim situacijama (grafikoni br. 5 i br.6):

11. Na koji način se pandemija Korona virusa odrazila na položaj žena u Vašoj lokalnoj zajednici?

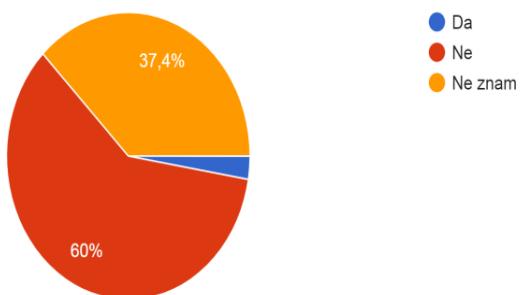
115 odgovora



Grafikon br. 5: Distribucija odgovora na pitanje br. 11 (grafikon kopiran iz google form)

15. Da li su se u periodu pandemije Korona virusa u Vašoj lokalnoj zajednici donosile posebne odluke i mjere koje se tiču položaja/problema žena u kriznim situacijama?

115 odgovora



Grafikon br. 6: Distribucija odgovora na pitanje br. 15 (grafikon kopiran iz google form)

Kao što se vidi iz prikazanih grafikona, 13% ispitanica smatra da se položaj žena veoma pogoršao, a 36,5% da je djelimično pogoršan, što ukupno čini skoro 50% uzorka. Veliki broj ispitanica navodi da je položaj žena ostao isti (njih 48,7%) no pri tome treba imati u vidu i zvanična upozorenja da će pandemija ne samo u trenutnom već i dugoročnom smislu ostaviti brojne negativne posljedice, ne samo na ekonomski život već i ljudsku svakodnevnicu. Distribucija odgovora na pitanje koje se tiče konkretnih mjeru je takođe značajna, s obzirom da je 60% ispitanicaodgovorilo da ovakve mjerne nisu donošene, a ne mali broj (37,4%)je odgovorilo da ne zna da li su se uopšte donosile posebne odluke i mjerne. Tri ispitanice (2,6%) koje su dale pozitivan odgovor na ovo pitanje su navele da je riječ o sljedećim mjerama:

„Sufinansiranje projekta pomoći ženama čija je materijalna egzistencija pogodjena pandemijom COVID-19. Povećana izdvajanja za rad Sigurne kuće s obzirom na povećan broj nasilja u porodici za vrijeme pandemije. Sufinansiranje projekata koji se tiču ekonomskog osnaživanja žena. Dodjela jednokratnih pomoći za osobe koje su u vrijeme pandemije ostale bez posla. Implementacija projekta Njega i pomoći u kući za osobe treće životne dobi. Najveći broj korisnika su žene.“

„Mjere zaštite majki sa malom djecom.“

„Učešće u podjeli maski građanima.“

Treba podsjetiti da je Agencija za ravnopravnost spolova BiH (ARS BiH), već od početka proglašenja vanrednog stanja, upozoravala da nadležni organi prilikom donošenja i provođenja mjera u borbi protiv pandemije moraju voditi računa o efektima njihovih aktivnosti na stanje rodne ravnopravnosti. Nakon konsultacija s nevladinim organizacijama i na temelju odgovora koje su od njih dobili, ARS BiH, MLJPI BIH i Koordinacioni odbor za praćenje provedbe Akcionog plana za implementaciju UN Rezolucije 1325 „Žene, mir i sigurnost“ u BIH, izradili su, koncem aprila, *Preporuke za integrisanje perspektive ravnopravnosti spolova u proces planiranja, donošenja i provođenja odluka, mjera i planova u borbi protiv pandemije COVID-19*. Preporuke se odnose primarno na oblasti prevencije i zaštite od rodno-zasnovanog nasilja, radnog angažmana žena, ekonomskog položaja žena i ravnopravne zastupljenosti žena u tijelima odlučivanja. Naše istraživanje pokazuje da lokalne vlasti nisu djelovale u skladu s ovim preporukama.

5.3. Nasilje nad ženama i nasilje u porodici

OSCE istraživanje o nasilju nad ženama u BiH koje je provedeno u 2018. godini, pokazuje da je 48% žena u BiH iskusilo „neki oblik nasilja, uključujući i nasilje od strane intimnog partnera, nepartnera, uhođenje ili seksualno uznemiravanje, od svoje petnaeste godine“ (2019, str. iii). Ipak, treba uzeti u obzir da je pri analizi dobivenih podataka skrenuta pažnja, a na temelju nalaza kvalitativnog dijela istraživanja, na bosansko-hercegovački socio-kulturalni kontekst (2018, iv-v). Na temelju istraživanja, u Studiji o dobrobiti i sigurnosti žena u BiH, zaključuje se, između ostalog, da je „broj prijava nasilja na niskom nivou“, „nema pravilne provedbe zakona“ (prije svega u pogledu sankcionisanja počinitelja), nema adekvatnog pristupa pravdi za žene koje su preživjele nasilje za vrijeme rata (OSCE, 2019, str. v-vi, 70-71).

Natalija Petrić (2019, str. 220) izdvaja „najznačajnije dokumente kojima su uspostavljeni standardi u oblasti rodno-zasnovanog nasilja prema ženama“, i to: Konvencija Ujedinjenih nacija o eliminaciji svih oblika diskriminacije žena – Preporuke broj 19 i 35 (CEDAW, 1979), Deklaracija Ujedinjenih nacija o eliminaciji nasilja prema ženama (DEVAW, 1992), Pekinška deklaracija (1995) te prvi regionalni pravno-obavezujući dokument u Evropi - (Istanbulška) Konvencija o sprječavanju i suzbijanju nasilja prema ženama i nasilja u porodici - koja je usvojena 2011. godine. Istanbulsku konvenciju Bosna i Hercegovina je potpisala i ratificirala kao šesta članica Vijeća Evrope, 2013. godine. Okvirne strategije za provedbu Konvencije o prevenciji i borbi protiv nasilja nad ženama i nasilja u porodici u Bosni i Hercegovini usvojilo je Vijeće ministara BiH 2015. godine³⁶.

Kako se navodi u Izvještaju Bosne i Hercegovine o zakonodavnim i drugim mjerama za provedbu odredbi Istanbulske konvencije, u Bosni i Hercegovini je „u proteklom periodu doneseno i provodi se niz javnih politika koje su direktno usmjerene na suzbijanje nasilja nad ženama ili politika koje sadrže aspekte suzbijanja nasilja nad ženama“ u „formi strategija ili akcionalih planova“ (Ministarstvo za ljudska prava i izbjeglice BiH, 2020, str. 10). U ovom izvještaju predstavljene su donesene politike, način njihovog provođenja i mehanizmi za praćenje. U tom kontekstu navode se strateški dokumenti (Gender akcioni plan BiH i Akcioni plan za implemenzaciju Rezolucije 1325) u kojima se prepoznaju i problemi rodno zasnovanog nasilja nad ženama i nasilja u porodici, ali i posebne politike usmjerene na sprječavanje i suzbijanje ovog problema. Ključni cilj ovih posebnih politika je „sprječavanje nasilja i zaštita žrtava, sa prioritetskim fokusom na interesima žrtvama“ (Ministarstvo za ljudska prava i izbjeglice BiH, 2020, str. 12). Vidljivo je da su uloženi institucionalni napor na unaprjeđenju pravnih propisa i donošenju javnih politika u vidu strateških dokumenata. Ipak, nalazi istraživanja autorica Aleksandre Petrić i Dženane Radončić pokazuju da Bosna i Hercegovina „još uvijek nije ispunila većinu obaveza koje je prihvatile, prvenstveno pristupanjem Istanbulske konvenciji“ (2020, str. 136). Ovo istraživanje je posebno adresiralo pitanja primjene zakonskih odredbi usmjerenih na sprječavanje i kažnjavanje nasilja nad ženama. Na temelju nalaza istraživanja, zaključuje se da je neophodno unaprijediti krivično-pravni okvir i institucionalne prakse u oblasti zaštite žena od nasilja (Petrić i Radončić, 2020, str. 136).

U sprječavanju i suzbijanju nasilja nad ženama i nasilja u porodici, poseban izazov predstavlja razvijanje opštih i specijaliziranih servisa podrške. Kada je u pitanju pristup ovim servisima podrške (kao što su sigurne kuće, SOS telefonske linije za pomoć, savjetovališta itd.), „tokom protekle dvije decenije nevladine organizacije u Bosni i Hercegovini su razvile

36 Vidi više na: <http://www.mhrr.gov.ba/Saopcenja/default.aspx?id=5552&langTag=bs-BA>

širok spektar specijalističkih servisa za žene i djecu žrtve nasilja u porodici. Fokus njihovog rada je na zaštiti interesa žrtava i zastupanju pred za to nadležnim institucijama“ (Petrić, 2020, str. 223). Time ovi servisi velikim dijelom i zavise od nevladinih organizacija i donatorskih sredstava, umjesto da se od strane države osigura njihovo stabilno i kontinuirano finansiranje.

U Izvještaju u sjeni za 3. ciklus Univerzalnog periodičnog pregleda o stanju ljudskih prava u Bosni i Hercegovini navodi se da je nužno „ujednačiti pravna rješenja u entitetskom zakonodavstvu u domenu pravnog tretiranja nasilja u porodici i nasilja nad ženama donošenjem jedinstvenog zakona o zaštiti od nasilja u porodici na državnom nivou“ (2019, str. 12). Tako je finansiranje sigurnih kuća regulisano, na različite načine, entitetskim zakonima o zaštiti od nasilja u porodici. Finansiranje rada sigurnih kuća koje vode NVO zakonski je osigurano iz budžeta Republike Srpske - 70%, i jedinica lokalne samouprave - 30% (Ministarstvo za ljudska prava i izbjeglice, 2020, str. 52). S druge strane, u FBiH još uvijek u potpunosti nije osiguran mehanizam plaćanja ovih troškova sa entitetskog nivoa 70%, a sa kantonalnog 30% (Ministarstvo za ljudska prava i izbjeglice, 2020, str. 51).

S druge strane, u manje razvijenim lokalnim zajednicama, koje pripadaju entitetu Republika Srpska, se kao problem navodi da Vlada Republike Srpske izdvaja 70% sredstava za smještaj žena u sigurne kuće, a lokalna zajednica 30% i da se pri takvom normiraju trebalo voditi računa o stepenu razvijenosti lokalne zajednice:

„Jer ko živi u velikom gradu ili u razvijenoj opštini, ona neće nići u sigurnu kuću. Ona je materijalno vjerovatno zbrinutija, ili će lakše naći posao da ne mora to da trpi. Ali nerazvijene ili izrazito nerazvijene opštine, kad se desi nasilje, vi njoj ne možete pomoći kad nema gdje da radi 70% stanovništva. Ona nema izlaz nego da ide negdje i da bude izmještena i onda za jedno zbrinjavanje potroši pare za čitavu godinu³⁷.“

S obzirom na globalne tendencije povećanja nasilja nad ženama i nasilja u porodici u vremenu pandemije, 20. aprila 2020. godine izdata je Deklaracija Komiteta članica Konvencije Savjeta Evrope o sprječavanju i suzbijanju nasilja nad ženama i nasilja u porodici (Istanbulška konvencija) o primjeni Konvencije tokom COVID-19 pandemije. Deklaracijom su definisane smjernice za djelovanje vlada tokom krize, koje podrazumijevaju pojačane servise i zaštitne mjere u okolnostima krize. S druge strane, u BiH i u „uobičajenim“ okolnostima, na primjer, pitanje finansiranja sigurnih kuća u pravilu je neizvjesno, a u vremenu krize pred njih su postavljeni i novi izazovi za njihov daljnji rad i funkcionisanje u novim okolnostima.

Pri tome posebno treba uzeti u obzir da su mjere koje su uslijedile nakon proglašenja vanrednog stanja u BiH, a odnosile su se na smanjivanje fizičkih kontakata i povlačenje u „sigurnu“ sferu doma radi sprječavanja širenja virusa, za određene konkretne kategorije stanovništva bile diskriminatorne. Konkretno, za one koje/i preživljavaju nasilje u svome domu - a na temelju dosadašnjih istraživanja, tu u prvom redu podrazumijevamo žene, djecu i LGBT osobe - sada su prisiljene/i ostati u kući s nasilnim osobama u uslovima generalno pojačanog stresa i novih (uz one stare) finansijskih problema nastalih kaoposljedica pandemije. Trenutno dostupni podaci, kako širom svijeta, tako i u BiH, nesumnjivo pokazuju da su nasilje nad ženama i nasilje u porodici u porastu za vrijeme trajanja vanrednog stanja. Ipak, egzaktne podatke u BiH tek će trebati sistematično i pregledno prikazati, a to je moguće uraditi samo ako sve institucije i nevladine organizacije sistematično budu prikupljale podatke. Ipak, i trenutno-dostupni parcijalni podaci ukazuju na rasprostranjenost problema, što je opravdano definisalo

37 Intervju sa aktivistkinjama iz Bratunca, obavljen putem zoom-a 27.augusta 2020

prioritetne oblasti velikog dijela aktivnosti i kampanja primarno feminističkih udruženja i ARS BiH (Ždralović, 2020). Na primjer, Dizdar Amina kao jedan od problema u vremenu proglašenja vanrednog stanja, navodi i izostanak alternativno rješenja u vezi sa smještajem, „gdje bi žrtve nasilja boravile potreban period izolacije, kako bi se potvrdilo nepostojanje virusa, nakon čega bi im se omogućio smještaj u sigurnu kuću i kompletan terapijski tretman“ (Dizdar, 2020).

Nasilje nad ženama, kao problem, je nešto što se u javnosti sve više percepira kao važno za riješiti. I kod dijelova stanovništva koje nema podršku za druge mehanizme rodne ravnopravnosti, istraživanja ukazuju na postojanje svijesti o ovom problemu kao i podrške za njegovo rješavanje. Rezultati u jednom značajnom istraživanju sprovedenom na reprezentativnom uzorku na nivou entiteta Republika Srpska ukazuju da se nasilje u porodici prepoznaje kao glavni problem koji treba riješiti da bi se postigla ravnopravnost spolova. Druga pitanja, kao što su npr. nejednaka zastupljenost žena u politici, raspodjela kućnih poslova, nejednaka zastupljenost žena u nekim aktivnostima npr. sportu, se smatraju manje ili daleko manje važnima, što ukazuje na dominaciju fragmentarnog pristupa kada je riječ o načinu na koji građani i građanke shvataju ravnopravnost spolova (Babović, Vuković i Petrović 2012: str. 82). No, ovo rezultira time da se nasilje ne povezuje sa drugim faktorima koji ga uslovjavaju, a što su potvrđili i razgovori sa aktivisticama koje ukazuju da se npr. u periodu pandemijefokus, ako ga je i bilo, uglavnom stavljao samo na ovaj segment. Navedeni fragmentarni pristup je još više prisutan na lokalnom nivou. Kako je navela intervjuisana aktivistica:

„Nije uziman gender, ali su bile dvije žene u kriznom štabu, jedna je i zdravstveni inspektor i nama je ona u Upravnom odboru. I ona kaže „ne možemo razdvojiti žene i muškarce osim kad je nasilje, bio je jedan slučaj silovanja, ali to je za policiju i tužilaštvo“... Gender nije u fokusu, a Nevenka je feministkinja, ali ni ona to nije mogla da proturi³⁸.“

Period pandemije i svojevrsna haotičnost, koja je obilježila taj period, su takođe omogućili da oblici seksualnog uznemiravanja, mobinga i rodno-zasnovanog nasilja počnu dobivati nove oblike. Situacija je omogućila različite manipulacije onima koji su na pozicijama moći i odlučivanja da ugrožavaju prava drugih, u ovom slučaju žena.

„[...] mi smo cijelo vrijeme pandemije imale aktivnu grupu za relaksaciju i rekreatciju - u stvari žensku lobi grupu. I onda, kako smo bile mi aktivne, tako su žene dolazile u kontakte sa drugim ženama i onda smo došle do podatka da su se javljale žene u doba pandemije sa povećanim brojem seksualnog uznemiravanja na poslu tipa: pošto su radile u smjenama pa manji broj pa, šefovi su koristili tu svoju mogućnost da ostave ženu koje žele da seksualno uznemiravaju da radi duže, da radi u noćnim tim satima, da rade samo s njima, tako da je došlo, po našem mišljenju ove lobi grupe, do povećanog broja seksualnog uznemiravanja u doba pandemije zato što su se smanjili kapaciteti uposlenika na bazi dnevnog rasporeda radnih sati. I naravno mobinga [...]“³⁹.

Dominantni fragmentarni pristup, kada je riječ o nasilju nad ženama, u periodu pandemije se višestruko usložnio. Kao što je već rečeno, ako se i posvećuje pažnja nasilju nad ženama, ta pažnja se svodi na nasilje u porodici i tada se, eventualno, preuzimaju određene aktivnosti i u nekim od komisija za ravnopravnost spolova. U manje razvijenim, ili izrazito nerazvijenim lokalnim zajednicama problemi su i u redovnim, a ne samo vanrednim okolnostima, daleko složeniji.

38 Intervju sa aktivisticama iz Bratunca, obavljen putem Zoom-a 27.avgusta 2020.

39 Intervju sa aktivisticama iz Tuzle, obavljen putem Skype-a 10.avgusta 2020.

6. ZAKLJUČCI SA PREPORUKAMA

I pored prihvaćenih međunarodnih i državnih standarda, analiza stanja upućuje na zaključak da je potrebno uložiti (dodatne) napore na izgradnji i promociji rodne ravnopravnosti. Na temelju provedene analize u lokalnim zajednicama, moguće je izvesti nekoliko opštih preporuka za koje smatramo da se mogu praktično realizovati i imati vrlo brze pozitivne učinke.

Prvo, nužan je aktivniji i intenzivniji rad komisija za rodnu ravnopravnost u lokalnim zajednicama. Radi intenziviranja rada, a u mnogim komisijama i radi provođenja aktivnosti uopšte, bilo bi preporučljivo da se uvede praksa redovnog podnošenja periodičnih izvještaja o radu komisija lokalnim parlamentima, te da izvještaji budu vidljivi na opštinskim/gradskim web-stranicama. Izvještaje bi trebalo podnosići redovno gender centrima na nivou entiteta, ali je potrebno uvesti i obavezu njihovog objavljivanja na zvaničnim web-stranicama. Ovo je ujedno i jedan o načina da aktivnosti komisija postanu vidljive u samoj lokalnoj zajednici.

Drugo, potrebno je ozbiljno razmisliti o mogućnosti uvođenja stalnih članova/ca komisija za ravnopravnost spolova, koji bi dolazili iz reda eksperata/ica za rodnu ravnopravnost. S obzirom da na lokalnim nivoima djeluju i ženska udruženja koja su se već profilirala i koja okupljaju osobe koje već dugi niz godina rade na pitanjima rodne ravnopravnost, angažovanje eksperata/ica u komisijama na lokalnom nivou ne bi trebalo predstavljati problem, a vjerujemo da bi se pozitivno odrazilo na aktivnosti promicanja rodne ravnopravnosti na lokalnom nivou. Posebne edukacije za članove/ce komisija mogle bi dati rezultate, ali one bi iziskivale i veća finansijska sredstva i morale bi biti kontinuirane, s obzirom na stalne izmjene sastava komisija. Zbog toga smatramo da bi se ovaj problem lakše i efikasnije premostio stalnim članstvom u komisijama na lokalnom nivou. Smatramo da bi se i ovo pozitivno odrazilo na intenzitet rada komisija i unaprijedilo bi kvalitet aktivnosti koje provode, ali bi svakako pozitivne efekte moglo imati i kako na veću vidljivost institucionalnih mehanizama za ravnopravnost spolova, tako i na unaprjeđenje saradnje između vladinog i nevladinog sektora.

Treće, kroz ovo istraživanje, ali i ranija istraživanja, uočava se da članovi/ce postojećih komisija u suštini očekuju neke konkretnе instrukcije o aktivnostima koje trebaju provoditi. Ipak, imajući u vidu ograničenja u pogledu ljudskih kapaciteta i finansija, nije moguće očekivati da institucije koje se bave pitanjima rodne ravnopravnosti na višim nivoima (u prvom redu entitetski centri i ARS BiH) svakodnevno komuniciraju sa svim komisijama na lokalnom nivou i daju im konkretnе zadatke, s obzirom na specifične okolnosti u njihovim zajednicama. Ipak, neke opšte instrukcije je nužno dati ovim komisijama na lokalnom nivou. U tom kontekstu, bilo bi preporučljivo (još jednom) podsjetiti komisije na njihov djelokrug rada, a možda i napraviti konkretni priručnik o mogućim pravcima i načinima njihovog djelovanja. Nalazimo da bi imalo smisla napraviti ovakav priručnik kroz radionice i u saradnji eksperata/ica i članova komisija, a uzimajući u obzir specifičnosti konteksta. Ipak, ovakav vid edukacije i planiranja novih aktivnosti može biti efikasan, efektivan i provoditi se u kontinuitetu samo uz prepostavku imenovanja stalnih članova/ica komisija na lokalnom nivou.

Četvrto, nalazi ovog, kao i nekih drugih istraživanja, ukazuju na nerazumijevanje temeljnog koncepta rodnog urodnjavanja, koji bi trebao pratiti sve aktivnosti koje se provode u lokalnim zajednicama. Stoga članovi/ce komisija za rodnu ravnopravnost trebaju biti

osposobljeni/e ne samo da zagovaraju rodnu ravnopravnost i da iniciraju aktivnosti, već i da procjenjuju sve druge prijedloge (programe, mjere, budžete...) kroz rodno-odgovornu perspektivu.

Pored navedenog, na lokalnom nivou je potrebno provoditi i aktivnosti političkog i ekonomskog osnaživanja žena, promovisati rodnu ravnopravnost, uvesti korištenje rodno-osjetljivog/odgovornog jezika (prije svega u dokumentima opštine), ali i nastaviti intenzivno raditi.Treba imati na umu da je Bosna i Hercegovina 2013. godine potpisala i ratificala Konvenciju Vijeća Evrope osprječavanju nasilja nad ženama i borbi protiv nasilja u porodici, tzv. Istanbulska konvencija, što znači da lokalne vlasti imaju odgovornost u smislu provođenja Konvencije.

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GENDER EQUALITY SITUATION – EFFECTS OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF BIHGENDER ACTIONPLAN ON LOCAL LEVEL IN SIX SELECTED LOCAL COMMUNITIES

(Tuzla, Srebrenik, Gračanica, Bratunac, Milići And Srebrenica)



From the review of prof. Biserka Košarac PhD: "In researching the position of women in specific local communities, the authors first start from the level of their development and point out that, by lowering to lower institutional levels, the legal framework for gender equality is less respected, and the position of women becomes more difficult, which is especially pronounced in smaller and underdeveloped local communities with a strongly present patriarchal value system."

From the review of prof. Sanela Šadić PhD: "Through very precisely defined indicators such as geographical determination, education, unemployment, social protection and other important parameters, it is possible to gain a quality insight into the problems of women in their local communities. The logical structure of the obtained results and the argumentative discussion confirmed the thesis about the difficult position of women and their questionable equality."

Prof. Zlatiborka Popov Momčinović, PhD

Asst. Prof. Amila Ždralović, PhD

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1.THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Women in Bosnia and Hercegovina still represent the main marginalized group in society. Despite the fact that women outnumber men in the country (according to the Census from the year 2013), women still do not have access to their rights due to socio-cultural barriers. Even though a legal framework in Bosnia and Hercegovina is considered to be on the level of modern democratic societies, there is still a large gap between *de iure* and *de facto* when it comes to the rights of women. Different researches show that BIH Gender Equality Law is not being implemented properly and the mechanism and strategies for its implementation are also not applied in practice, or they have a minimal social impact on a daily life of women - especially on multiple marginalized groups of women. The research confirms that certain groups of women, such as women in small local communities, are particularly vulnerable, as well as women who have children with disabilities, single mothers, women from ethnic minorities (especially Roma population), victims of domestic violence and women of third age.

Some researches (such as *Women's movement in Bosnia and Hercegovina: Articulation of a Contra-Culture, Women that Inspire... a Research About Possibilities and Life Conditions of Women in Small Local Communities in BIH, My Voice Echoes..., Women in Institutions of BIH: the Puppets of a Legal Quota, The Analysis of Gender Inclusive Community in BIH, Activism from the margins: the Evaluation from Ten Selected Women's Organisations*, etc.) describes and explains the marginalization of above-mentioned categories of women. In this research, as well as in other research literature, the importance of women's organization in Bosnia and Hercegovina has been recognized, as well as networks (such as Women's network, Roma network, Safe network) that deal with different issues of the above-mentioned categories. However, they face different challenges in their work as well. That is especially the case with women's organizations from smaller local communities – these organizations are far from urban centres; they don't have appropriate technical support and their human resources are a point of weakness as well. Their access to the institutions such as gender centres, the Agency for gender equality of Bosnia and Hercegovina, as well as their access to foreign donors and other relevant partners and participants, is very limited. The unique position of a marginalized group of women and girls in those communities is more problematic due to the nature of their exclusion, barriers, lack of time, social prejudice against their own way of organizing, and the social inclusion is, therefore, even more questionable. Given all the specifics of the context, many associations cannot cover all the problems that women face, especially in smaller communities, and take on the role of service for all citizens in their local community. For these reasons, it is necessary that laws and institutional mechanisms implemented at the local level result in positive social changes, and not simply, as previous research shows, be understood as formal obligations.

The Covid-19 pandemic has brought substantial changes to daily life. These changes brought new challenges for everyone, but these have been particularly hard for marginalized groups. Having this in mind, to address the effects of this crisis requires an integration of gender perspective in all the programmes and activities on all the levels of government, and in each phase and segment of the society. Gender mainstreaming approach is required by international (e.g. Beijing Declaration) and national (e.g. BIH Law on Gender Equality) legal frameworks for gender equality. It is important to highlight that in times of crisis, gender equality shouldn't be suspended or removed from the agenda for other more "important" issues, but exactly the

opposite – gender equality is, especially in times of crisis, the centre of all other issues. It should be noted that natural and other disasters require gender-sensitive actions when it comes to reducing the risks since social stratification additionally deepens, and existing weaknesses of social and health care become even more visible in crisis.

The general goal of this research was to gain deeper and more colourful insight into the position of marginalized groups in selected communities. One very specific goal of the research was the evaluation of the implementation of gender action plans at the local level, with a focus on the analysis of work of the gender equality commission at the local level, as well as the analysis of the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on women in six (6) selected local communities (Tuzla, Srebrenik, Gračanica, Bratunac, Milići and Srebrenica).

The research focused on the following research questions:

- 1) What are the main problems when it comes to the implementation of BIH gender action plans and if the existing programmes, politics, budgets are gender sensitive?
- 2) What are the concrete activities of gender equality commissions on the local level and what are the capacities of these commissions when it comes to understanding the work of gender norms in their local communities, i.e. what are the attitudes of the members of the commission when it comes to gender equality, and whether the programmes that promote gender equality are being implemented in the local community?
- 3) What are the exact consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic on different aspects of lives of women in local communities, what was done in local communities to remove or mitigate these negative effects and if the needs of women, especially marginalized categories of women, are being taken into consideration when it comes to adopting programmes and action plan?
- 4) To what extent have the measures that followed the declaration of the state of emergency been inherent, and how can the existing measures, programs and other activities fit into gender mainstreaming?

2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

For this analysis, we used several methodological approaches, as our main goal was to achieve deeper and more relevant insight into the problem that we see as the main part of our research. A qualitative and quantitative methodology was used, and ofresearch techniques, secondary analysis of the existing research and documents was used, as well as surveys and in-depth semi-structured interviews.

Secondary analysis: With the help of the *search engine*, relevant researches and documents were found about the role of women in Bosnia and Hercegovina with a special focus on the work of gender equality commissions and the implementation of gender equality action plans on the local level. We visited official web-sites of selected local communities intending to find relevant documents and gain general insight into the activities of local communities with regards to gender equality.

In-depth semi-structured interviews: The in-depth semi-structured interviews with activists from selected communities were done first, given their long-standing commitment and work on gender equality in Bosnia and Hercegovina and their local communities. In this way we gained an insight into their work and engagement when it comes to the functioning of commissions on the local level, position of women on the local level and their participation in political life, domestic violence and other problems that women face, especially in the period of the COVID-19 pandemic. The interviews lasted little over an hour on average, and the semi-structured form reflects the fact that questions were formed for the interview with additional space left for the interlocutors to expand, fill up a gap or even rephrase.

After that,interviews were conducted with members of gender equality commissions from selected local communities. We conducted seven of them. Some of them were in a form of an official interview, but the majority had the form of a conversation or consulting about specific data relevant for the analysis due to lack of information that interlocutors had. These lasted 15 to 20 minutes on average. Interviews/discussions were conducted with three members of commissions from Bratunac and Srebrenica, two members of the commission from Milići, while the members of the commission in Tuzla, due to their unavailability, provided the documents via email, and the members of the commission from Gračanica responded to the questionsof the survey. Because of the inactivity of the commission in Srebrenik, as well as due to not being able to determine who the members of the commission are (after several attempts to get this information), we weren't able to gain any information concerning this local community.

Survey questions: The survey was created using google form with the objective to gain insight about different ways in which women in their local communities perceive their position. The survey form comprised of 19 questions, out of which 13 were of closed type and 6 of an open type. Questions asked at the beginning aimed at obtaining information on demographic characteristics (such as age, the level of education, employment status), and the next stage of questions aimed at the perception of respondents about the position of women in Bosnian society, in their local communities and in different important fields of life, that are especially relevant when it comes to rights of women, particularly in the period of Covid-19.

These questions focused on general perceptions, while special questions of the open and closed type focused on particulars of the local development strategy and gender action plans, as well as questions on bringing measures that can improve the position of women on the local level in the period of the pandemic. During the process of creating the survey questionnaire, attention was paid primarily to cost-effectiveness and the fact that in some of the targeted communities there were problems with an internet connection, i.e. with the use of the Internet by potential respondents.

The survey was distributed with the help of the association Horizonti Tuzla, Forum of Women from Bratunac, Women's Lobby Group from Gračanica, as well as through some personal contacts. During the distribution of the survey, special effort was made to deliver it to the different categories of women based on their participation in public life and politics, their level of education and their age. We collected altogether 118 responses to the survey. Out of these 118, three (3) were discarded because they came from local communities that were not intended for this research, and the end number of responses was 115. Different categories of women were included, who, according to certain segments, correspond to the structure of the population. It is important to note that women of different ages, education levels and different types of employment were taken as samples (Table nr. 1). The answers to the open-type questions such as *If you are employed, what is your workplace?* also shows that different categories of women were included, with different professional occupations: shopkeepers, cooks, nurses, agricultural workers, educators, economists, journalists, librarians, psychologists, project managers and activists, inspectors and women employed in local government units.

Table nr. 1:

The structure of the sample based on location, age, level of education and employment

Local community	Age	Level of education	Employment
Bratunac: 16 respondents	Age 18-35: 33,9% respondents	Unfinished primary school: 1,7% respondents	Full-time employment: 54,8% respondents
Milići: 21 respondents	Age 36-50: 38,3% respondents	Primary school: 2,6% respondents	Part-time employment: 2,6% respondents
Srebrenica: 7 respondents	Age 51-65: 24,3% respondents	Highschool: 39,1% respondents	Unemployed, looking for work: 18,4% respondents
Tuzla: 23 respondents	Age over 65: 3,5% respondents	Higher/university education: 49,6% respondents	Housewife: 9,6% respondents
Gračanica: 24 respondents		Graduate degree (Mr or Dr): 7% respondents	Retired: 6,1% respondents
Srebrenik: 20 respondents			In the process of education (college or high school students): 8,7% respondents

As is the case with every research, this one also has certain deficiencies arising from its scientific and activist goals. The main problem comes from the fact that the research was done in the period of the COVID-19 pandemic, which prevented field visits, live discussions with relevant actors and certain technical difficulties concerning scheduling and carrying out discussions via *online* platforms.

One of the problems is the inconsistency when it comes to the available documents (especially gender action plans), along with different structures of the official websites of local communities that were part of the research. Despite this, by combining different methodological approaches and research techniques, we believe that we were able to cover the key aspects that this research was set to explore. Having insight from other relevant research concerning the position of women in local communities, and from the work of commissions on gender equality, as well as from the measures that are being implemented, we believe that we were able to form relevant conclusions.

3. THE SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK FOR GENDER EQUALITY IN BIH

The international standards on gender equality are the binding parts of the Constitution of Bosnia and Hercegovina. In May 2003, the Law on Gender Equality was adopted, which brought the country closer to the European standards when it comes to guaranteeing equal rights to its citizens. This was also important for putting the country on track towards European integration that requires applicants' countries to fulfil precise conditions, one of which is the existence of the Gender Equality Law. At all levels of government, bodies dealing with equality issues have been established, i.e. at the local, entity levels, as well as at the state level, commissions/committees for gender issues have been established. On entity levels, gender centres were formed, such as gender centres of the Federation of Bosnia and Hercegovina, and on the state level, the Agency for Gender Equality was formed.

The importance of legislative reforms and further improvements when it comes to institutional and political framework of gender equality, have been recognized in the reports and observing remarks of the CEDAW committee regarding periodic reports from Bosnia and Hercegovina. However, based on previous theoretical discussions, researches and conclusions regarding BIH reports, in this legal area, it is possible to preliminary single out two previous, general problems of gender equality in Bosnian society.

The first problem concerns the interpretation of the principle of gender equality, which is reflected in the very use of terminology, which is then both an indicator of narrow interpretations and the cause of discrimination against certain social groups. Even the title of the law (GEL) and the rationale behind its terminology, indicates the degree of misunderstanding and inability to differentiate between gender and sex. According to the Gender Equality Law from 2003, sex is defined as "socially established role of men and women in public and private life, compared to the same term that gives biological determination" (GEL, 2003, section 4.). The term sex, according to the law from the year 2003, shows the importance that was given to the biological category of sex, although the definition is something that the feminist theory has marked as gender. Even though amendments to the GEL from 2009 redefined these terms, the same basic principle was kept, so section 9. states: "sex represents the biological and psychological characteristics that differentiate male and female individuals, and it also marks gender/sex as socially and culturally constructed differences between male and female sex, and it concerns all the roles and characteristics that are not conditioned or determined exclusively by natural or biological factors, but are rather the product of norms, social customs and tradition, and are subject to change through time". The Law Against Discrimination of Bosnia and Hercegovina offers a somewhat wider context, but some puzzling elements are still present. The Law from the year 2009 talks about sexual expression and sexual orientation, while its amendments from 2016 introduce more precise definitions of sexual orientation and sexual identity. On the other side, the theoretical debate, especially the works of post-structuralism, goes far beyond that, but the term "sex" was kept within the Law and there was an insistence on keeping the term "sex". The prescriptive content of the term "sex" leaves some space for wider and different interpretations of the term, but the choice of the terminology is demonstrating symbolically the treatment of gender equality. Although legal reform and amendments are being welcomed as positive, when we put it under proper analysis it is clear that the terminology of the law and the choice of names of institutional mechanisms and their context is still indirectly patriarchal,

heteronormative and influenced strongly by socio-cultural factors, where respecting individual rights and freedom of individuals is reduced to one hardly acceptable and nominally egalitarian equality of men and women.

Secondly, the discrepancy between social and dogmatic-normative law is visible. The social law is shaping the social order, it is based on the belief of common values that are being internalized through the process of gender socialization and the expected behaviour is predictable and clearly defined. Change is still inevitable, but it comes slowly, and it is only acceptable if it comes from the inside of the society and within the existing order. For example, we can identify multiple changes that occurred within the educational programmes, but despite the Law on Gender Equality that requires “the elimination of educational programmes that contain stereotypical roles for men and women” and requires the introduction of educational content that promotes “gender equality”, for programmes on every level of education (section 11), gender stereotypes and prejudice are still being reproduced through textbooks and educational programmes and practices. The problem is that we are using very narrowly defined terms and definitions of gender equality, and we are putting them in the context where social law is still very influential, making a positive law inefficient and ineffective. What has already been defined and influenced by patriarchal norms we are trying to change through the law, by introducing bearable principles of gender equality to hetero-normative culture, without introducing the wider concept of gender equality. This does not mean that patriarchal norms are static and constant. Marina Blagojević Hughson points to the fact that turbulent changes, which have marked the tradition of this region, have brought the crisis of the traditionally accepted idea of masculinity as well, amongmen themselves. Other research of the general population shows that patriarchal orientation is more present than the liberal orientation, but it is also in decline (Babović et al, 2016, pp. 31). The percentage of patriarchal values is much higher amongmen than amongwomen, and additionally, relevant factors that influence this are the level of education and age. Younger individuals and those of middle age with higher education tend to have liberal orientation, as well as persons with university degree whose liberal values are often present (42%) and at the same time, with individuals that only have primary education the level of patriarchal values is strong and much higher (75%) (Babović et al, 2016, pp. 31). Researches done on the student population indicate that trends of individualism are more present when it comes to the attitudes towards the family, marriage, reproduction, but also when it comes to patriarchal attitudes, especially with younger men (Košarac, 2020, pp. 32-33).

When we take in consideration the results of the 2013 Census, we can conclude that progress has been made when it comes to the higher percentage of women with higher education, but it is important to note that there are still more women without any education or with an unfinished primary school, compared to men (Popov-Momčinović, 2017, pp. 62). These imbalances are even more visible in smaller local communities compared to urban centres, and it is exactly that those places (except for Tuzla) were part of this research. Also, the unfavourable age structure and the growing percentage of the older population, make this demographic image even more complex and it additionally complicates the position of women in the society, especially in smaller and underdeveloped local communities. The aging population, together with weak economy and devastated social politics, are contributing to the higher percentage of the so called vertically extended families or scattered extended families where younger women often take care of their children or their husband's parents (Košarac, 2019, pp. 39-40). These factors strengthen patriarchal values and norms even more.

Multiple obstacles when it comes to achieving gender equality are present in other

segments as well. However, the development of international norms and standards, but also further plans for the future, as well as programmes and measures on the national level, provide some opportunity for a better and wider interpretation of gender equality, and also for potential changes of the social law from the inside, thus leaving a room for the influence of legal norms on social reality. It should also be taken into consideration that these are long-term processes that require continued efforts despite all disappointments that happen when radical social change does not happen. It is exactly that these slow processes are the assumption of further work towards a more democratic society that is always the utopia that we aim for. Even the societies that, based on relevant criteria, can show positive results in these areas, need to be constantly engaged and guard the progress that was made, because as history teaches us, the positive change that was achieved before can always come under threat from the (new) conservative politics – and the level of critical engagement needs to be kept alive, and we need constant questioning and further development of sensibilities in order to recognize weaker positions of social groups and individuals.

The adoption of the Gender Equality Law of Bosnia and Herzegovina from 2003 created the basis for further development of a coherent strategy for achieving gender equality between men and women. This Law requires periodical adoption of the Gender Action Plan, that is defined as “the strategy that defines programme goals for achieving gender equality in every segment of life and work, as well as in the private sphere” (GEL BIH, section 9). The first Gender Action Plan of BIH was adopted in September of 2006 for the period of 2006– 2011. This was also the “first Gender Action Plan (GAP) in the region” (UNICEF, 2009, pp. 13). The second GAP BIH was achieved in the period between 2013 – 2017, while the third plan is being implemented (2018–2022).

As Kadribašić notes (2019), the structure of previous GAPs is “different and it follows the development of public policy” (pp.140). The author further adds that the first GAP “established the strategic approach to achieving the principle of gender equality (gender mainstreaming) and empowerment of women in BIH in fifteen areas of public and private life: European integration in the light of gender equality, cooperation and strengthening of the capacity, macroeconomic and microeconomic development strategy, gender-sensitive budgets, political life and decision making, employment and labour market, social inclusion, gender-sensitive media, life-long education, health, prevention and protection, domestic violence, harassment and human trafficking, the role of men, the harmonization of professional and family life, gender and sustainable development, communication and information technology” (Kadribašić, 2019, pp. 140). On the other hand, the second and third periodic GAPs are “very differently structured and contain three strategic goals” (Kadribašić, 2019, pp. 141). These three goals mentioned in the second and the third GAPs BIH are 1. drafting, implementation and monitoring of the measures for the implementation of gender equality in the institutions of power, based on prioritized areas; 2. building and strengthening the system, mechanism and instruments that can help the achievement of gender equality goals; 3. establishment and strengthening of cooperation and partnerships. Kadribašić (2019) concludes that “the action plans did not have the desired effect” and the reasons for that, according to him, are the lack of “responsibility of relevant authorities” as well as limited sources available for implementation of these activities (Kadribašić, 2019, pp. 141).

In the Concluding Remarks on the Sixth Periodic Report of Bosnia and Herzegovina from November 2019, the Committee for the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, regarding the implementation of the Gender Action Plan of Bosnia and Herzegovina for the

period 2018-2021, expresses concern, *inter alia*, because the Agency for Gender Equality of BIH “does not have enough human and financial resources”. However, in addition to noting the need to provide adequate human and financial resources to gender equality bodies, the Committee also recommends that, with the implementation of the BIH Gender Action Plan 2018-2021 “cooperation with civil society organizations” (especially women’s organizations) is strengthened, and to establish mechanisms for monitoring and evaluating its implementation, and to intensify “efforts to adopt a gender-sensitive budget in all state administration bodies”.

Based on these observations, as well as other governmental and non-governmental reports and researches, a disproportion between the efforts made and the results achieved can be observed. On one hand, great efforts have been made both in the development of the Gender Action Plan of BIH and in the development of other plans, such as, for example, state action plans for the implementation of Resolution 1325. On the other hand, the findings of previous research suggest that as we descend from higher levels of government to lower levels of government, the principles of gender equality are diluted instead of concretized (Ždralović, Popov-Momčinović and Hrnjić-Kuduzović, 2018, p. 10).

4. GENDER EQUALITY IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT UNITS

4.1. The scale of development of local communities as a framework for gender equality

Different research indicates that the more we look down to lower administrative levels, the position of women tends to be more complex and the existing laws and norms regarding gender equality are being less and less respected and enforced. That is especially the case in less developed local communities and communities that are isolated, where patriarchal attitudes are dominant. Researches point to ethnic homogeneity as a contributor to the strengthening of stereotypes and traditional norms concerning gender roles (The Base Study on Barriers to Political Participation of Women in Bosnia and Herzegovina, pp. 41). The Census from 2013 shows the radical change of ethnic structures in cities and municipalities of Bosnia and Herzegovina, where 2/3 of the population, according to Pejanović, has a mono-ethnic structure in the percentage between 70 and 99 percent. In contrast to that, according to the Census from 1991, out of 109 municipalities, only 18 of them had two-thirds majority of one nationality that is of one single ethnic group (Pejanović, 2017, pp. 70, 74). Some of these local communities that were part of this analysis are textbook examples of radical social changes that occurred.

It is important to note that based on the decision from the government of Republika Srpska, Milići belongs to the category of medium developed community, Bratunac belongs to underdeveloped and Srebrenica is in the category of highly underdeveloped local communities. Based on the development index of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, local communities are divided in five groups (V) and Tuzla belongs to the second group (II), whereas Gracanica and Srebrenik are in the third group III (Federal Institute for Development Programming, 2018, p. 9). Despite these differences, many similarities indicate how in the society in general, including the local level, norms, obligations and legal standards concerning gender equality, are being circumvented. We should also keep in mind that the level of development of the local community, although it is positive nominally for the position of women and the advancement of their rights, this relationship is not linear. (Ždralović and Popov-Momčinović, 2019, pp. 12).

Some communities that were part of the analysis are communities where trauma from the war is still widespread, especially communities such as Srebrenica and Bratunac. One activist from the civil society and a respected member of the commission for gender equality from Milići, notes that women in this region “do not start from 0, but from minus”. This should be kept in mind when it comes to empowering women and overcoming obstacles that women face on their arduous paths. On the other side, the position of women in larger urban centres, should not be idealized. It is women activists from Tuzla who showed us in previous research how women in larger cities, women that are highly educated, employed, and consider themselves emancipated, are not familiar enough with the essence of gender equality and their awareness about violation of own rights is fairly weak:

“[...] women from urban centres, although they have access to more contents, when it comes to awareness about their position in the society, are the same as women from rural areas, but that might

seem to be different if you work as some official, if you take care of yourself and if you are driving a car – all of this makes women less prone to admit own ignorance. But we have recognized that that is not always the case. It doesn't matter if you have a driver's licence or that you have a nice dress, all of this doesn't mean that you know anything about the rights that you have as a woman..."

The researches on the general sample (of men and women), indicated and are still indicating that the knowledge about gender equality is still incomplete and fragmented. It is most often understood as the eradication of violence against women, then to a lesser extent in the field of political and economic participation, and least often in the field of division of labour in the household and the use of gender-sensitive language. (Babović, Vuković and Petrović, 2012, pp. 75). Also, domestic violence is considered the main problem that requires solving to achieve gender equality. Other questions are considered less relevant and that indicates that we still have a very fragmented approach when it comes to different ways that citizens understand gender equality (Babović, Vuković and Petrović, 2012, pp. 82)

4.2. Fragmented Approaches

More concrete data regarding gender equality on the local level is obtained by analysing the statutes of the local communities, their strategic plans and budgets, and insights into the activities of the commissions for gender equality are of particular importance.

The statutes of the analysed local communities do not take into account gender equality when electing bodies and acting personnel at the local level. Adoption of gender equality measures belongs, in a large number of local communities in Republika Srpska entity, to the independent affairs of the municipality/city and has no priority on the list of the above affairs (it is on the penultimate place of the stated independent competencies). According to the statutes and rules of the appointments, no quotas of gender equality are suggested. Also, the descriptions of competencies in the fields of health, education, social protection, ecology, etc., do not contain provisions based on which it could be concluded that gender equality and the specific position of women are taken into account in these important areas. The statutes are written in the language in which the male gender is imposed as the norm. Article 1.2. of the Statute of Milići Municipality states that "Certain terms used in this statute to denote the masculine or feminine gender imply both genders", while the statutes of Bratunac and Srebrenica municipalities do not have such provision. In the statutes of Tuzla, Gračanica and Srebrenik municipalities, gender equality is not even stated as one of the competencies. The interviewed activist from Gračanica pointed out that the women's lobby groups advocated for gender equality to be included in the statute itself, but by inspecting the documents on the official website, it is not possible to get a clear insight because the transitional statutory decision on the organization of the city (former municipality of Gračanica) is in force until the adoption of the new Statute of the City.

The data based on which local development strategies are formulated are not classified by gender. This indicates that the "other gender" is not considered, which conflicts with the Law on Gender Equality and with the high-pitched tone with which such strategies usually begin or end. In most strategies, gender issues, if they are mentioned at all, are mentioned in the introductory part, usually concerning demographic structure of the population, and the data concerning age, level of education and employment are sorted according to gender, while for example in Srebrenik, there is no such data at all. This is in direct conflict with the Law on

Gender Equality, which explicitly states it as an obligation on all levels of government. Failure to keep the record on gender statistics and fragmented approach to gender equality is what is common to all analysed communities.

Fragmented approach to gender equality is also noticed concerning the budget of local communities. All the relevant analysis that focused on almost all of the local communities in Bosnia and Herzegovina indicate that almost none of the local communities implement gender-sensitive budgeting (Miftari, 2017, pp.4). As we have pointed out in some of our earlier analysis, gender equality, if approached at all, is approached in the manner of allocating certain, usually very limited, funds from the budget to the work of women's organisations in local communities in which they operate, or for associations of parents with four and more children, or with children with disabilities in which, we presume, mothers are also included. What is evident for all local communities is that most of the budget is allocated to men, primarily veterans and similar associations, while symbolic funds are also regularly allocated to associations of pensioners, blind and partially sighted persons and similar categories. In some of the budgets, parts of it are allocated to in vitro fertilisation (e.g. in Srebrenica and Milići), and in the budget of the Milići municipality, there is an item called "projects of daily care, accommodation in a safe house and protection from domestic violence" with the allocated amount of 2,500 KM. However, if we have in mind the stated amount as well as the fact that it is a broadly defined budget line, it should be pointed out that, as stated on the website of the association "Vive Žene" Tuzla, the so-called accommodation in a safe house does not mean just mere care, but also the provision of psychological and other assistance, which was also pointed out by the interviewed activists. The problems of funding safe houses will be discussed in more detail in a special chapter on violence against women and domestic violence.

Gender equality commissions within municipal councils also operate at the local level. The names of these commissions are different, with the wording "the commission for gender equality" as most often used, although other names are also encountered, like in the case of the commission of the Gračanica City Council - Commission for the Code of Ethics, Gender Equality, Human Rights and Freedoms, Suggestions and Complaints. The use of such names raises the question of how much their scope expands and thus loses its primary focus, but also points to possible incomprehension of the concept of protection of (women's) human rights.

Certainly, the activities of the commissions are much more important than their names. On the other hand, the activist from Gračanica stated that the name itself shows how "important" this commission is, i.e. to which extent its focus is on gender equality in this local community. If we ignore the terminological doubts, the information that the commissions for gender equality have been established in "almost all" municipalities of Bosnia and Herzegovina is encouraging, but also the observations about their passiveness are worrying. It is generally important that they are visible - not only in terms of the concrete activities of the commissions but in general - in terms of all activities aimed at achieving gender equality,. Such information is often modest or completely absent on the official websites of municipalities/cities, and very often citizens are not even aware if anything has been done (truthfully, often only as a formally assumed obligation) in the local community. As indicated in the Strategic Guidelines for Building and Strengthening Gender Equality Mechanisms and Instruments, it is essential that these instruments (including commissions at the local level) "have authority, visibility, political recognition, the necessary funding and human resources, and that their action is fully supported by political power at all levels" (Savičić, 2016, p. 14).

4.3. The Perception of Own Position

When it comes to the perception of women about own position in local communities, they often oscillate from strong dissatisfaction to relative satisfaction, but more in terms of being reconciled with the existing situation, to taking pride in their local community because of certain natural or cultural characteristics of that community. This was highlighted in research in which some other local communities were the main focus of research (Ždralović, Popov-Momčinović, 2019, pp. 17), but some parallels can be drawn. When it comes to the perception of one own position in their respective local communities, respondents could choose an answer in the survey that ranged from 1 – as very badto 5 – excellent. The average score was 2.7 and the same average score goes to the position of women in Bosnia and Herzegovina. On the other hand, more women gave the lowest score to the position of women on the local level compared to the national level (12,9% against 8,6%) and rated with 4 in a higher number of cases – which means very good for the local level compared to the national level (15,5% against 11,2%). These results also indicate a tendency for women to notice deficiencies or possible shifts to a greater extent at the local level (Chart 1 and Chart 2), indicating that these are perceptions that also carry subjective elements since inequality and marginalization are always a specific, living experience.

Chart no.1: Distribution of answers on question no. 8 (chart copied from google form)

8. In your opinion, what is the position of women in Bosnia and Herzegovina? (Opt for one of the offered answers on a scale from 1 - very bad, to 5 - excellent)

115 answers

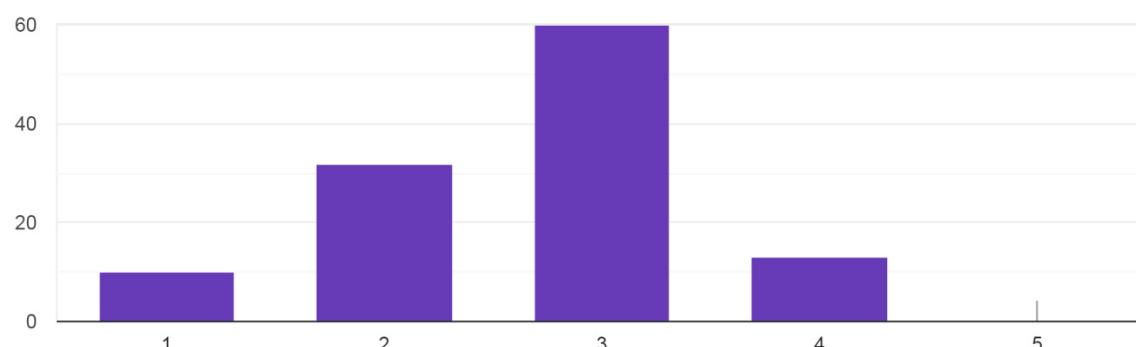
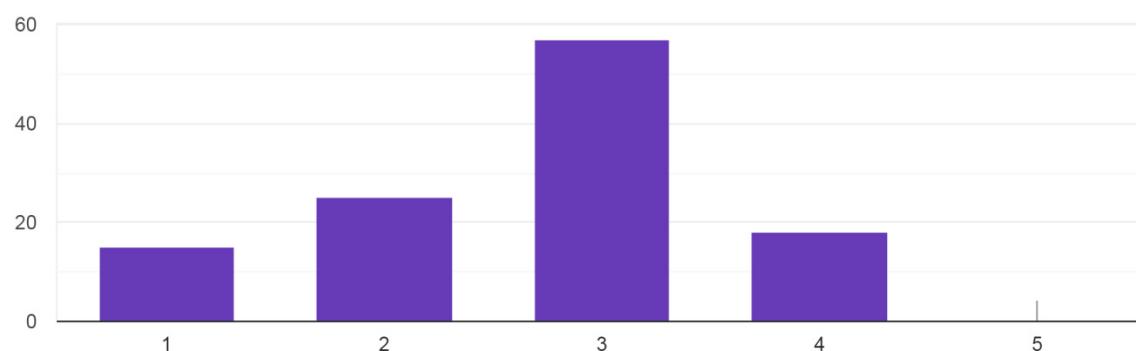


Chart no. 2: Distribution of answers on question no. 9 (chart copied from Google form)

9. In your opinion, what is the position of women in local community? (Opt for one of the offered answers on a scale from 1 - very bad, to 5 - excellent)

115 answers



Additional insights into the perception were derived from the respondent's answers with reference to the position of women in more concrete fields on local levels. Protection against domestic violence, participation in political life and in decision-making was rated the worst, while the field of education, as well as the level and availability of health care, received the highest score (Table no. 2). According to other researches, education is also the field in which the gender gap is least pronounced (Hughson, 2006; Popov-Momčinović, 2019), but what is specific to the local level is low perception of participation in political life. On the state level, the gap is smaller mainly because of the relative presence and visibility of women on higher levels of authorities (for example in state and entities' parliaments, etc.), while the situation is much worse when observing a local level. Women activists we spoke with, both about this research and other researches, are highlighting the importance of focusing exactly on the local level, considering that more than 70% of the needs and rights and freedoms of citizens are met on this very level. The worst assessments concern protection from domestic violence, although, as interviews and other analyses indicate, there are some changes. This can be interpreted as the presence of awareness of the domestic violence problem present within the general population, as already described in the mentioned researches, so the shortcomings in this field are more recognizable. On the other hand, it is important to stress out that local communities mostly have signed protocols related to domestic violence, but almost none adopted the Strategic Plan for the Prevention of Violence Against Women and Girls (Miftari, 2017, p. 4).

In your opinion, what is the position of women in your local community in following areas on a scale from 1 - very bad, to 5 - excellent	Very bad	Bad	Good	Very good	Excellent	I can't determine	Average score ¹
Participation in political life and decision making	47	42	18	6	1	2	1.9
Level and availability of health care	16	42	28	21	6	3	2.6
Social protection	33	38	26	14	2	3	2.2
Education	11	27	38	28	9	3	3
Civil society	15	43	35	16	2	5	2.5
Protection from domestic violence	48	43	18	3	3	1	1.9
Incentives for female entrepreneurship	38	41	25	7	1	4	2.0
Free legal aid	46	36	18	7	6	3	2.0
Organizing and meeting cultural needs	34	44	25	8	4	1	2.2
Organizing sports activities	38	40	27	3	5	3	2.1

Table no. 2: Distribution of answers to questions in *your opinion, what is the position of women in mentioned areas and the average score (rate)*

However, it is important to point out some local differences since the sample included different communities that have certain similarities and differences. Therefore, the results should be taken with some reservations, given that although the general sample represents almost all relevant categories of women, there are discrepancies at the local level with regard to the number of responses and the level of representation of certain categories of women. What is common for all researched communities is the highest score for the field of education and participation in political life, protection against domestic violence and decision-making process are rated with the lowest score. The exception, when talking about domestic violence, is Srebrenica, where other fields have been rated with lower ranks than this, but here we are talking about negligible differences.

¹ The average rates given in the table represent the arithmetic means.

	Bratunac	Milići	Srebrenica	Tuzla	Gračanica	Srebrenik
The position of women in BIH	2.5	3	2.9	2.5	2.7	2.4
The position of women in the local community	2.5	3.3	2.4	2.5	2.8	2.3
Participation in political life and decision making	2.2	2.3	1.9	1.8	1.7	1.5
Level and availability of health care	2.4	2.9	3.3	2.3	2.5	2.6
Social protection	2.1	2.7	2.7	1.9	2	2.2
Education	3.3	3.1	3.5	2.9	2.4	3
Civil society	2.8	2.8	2.4	2.7	2.1	2.3
Protection from domestic violence	1.8	2.4	2.6	1.7	1.5	1.7
Incentives for female entrepreneurship	2.5	2.5	2	1.7	1.9	1.5
Free legal aid	2.6	2.7	2	1.7	1.7	1.4
Organizing and meeting cultural needs	2.6	2.4	2.3	1.9	2.2	1.7
Organizing sports activities	2.3	2.1	2.2	2	2.4	1.7

Table no. 3: Distribution of answers and average score (rate) by local communities.

The important component of this problem is, to call it like that, the commitment of local authorities to gender equality. In our research, the average score was 2.5 (on a scale from 1 to 5). But, when we analyse other survey responses that are related to gender equality commissions and strategic action plans, what becomes obvious is the lack of knowledge about these bodies and mechanisms.

Namely, even 46% of respondents state that such or similar commissions do not exist in their local community, or if there is, then they are not familiar with its activities (25% respondents). Furthermore, 20% of respondents are of the opinion that such a commission does exist but is inefficient, whilst only 5 respondents stated that the commission actively works on

the improvement of the position of women in the local community. Total 6 respondents have written their answers and those can be summarized in the description that these respondents are not sure whether such a commission exists at all (Chart no. 3).

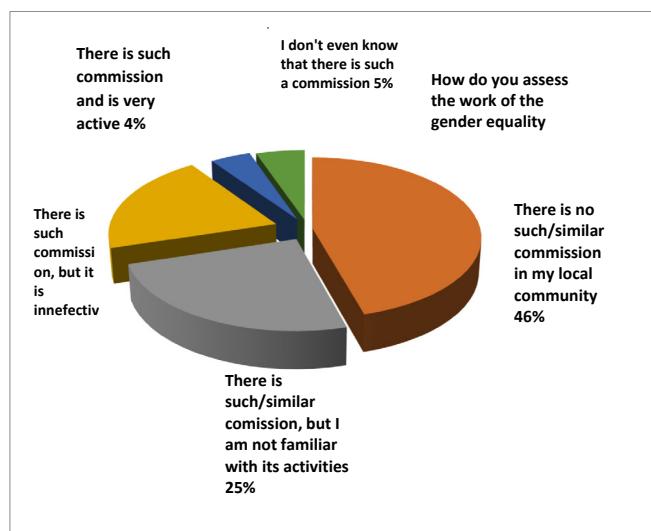


Chart no.3: Distribution of answers to a question *How do you rate the work of gender equality commissions*

It is obvious that there is a problem of poor efficiency and almost no visibility of these commissions, in addition to the respondents' ignorance of gender equality mechanisms. In favour to this statement are findings of one of the researches in which partial knowledge of the work of the Agency for Gender Equality at the state level, i.e. gender centres at the entity level, was noticed, although they are quite active and relatively effective and, therefore, the work of the agency at the state level is more recognized, despite the large number of respondents who are not familiar with the work of agency (Domić Vugec, Pavić-Rogišić, 2015, p. 9). This also speaks in favour of insufficient knowledge and lack of awareness among the female population.

The question related to gender action plans and local strategies was one of the open types, and the analysis of responses indicates that a large number of respondents is not familiar with the term 'gender action plans'.

This statement can be illustrated by some of their responses:

"Very bad, i.e. I think that there is no strategy "

"Established was an association of women who are implementing a whole lot of activities... But as far as I know, there are no any strategies or action plans".

"Women are trying to be useful by distributing masks and through education."

"I believe that women can contribute the general progress, but they can hardly come to the fore".

In a large number of cases, respondents were answering with: "very bad", "bad", "it could be much better", "medium", but from all these responses it cannot be concluded that there is enough knowledge, and some respondents even said that they are not familiar with what was in the question saying for example: "There are no any action plans for women, not that I know".

More detailed responses were received in six cases and they highlight problems related to both adoption and implementation of gender action plans on local levels, for example:

“The Action Plan expired two years ago but, despite our initiative and the Initiative of the Commission for Gender Equality, nothing has been done so far. The action plan that expired was very bad and did not represent important issues for women in our city. Also, a report on its results was never presented and adopted.”

“The new GAP was never adopted and there is no analysis or information on the previous Plan. They just act to fulfil the form, but there are never any responses from the local community with reference to any of the issues from the GAP.”

“The fact that GAP expired 3 years ago speaks for itself and as far as I know the new Plan has never been considered or drafted. The previous GAP treated only work of folklore and artistic societies and sports clubs.”

Based on some of the research data, we can talk about the large gap that exists between higher and lower levels of authorities. The interviewed activist states:

“As far as the RS government is concerned, we are following it, the results are fantastic, but they have an advantage over the local level and that is the continuity in their work [cf. Entity gender centres]. So, they submit to every lady-minister whatever needs to be fixed, and that’s how it goes. And in addition to this, there are five ministries of forestry, justice, local self-governance etc. which actively work on gender issues, but when it comes down to local level, we don’t achieve any results”².

Other similar researches also point out the importance of the combined approach “from the bottom up” and “from top to bottom” with the aim of improvement of the position of women. However, certain modalities of networking still exist considering the fact that an earlier Report from the Republika Srpska Government Gender Centre names some of the municipalities which are part of this analysis, as a good example of collaboration and as municipalities who have requested support from the Gender Centre (Milinović, Krunić, 2011, p. 30). On the other hand, since the mentioned report says that a large number of initiatives comes from non-governmental sector, i.e. from prominent individuals who care for gender equality, it remains unclear how much, in fact, this is about linking the local level commissions themselves with Entity Gender Centre.

4.4. Gender Equality Commissions and Action Plans

Basic problem of some commissions on local level is their passiveness and therefore, ultimately, it seems that the establishment of gender equality commissions, although extremely important, has been reduced to a mere formality. Taking into consideration results from other researches, it can be concluded that it is necessary for commissions to meet on a regular basis, to continuously monitor the situation of gender equality in their local communities, to initiate and implement concrete activities and finally to submit reports on their work (Ždralović, Popov-Momčinović and Hrnjić-Kuduzović, 2018, p. 60, 75). Yet, in order to achieve such results, some prerequisites need to be met, two of which stand out. The first concerns the motivation of the members of the commission, which still partly coincides with the problems of the workload

² Interview with activists from Bratunac, conducted via zoom on August 27, 2020.

of individual members of the commission, the amount of compensation they receive (or do not receive at all) for working in these commissions and personal commitment to gender equality.

The second concerns the competencies, knowledge and skills of the members of the commission given the complex scope of work. A 2009 research pointed to an almost alarming situation when it comes to commissions at the local level, in which many members lack basic knowledge in the field of gender equality and do not understand the way in which this issue is related to local self-government and the work of commissions (OSCE, 2009, p. 80). Recent analyses also indicate that many appointed members do not have sufficient knowledge or they have misconceptions about gender equality, most often as something that is only in the interest of women (Savičić, 2016, p. 21). In general, the obligation of gender equality commissions is to implement the Laws and Standards on Gender Equality of Bosnia and Herzegovina at the local level.

The role of these commissions in the implementation of activities has been one of the main focuses of gender action plans of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Duties of gender equality commissions were also defined by the Framework Strategy for the Implementation of the Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where it is stated that these institutions have, among other things, “a mandate for gender mainstreaming and the creation of gender-sensitive policies as a starting point for preventing discrimination and gender-based violence.” The same document further states that in this sense, “gender institutional mechanisms have taken an active role in giving opinions on government acts on their compliance with the BIH Law on Gender Equality and proposing special policies aimed at improving the position of women in BIH society.” (Framework strategy for the implementation of the Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence in BIH for the period 2015-2018, p. 12).

Bearing in mind some of the above roles, members of local level commissions should have a high degree of sensitivity to gender issues, but also knowledge and skills in the field of gender equality. This observation was also confirmed through interviews performed during this research with members of gender equality commissions at the local level. Thus, one member of the commission at the local level states that after being appointed to the Commission, he/she took “brochures and other materials” to be ready to perform his/her tasks. However, he/she further states that they did not have “any specific tasks” and the Commission did not meet because “there was no need”. From this interview, as well as from other interviews, it was clearly confirmed that the members of the commissions generally do not know what their scope of work is, and given the existing level of knowledge and skills, they are not able to propose and take actions on their own initiative.

The importance and role of the Agency for Gender Equality of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Entity Gender Centres is imposed in the context of the need to instruct commissions at the local level, but also in the context of the implementation of continuous and well-designed programs for (additional) education of members. Yet, it is necessary to take into consideration the financial and human resources of these institutions, as well as the expediency of the continuity of such potential educations, considering frequent changes within the composition of commissions on local levels. Activists interviewed during this research noted that the positive examples of gender equality commissions that stand out for the number and quality of their activities, mainly on the basis of individual merit of one individual who has continuity in

working on gender equality issues. From this, it can be concluded that, due to the positive effects and continuity of the activities of the commissions at the local level, it could be useful if their work included permanent members, experts, and not as representatives of political parties in the municipal council/municipal assembly. The observations made in the Fourth and Fifth Periodic CEDAW Periodic Report of Bosnia and Herzegovina from May 2011 are approximately similar. This report states that the big problem in the functioning of commissions on the local level “are changes in terms of personnel structure after municipal elections every four years”, and the further strengthening of municipal and local commissions is necessary, so that they can implement activities stemming from their mandates “(2011, p. 6). Based on the review of this report from 2011 and the discussions on the experiences of activists conducted in 2020, we conclude that the permanent members of the commission at the municipal level with expertise in the field of gender equality would significantly affect the quality and continuity in the work of these commissions.

This would also have a positive effect on the development of local gender action plans. What is frustrating, though, is the fact that such a request has been made continuously for many years in the past. As a result, we have the example in the municipality of Bratunac where, after exhaustive lobbying, 2 members from the previous convocation joined the commission in 2009. However, after the local elections in 2012, the Commission for Gender Equality in Bratunac was formed only in 2013 and its composition was completely changed (Atlić-Smajlović, 2013, p. 12). Activists from Tuzla also point out the importance of continuity when it comes to members of the commission:

„For example, there is much better cooperation with the commission at the cantonal level because Azra was the president of the municipal commission in the previous term and after recognizing our work, she invited us immediately to the first meeting of the cantonal council aiming to establish and develop good cooperation with us for the future period, which, to be honest, opened a lot of different doors for other activities [...]. Azra Okić, who performed and had completed all these tasks and gained lots of knowledge about this topic, is now the one who is doing it quite efficiently and sharply, which makes our work much easier. They expect further cooperation and we plan to start the campaign for women in September. We have received written official confirmation that they also want to participate in the campaign, which means that everything was not just an empty talk “³.

That gender equality is not in the focus of local communities is reflected in the fact that no compensation is received for working in these commissions. Insight into some of the available local budgets shows that per diems are paid for commission meetings, but it is not specified for which. Based on some other research and interviews, we can conclude that these are not commissions for gender equality, which is completely demotivating for greater engagement within these commissions.

In all, i.e. in most local communities, gender equality commissions are inactive or barely active⁴, or in case they are more active (e.g. in Tuzla) there is a big gap between the activities of the City and the Cantonal Commission for Gender Equality. The Cantonal Commission is

³ Interview with activists from Tuzla, conducted via Skype on August 10, 2020.

⁴ The general inactivity of the commissions for gender equality at the local level is also indicated by the information stated in the Orange Report from November 2019 (p. 18). However, according to the number of sessions of the commissions responsible for gender equality at the cantonal level, the Tuzla Canton Commission can be singled out as generally more active (p. 19).

perceived as far more active and cooperative, especially when it comes to cooperation with women's associations. However, the period of the COVID-19 pandemic postponed many of the planned activities, which also speaks in favour of a fragmentary approach to gender equality.

Some local action plans in Bosnia and Herzegovina have already been developed, and their implementation cycles have already been completed.⁵ The observation made in the first phase of the desk research, and later confirmed through the observations of the interlocutors during in-depth interviews, is that it is not possible to offer an analysis of the implemented local plans. In general, the development of local action plans has been perceived by some local communities as a mere formality and therefore mechanisms of monitoring and evaluation of local action plans have not been established. As a result, after the completed cycle of implementation, there are no final reports. As commented by the interviewed activists:

„Well, to some extent, something was done, but it was nothing in line with the action plan. In order to work in accordance with the plan, it is necessary to plan some funds in the budget, and then put it all to be part of a strategy and to have some flow. It was all ad hoc [...] not a single document has been made so that monitoring can be done, but we only have some segments“⁶.

Therefore, for the benefit of future action plans it would be of great importance to establish some monitoring and evaluation mechanisms. For example, the obligation of the commission to report periodically and publish activity reports on their web-pages and submit the final report, so this obligation should be clearly defined. Moreover, it would be recommendable for commissions to offer some explanation in cases where there were no activities and to describe the reason or obstacles for the implementation of activities, so that such obstacles could be removed in the future. We are also referred to this conclusion based on the survey results which showed a significant ignorance about the existence of commissions (with 46% respondents), i.e. great unfamiliarity with their work in case it is known that they exist (in 25% of respondents). Also, the information we obtained from interviews with members of commissions was more than indicative. A large number of contacted members alleged that the commission did not meet, i.e. that they met only once during the constitution and appointment of the president of the commission.

In two interviews it was alleged that they were not able to give a precise answer, because they could not recall if the commission had met, and the reason for the uncertainty of the answer was a maternity leave of interviewed commission members, so they referred us to ask other members of the commission. In one of the interviews, it was explained in details that the commission had been meeting regarding the organization of educational workshops in schools on the topic of the promotion of gender-equality and also in the case of domestic violence, assisting in placing a woman – victim of violence – to the safe house. This last example also points to an ad hoc approach to gender equality at the local level, most often when extreme cases of domestic violence occur.

⁵ However, it should be mentioned that the Sarajevo Open Center and the Gender Center of FBiH, in an Open Letter dated 21 September 2020, called on “cantons, cities and municipalities to adopt cantonal and local gender action plans in accordance with the BiH Gender Action Plan and accompanying operational plans, and to include a gender perspective in the development of all policies, programs and measures and implement the Law on Gender Equality and Gender Action Plan of BiH“. In the letter, they also offered expert support for plans development.

⁶ Interview with activists from Bratunac, conducted via zoom on August 27, 2020.

Although from this interview it is difficult to precisely assess described cooperation with educational institutions, we still assume that here we have single instead of long-term initiatives which would be a constituent part of clearly defined strategies.

Based on the important role of local levels, as defined in the Gender Action Plan of BIH, even in those local communities in which action plans have not been developed, commissions can be asked to submit periodical reports on activities undertaken with the aim of the promotion and improvement gender equality in local communities. This way would certainly provide better insight into implemented activities and also about the expediency of commissions. In situations where there are no activities, explanations that would include the reasons for the passiveness of commissions would ultimately offer a more complete picture, and perhaps this obligation itself would motivate the commissions or at least some members to initiate at least some activities.

It has already been pointed out that for some implemented local action plans, it is not possible to make an evaluation of activities. For example, the Municipality of Tuzla had a Gender Action Plan covering the period 2013-2016. Aida Malkić and Emina Bošnjak in their study *The Position, Inclusion and Rights of Women Belonging to Minority and Marginalized Groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina* from 2019, state that the new Action Plan for 2020-2022 “is currently being drafted, and according to that plan, in addition to city councilpersons and representatives of relevant institutions, representatives of marginalized social groups will also be included” (p. 44). In the same research, it is stated that the City Council emphasizes the support of the LGBTI community in Tuzla, emphasizing their unique support to this marginalized group by supporting the “Merlinka” festival and the inclusion of this group in working groups for the development of the Youth Strategy 2017-2026 adopted by City Council in August 2017, as many other projects and programs” (Malkić and Bošnjak, 2019, pp. 44-45).

The information on the implementation of the Action Plan for Gender Equality of the Municipality of Tuzla 2013-2016 was submitted to the Tuzla City Council two years later and is also available in the Transcript from the 18th session of the Tuzla City Council⁷. However, from the information (given two years after the end of the implementation cycle), it was not possible to provide more specific observations on the implementation of the action plan. Although the initiative has been launched and the drafting of a new GAP in this local community has begun, and activists and researchers justifiably have high expectations of it, due to the COVID-19 pandemic gender equality issues have been temporarily suspended, and the adoption of the new GAP in this local community did not occur in the first half of 2020.

Although the process has been (unjustifiably) slowed down, the findings of our research point to the positive experiences of women activists in so far cooperation with municipal authorities, and to the recognition of the importance of women’s associations in this local community. Also, from the Minutes from the 31st session of the Commission for Gender Equality of the City Council of the City of Tuzla, held in May 2019, it is evident that a meeting of the Commission with the association “HO HORIZONTI” was held, and the purpose of the meeting was to improve mutual cooperation and find measures to establish effective mechanisms in the fight for gender equality at the level of BIH.” The minutes contain conclusions not only in principle on their further cooperation, but also concrete conclusions on joint “pressure” on the City Council to “adopt” the new local gender action plan as soon as possible and request that significant funds be allocated in the next budget year, both in the budget of the City of Tuzla and in the budget of Tuzla Canton, concerning the local gender action plan.

⁷ Available at: <http://grad.tuzla.ba/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/stenogram-18-GVT-12-04-2018.pdf>

Based on the available information published on official website⁸, it is noticed that TK Gender Equality Commission has numerous activities. Based on available information, it can be concluded that sessions of the Commission are being held on regular basis, discussing current issues, proposing various initiatives to the Assembly accordingly. It is also noticeable that the work of the Gender Equality Commission of the Assembly has significantly intensified. For example, according to the information on the implementation of TK Assembly programme agenda for the period January – December 2019, three sessions of the Gender Equality Commission have been held in 2019. In 2020, the sessions of the Commission will be held almost every month (Jan. 21, 2020; Feb. 26, 2020; Apr. 29, 2020; May 13, 2020; June 16, 2020 and July 24, 2020). Available information points out the existence of the collaboration between the Commission and women's association – Association Vive Žene Tuzla and Association HO Horizonti. At the session in July 2020, an initiative was supposed to be launched for the development of the Annual Operational and Financial Plan for the implementation of the Gender Action Plan in Tuzla Canton for the period from 2018 to 2022.

In some local communities, gender equality commissions did not have any activities. Such is, for example, the situation in the municipalities of Bratunac and Srebrenica, but in some others as well. In some communities, according to the findings of this research, quite modest activities were implemented, such as in the municipality of Milići, where the Commission held three meetings during this term. The Commission for the Code of Ethics, Gender Equality, Human Rights and Freedoms, Petitions and Complaints of Gračanica, since its appointment (December 2016) held “a total of 35 sessions, and during 2020 the Commission held 4 sessions” (City of Gračanica, p. 5). However, we believe that it would be better to have a separate Commission for Gender Equality because the area of activity⁹ of the existing commission has been significantly increased. Even in the existing name, if that name remains the same, the term ‘rights of a man’ should be replaced by the term ‘human rights’.

Also, it can be noticed that the principles of gender equality are not generally incorporated in the documents of local communities and that gender-responsible language is not used. The exclusive use of the masculine gender and the omission of women clearly reflect hierarchical relationships. The use of only one grammatical gender as a generic term displays discrimination in language. It should be reminded that the Law on Gender Equality states that “discrimination in language exists when only one grammatical gender is used as a generic term” (Article 9). Such practices of discrimination are not inherent solely to lower levels of authorities.

⁸ Information available at <https://www.skupstina.tk.gov.ba/>.

⁹ More about the activities of the Commission for the Code of Ethics, Gender Equality, Human Rights and Freedoms, petitions and complaints of the City Council of Gračanica, see: Report on the work of the City Council and Permanent Bodies from 1 Jan. 2019. (City of Gračanica, 2020).

5. SELECTED PROBLEMS

5.1. Political Participation of Women

The absence of women from political life in BiH was confirmed by numerous researches and studies. Adequate representation of women in city and municipal councils exist neither at the local level nor at other levels of authorities. According to the BiH Agency for Statistics, in 2016, 6 mayoresses were elected (five in the RS and only one in the FBIH), in the municipalities of Eastern Drvar, Jezero, Kalinovik, Mrkonjić Grad, Novo Goražde and Visoko, which is one mayoress more than in 2012 (2018, p. 97). In the Gender Action Plan of BiH for the period from 2018 to 2022, the data on only six elected women (4.3%) in relation to the five (3.6%) elected in 2012, is recognized as an important fact, given that the number of candidates for mayoral positions was actually reduced from 39 in 2012 to 26 in 2016 (p. 19). All mayors in BiH are men, and in municipal/city councils and assemblies of municipalities/cities in BiH, “every fifth term is won by women”¹⁰ (BiH Agency for Statistics, 2018, pp.97-98). There is a slight increase in women’s participation compared to the 2012 local elections, as the share of women in the composition of councils/assemblies increased from 17.1% to 18.34% of women (Final Report on the Implementation of the Action Plan for the Implementation of the UN Resolution 1325 in BiH 2014-2017, p. 8). This slow pace when it comes to a greater presence of women in local government indicates that women’s equality, when it comes to political participation at the local level, could only be achieved in 2060 (Tadić, Andđelković and Vrbaški, 2018, p. 10).

Research indicates low political participation and an underdeveloped political culture among the population. On the other hand, there is a kind of paradox, given that research confirms that smaller local communities are exposed to even greater politicization of everyday life. (Žarković, 2017, p. 17). The paradox for some of the surveyed communities is reflected in the fact that on the one hand, there is an intense negligence of higher levels of government (at the state and entity levels) for these environments, while on the other hand messages of divisions and ethnic tensions, which almost regularly arrive “from the top” have an even more negative effect on them given the recent war past and trauma (Ždralović, Popov-Momčinović, 2019, p. 29-30). This negative effect is reflected in almost all local communities, given that dysfunction and tensions from the top create an unfavourable institutional and any other framework for the improvement of the position of marginalized groups. (Ždralović, Popov-Momčinović, 2019, p. 30).

CEDAW reports, overshadowed by women’s NGOs, indicate that political parties are major obstacles to women’s equal participation in political life. Activists observed that especially at the local level and in smaller communities, the ideological sign of the party is almost irrelevant when it comes to the attitude towards gender equality. The exception mentioned is *Naša stranka*, which has committed itself to quotas of 50% and has, for example, the female holder of the list for the local elections 2020 in Gračanica. But in a general sense, political parties have a superficial and we can say manipulative approach when it comes to the position and participation of women in party life, especially in the election period:

“It’s all formal because most of them when we talk, say: they told me they were going to include me [on the list] and that’s how they talk to women. You will be on the list, they say,

10 Women were elected to 566 out of a total of 3,144 council / assembly seats (Gender Action Plan of BiH for the period from 2018 to 2022, p. 17).

*but only because she collects votes through her acquaintances, friends, but those votes will not affect anything much, because the party decides who will represent it and not the one who got the majority of votes, especially if it is a woman. It is only a formality that there are so many women on the lists, and that is where the gender equality ends [...] They talk to a woman, for example and say: we will put you on the list, but don't expect much from it, but you are a resource for the future ... but you try to collect as many votes as possible from your people, you know, that the party profits, that's all that.*¹¹

On general population sample, researches show an interesting trend when it comes to distinctions in political participation of women and men in political parties. Engagement in the form of memberships in political parties is highest with younger women which, as it is stated, is connected with numerous obstacles that women face in the public sphere and in life in general, and which they are trying to overcome through party patronage (Babović et al, 2016, p. 32). In their middle age, party engagement among women decreases sharply, which is related to the patriarchal structure of family and other spheres of life. With reference to all this and everything that was said previously about the manipulation of political parties when appointing women on election lists and positions in parties, the fact that younger and politically less experienced women are much more willing to be engaged also provides an opportunity for easier manipulation with 40% quota defined by the Election Law.

According to the information available on the web page of Tuzla Canton (TK) Assembly, women constitute 37,1% of TK Assembly¹² convocation. According to information available on the web page of the Government of Tuzla Canton¹³ the prime minister of TK is a man. Out of 12 ministries, only two ministries are headed by women (Ministry of Education and Science of Tuzla Canton and Ministry of Health of Tuzla Canton). The functions of mayors in Tuzla, Srebrenik and Gračanica are held by men. The share of women in the Tuzla City Council is 35.5%.¹⁴ In the City Council of Srebrenik, the share of women is 13.8%.¹⁵ The share of women in the City Council of Gračanica is 6.7%.¹⁶

The President, Vice President and Secretary of the Municipal Assembly of Milići are men, and out of 19 councilpersons, only two are women.¹⁷ In the Municipality of Bratunac, the function of the secretary of the municipality is performed by a woman, while out of 25 councilpersons, 4 are women.¹⁸ There is only one female councilperson in the Municipal Assembly of Srebrenica.¹⁹

An illustrative situation in Srebrenik is described by one respondent in a study by Tatjana Žarković:

11 Interview with activists from Tuzla, conducted via Skype on August 10, 2020.

12 „Representatives of the IX convocation of the Assembly of TK 2018-2020“, Available at: <https://www.skupstina.tk.gov.ba/poslanici-2018-2022>

13 <http://www.vladatki.kim.ba/>

14 The list of councillors of City Council 2016-2020 available at: http://grad.tuzla.ba/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/SPISAK-VIJE%C4%86NIKA-E-ADRESE_21_04_2020.pdf.

15 The list of councillors available at: <https://www.srebrenik.ba/opcinsko-vijece-2/opcinsko-vijece/opcinski-vijecnici>

16 The list available at: <https://gracanica.gov.ba/vijecnici/>

17 Info retrieved from Milići municipality website: <https://www.opstinalilici.org/index.php/skupstina/odbornici>.

18 Info retrieved from Bratunac municipality website: <https://www.opstinalilici.org/index.php/skupstina/odbornici>

19 Information retrieved from: <https://www.opstinalilici.org/index.php/skupstina/odbornici>.

“Our local community treats women differently than men. They are in the margins, pushed aside. All key positions in state institutions, but also in private companies, are held by men and only men come into consideration. Men are treated with greater respect in comparison to women, even if they are of the same profession, very often even despite the fact that women perform their tasks with more quality and better efficiency.”(according to Žarković, 2017, p. 39).

The absence of women from BIH political life (particularly evident on local level) is a consequence of inconsistency of BIH Election Law and BIHGEL:

“Every list of candidates must have equally represented men and women. Gender equality exists in cases when one gender is represented with a minimum of 40% out of the total number of candidates on lists. Candidates of the underrepresented gender are distributed on the candidate list as follows: at least one candidate of the underrepresented gender among the first two candidates, two candidates of the underrepresented gender among the first five candidates and three candidates of the underrepresented gender among the first eight candidates, etc.” (BIH Election Law, Article 4.19, paragraph 3).

“(1) State bodies at all levels of government, as well as local self-government bodies, including legislative, executive and judicial authorities, political parties, legal entities with public authority, legal entities owned or controlled by the state, entity, canton, city or municipality, or those legal entities controlled by public bodies, will ensure and promote gender equality in governance, decision-making and representation. This obligation also exists for all authorized proponents when electing representatives and delegations in international organizations and bodies.

(2) Equal gender representation exists in the case when one of the genders is represented by at least 40% in the bodies referred to in paragraph (1) of this Article.

(3) Gender discrimination is considered a situation when there is no equal representation referred to in paragraph (2) of this Article.

(4) The bodies referred to in paragraph (1) of this Article, to achieve equal gender representation and eliminate discrimination, shall adopt special measures prescribed by Article 8 of this Law. “(Article 20, GEL BIH, Article 20).

The quota of 40% in GEL BIH, refers to the actual representation of women in bodies at all levels of government, while the quota of 40% from the Election Law of BIH refers to the representation on the candidate lists. Finally, actual representation depends on the choices of citizens who are socio-culturally defined. In spite of the existing unfavourable circumstances, women's associations in local communities are largely working to remove these socio-cultural barriers. Nevertheless, local authorities still need to work more actively to promote gender equality in their communities. As pointed out by activist Danka Zelic, who is familiar with the position of women in almost all rural areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina: “The quota can officially be 40%, but in the countryside, the quota size is as much as the owner of the house says” (Durkalić, 2017).

An insight into the official websites of the targeted local communities covered by this research shows the underrepresentation of women in the decision-making sphere. This was also confirmed in the conducted survey, where on a scale from 1- Very bad to 5 - excellent, the average score obtained was only 1.87.

As already pointed out, the underrepresentation of women is evidenced by the fact that there are no women in mayoral/mayoress or deputy mayoral/deputy mayoresses positions that represent the executive authorities at the local level. What is visible is the pronounced underrepresentation of women in municipal assemblies. The presence of women in public services at the local level and management positions varies from one local community to another.

Insight into some media content for the Birač region, within the section ‘Conversation with Councilpersons’, we see that the interviewed women mostly follow the party line and do not talk about the position of women, and this is due to the fact that women are mostly elected (if elected at all) because of the obligations arising from the Election Law on one hand and party loyalty on the other. This phenomenon is reflected in the fact that local authorities are very little committed to gender equality, which, in turn, greatly affects the opportunities for greater participation of women and their greater involvement when it comes to gender equality. The main obstacles for greater involvement of women in political life lies exactly on local levels, from where the political career starts (Tadić, Andelković, Vrbaški, 2018, p.9). This is confirmed by the results of the survey, where the average score when it comes to the commitment of the local government to gender equality was 2.43. The specificity of the analysed local communities is that one and the same person maintains the position of mayor for many years and in several terms. In some cases, activists turned this into their advantage in cases when they managed to establish regular and continuous communication which was, then, easy to maintain with the same people. A woman – activist from Gračanica says that Gračanica’s first menwhen talking about the visibility of women, obliged himselfto promote „products of our women”. But the problem is the fact that in the area of the entire BIH men almost completely dominate on mayors’ positions and they communicate only through certain networks:

“There is this alliance of municipalities and cities and they ask each other if anyone of them has done anything? When they conclude that nobody had done anything then they think: then why should I[...]”

From the answers of politically active women who filled out the survey questionnaire, we get some more important insights. It should be emphasized that a large number of women who answered the survey questionnaire do not perform or have not performed any political function (81% of them), while 8.7% stated that they still perform and 10.4% that they once performed some political functions. When talking about previous or present functions maintained by women, we are mostly talking about members of the municipal assembly or city council, cantonal assembly, women-presidents and women-vice-presidents of societies of women, women-ministers at the cantonal level, and members of the party presidency, and one respondent mentioned two functions: she is a member of the Tuzla Canton Assembly and a delegate in the House of Peoples of FBIH.

What is interesting to point out is that respondents who have maintained, or still maintain some political function assessed as negative almost all fields related to the position of women (total of eight), while three fields have been rated completely the same, while an identical score was obtained for the three fields. It should be emphasized that these are not big differences. This indicates that women who perform and who have performed political functions do not deviate from cross-sectional perceptions regarding the position of women. What is interesting is that they assessed the participation of women in political life and decision-making somewhat more negatively than the average and that the general assessment of the position at the local level is slightly lower than the assessment of the entire sample. The situation is the same as in the fields

of health and social protection, education, satisfaction of cultural needs (Table no. 4.).

	Women who hold or have previously held a political office	Women who have never held a political office
Assessment of the position of women in BIH	2.7	2.7
Assessment of the position of women in the local community	2.4	2.7
Assessment of women's participation in political life and local decision-making	1.7	1.9
Availability of health care	2.5	2.6
Social protection	2.1	2.3
Education	2.9	3
Civil society	2.5	2.5
Protection from domestic violence	1.9	1.9
Incentives for female entrepreneurship	2	2
Free legal aid	2	2
Organizing and meeting cultural needs	2.1	2.2
Organizing sports activities	2	2.1

Table no. 4: Average scores (values) on the position of women in different areas given by respondents who hold or have held a political office and those who have never held a political office

Due to this underrepresentation and the fact that the daily life of women at the level of local communities, especially in smaller ones, carries characteristic challenges, activists pay special attention to the mechanisms that exist locally and try to use existing legal frameworks that allow direct participation of citizens such as local communities. With their engagement, they contributed to a greater presence of women at this level, and it was possible to use, for example, the space of local communities that were empty and locked for their own activities. They stated that when organizing various activities related to the education of women in the countryside, they encountered numerous obstacles and obstacles in their work, such as locking the premises of local communities when they need to hold some of their activities. The activist from Gračanica stated that they had achieved that there is an active group of women in every local community. Activists from Bratunac state it as a success

“[...] harmonization of the election of local community councils [...] now it means that in local communities there can be representatives of citizens' associations and representatives, informal groups of citizens, not only local political parties, which is progress”.

Based on the available data, it is obvious that men continue to dominate the positions of presidents of local community councils in some of the surveyed municipalities. In both Bratunac and Milići, based on available data from the official website, there are seven men, and

no women in these positions. Activists from Tuzla also point out the importance of the presence of women at the level of local communities:

"Well, the fact is that in Tuzla only two local communities have women-presidents of the councils. There is no chance for something like that in other rural communities or other municipalities. That's just to start from the basics, the simplest. From there, from the very beginning, we do not have equality ... there is gender equality in the percentage of 40%, I don't know what 40% is when there are 51% of us, but ok, let's talk about 40%. And I think we should start talking about why 40%? Why not 50%? Because, if we are talking about initiative, how come it didn't last? How come we have it only on lists, and why it didn't start from local communities via the municipal council, cantonal... And, moreover, why has it not endured (initiative) with 40% women and on functions to be 40% so then let 40%. This is what we have always said that a government cannot be formed until there are 40% women."

The problems of women's under representation in political life are often compensated by activism in civil society. Through the civil society, women get empowered, networked and operate in different areas which are the focus of this research. Although civil society provides more space and freedom for activists to operate, it is often a field characterized by humanitarian work and similar, thus compensating for what was supposed to be tasks of state institutions (Popov-Momčinović, 2013, p. 178). From this research it is also noticeable how activists perform numerous humanitarian activities during pandemics, such as making and free distribution of masks, assistance to vulnerable categories and they do it as a continuation of similar activities from the period of crisis situations:

"During this pandemic, they [women] played a big role, as they did when there were floods and when they were building drainage machines for residential units. Now at the time of the pandemic, they were making masks and immediately jumped in to help, delivering food to the addresses, making special juices, everyone was getting free masks made by our women."

There are many jobs that should be done by employees who are employed for these duties, but as indicated in both previous and this research, activists often do the work of the Gender Equality Commission, as is the case in Bratunac.

When we talk about the range of women's self-organization and activism, the general problem is that the organizations in which they operate have different capacities, which depend on different factors, and one of those factors is whether it is an organization from an urban centre or from a smaller environment and thus further from the decision-making centres in which, in terms of space and location, foreign donors are located. But, as noted in one of earlier researches, "there are villages and smaller cities but with strong women's organizations, as well as small or inefficient organizations in urban centres." (Popov-Momčinović, 2020, p. 239).

In the context of our research, an example of a strong organization from a smaller community is the Women's Forum from Bratunac, which has been recognized as such by donors, the Gender Centre at the entity level and citizens. Also, given that in other local communities, which were also included in this analysis, there are no strong and profiled women's associations from the Birač region, activists from the Forum of Women from Bratunac (along with other women's organizations from Bratunac such as "Priroda" and "Jadar") take on numerous activities in these areas. In their work, they are facing different obstacles mostly because they are entering, as they say, "the territory of another local community" and some institutions

interpret it as interference. Activists from Forum of Women from Bratunac take over plenty of activities of the Gender Equality Commission itself and together with youth from Birač Region and through some of their activities they put all efforts to motivate the Youth Commission to start working in full capacity.

Despite numerous humanitarian and various research activities, they indicate (when it comes to the general sample of the BIH population) that citizens are poorly informed about the work of non-governmental organizations. (Puhalo, Vukojević, 2015, p. 167). Citizens still do not have the right perceptions about the importance and functions of civil society. However, these perceptions come out of the very structure of the non-governmental sector that operates on the principle of closed, concentric circles, which is also present in women's associations. (Helms, 2003). In this survey, the average score given to the civil society segment is 2.5 with slight variations from the local community (Table no. 3). There are, especially in smaller communities, cases of corruption and manipulation and various forms of party interference in the work of associations. One of the interviewed women activists described:

"We had one association and the brother of the president of the association [...] greatly supported a mayor and therefore they were receiving financial support in the annual amount of 50000 BAM, as an association of public importance [...] therefore, I have decided to have a women's society in every local community with the aim of social-economical uplifting with all of them possessing their individual values".

In the context of insufficient trust of citizens in the non-governmental sector, research in Bosnia and Herzegovina indicates the privilege of certain types of associations at the local level (such as veterans' associations and sport's, mostly men's associations) and the pronounced polarity between the donor and local legitimacy. Namely, donors are more in favour of organizations of human rights, including women's organizations, while at the local level such organizations are often perceived as alienated from the "real" needs of the community (Puljek-Shank, Verkoren, 2017, p. 192). This directly relates to the lack of awareness of the population that human rights are something very concrete and not something abstract, and also relates to the fact that, on a local level, far bigger support of authorities goes to so-called men's, veteran's associations, in terms of funds allocation. In that sense, the interviewed activists pointed out that the issue of funding and support for women's associations should be resolved at the local level in the long run:

"We are still fighting for that gender-sensitive budget in the municipalities because most of the money go to men's sports, to men's organizations, it is still not recognized that if it is common money, it should be spent half and half. These are all quite painful processes of making the male part of the audience aware as well that it is not all about them and that there are also women [...]"

In the communities examined here, ways of informal forms of networking through women's lobby groups have been observed, thus compensating for the lack of formal association and NGO approach, and creating links with women from political parties and other spheres of society, which is a significant alternative model that complements some restrictions of the NGO sector. Activities through such lobby groups enable networking with other local communities in which women's organizations do not have sufficiently built capacities that are indispensable to overcome the above-mentioned obstacles.

The pandemic period has slowed down a number of activities, especially those related to women's political participation. Some of the planned cooperation activities between women's NGOs, local authorities and commissions have been postponed. Also, it was pointed out as the problem that municipal assemblies and city councils stopped meeting or were meeting irregularly, so many activities were shifted to the so-called crisis headquarters. In this regard, in the questionnaire we have asked the question whether women are involved in the work of crisis headquarters at the local level, asked as an open-ended question: *If yes, please describe how.*

Are women involved in the work of crisis staff in your local community?

115 answers.

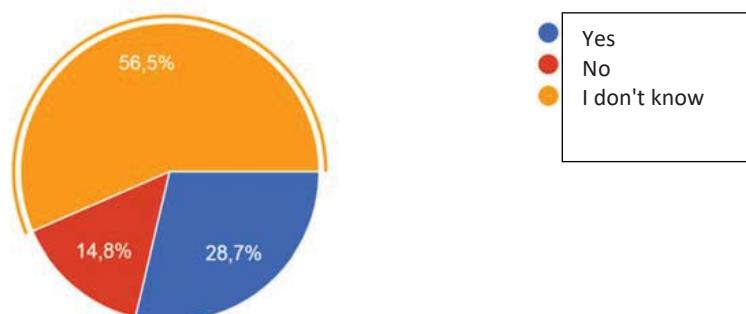


Chart :

single form)

A large number of respondents (as many as 56.5% of them) states that they do not know and 28.7% of respondents opted for the answer 'yes'. When we analyse the answers to the open-ended question, we can conclude that we are talking about the inclusion of women "by function", i.e. if they are in a position such as director of a hospital, a welfare centre, or a ministry of health, these women are automatically included in the work of crisis staffs. One response provided a relatively broad list of women involved in crisis staffs: "The Crisis Staff of the Municipality of Bratunac includes a number of women elected to be in the Crisis Staff (director of the Kindergarten, director of Welfare Centre, secretary of the Central Committee of Bratunac, head of the finance department, health inspector who is also a member of the lobby group of the Forum of Women Association, director of primary school, sanitary inspector and market inspector)". Five answers stated "volunteering", which is also indicative and what we can interpret in the sense that in times of crisis, women volunteer to help others in need, which is often expected of them in a patriarchal society.

5.2. About Gender Mainstreaming with Special Emphasis on Gender Responsive Budgeting

Gender mainstreaming (gendering, introduction/integration of gender perspective) is an approach that requires the inclusion of gender perspective in all programs and activities, as well as at all levels of decision-making, planning and implementation of activities in these areas. (Kadričić, 2019, p. 146; Antonijević, 2019, p. 275). “This is taken as a basic approach since the adoption of the Beijing Proclamation and has been accepted as a basic approach of the United Nation, Council of Europe and the European Union. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, gender mainstreaming is a basic approach in the achievement of the goal, which is a gender-equality, and stands as an obligation for all relevant governing institutions. This obligation was determined by Article 24 of the BIH Gender Equality Law and according to that all institutions, at all levels of government are obliged to actively work to meet a gender equality and to eliminate gender-based discrimination” (Kadričić, 2019, p. 146). Therefore, it is necessary to filtrate all initiatives and proposals of municipal and city councils through gender responsible perspective. Findings of this research, as well as the findings of previous researches, indicate a fundamental lack of understanding of the very concept of gender mainstreaming, which can be particularly observed in the segment of gender irresponsible budgeting.

A new situation, resulted from COVID – 19 pandemic and effects of the new crises, additionally confirm and highlight the need for the integration of the gender perspective in all programmes and activities at all levels (including local) and institutions of government and in all phases and segments of the society. This research produced a general impression that the issue of gender equality in the time of crises has been deleted from the agenda of a formal policy. On the other hand, it is exactly what these special gender-sensitive actions on reduction of the risk are an adequate response to the “new” crisis that additionally deepens existing social inequalities. The absence of special measures and forcing of the gender equality, comprehended as the equality that ignores different social and economic status of individuals and social groups, basically leads to multiple marginalized groups to remain unprotected.

In the survey conducted as a part of this research, respondents were asked questions about the influence of COVID – 19 pandemics on the position of women in their community and about some special resolutions and measures of that concern position/problems of women in crisis situations (Charts no.5 and 6):

11. How did the coronavirus pandemic affected the position of women in your local community?

115 answers

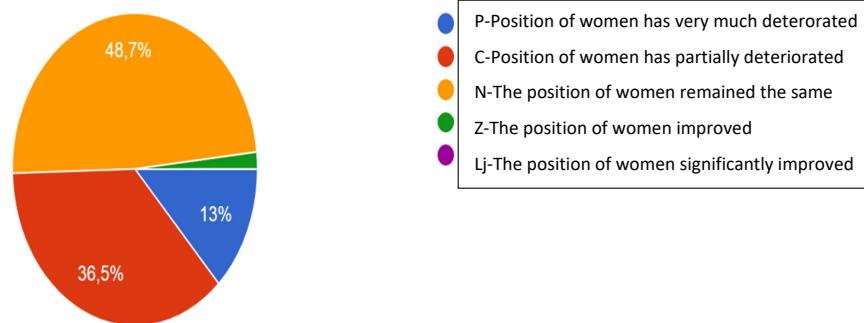


Chart no.5: Distribution of answers to a question no. 11 (chart copied from the google form).

15. During the coronavirus pandemic period in your local community, were there any special decisions and measures regarding the position/problems of women in crisis situations?

115 answers

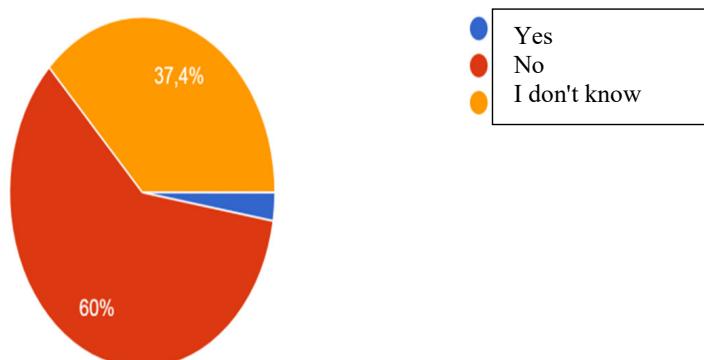


Chart no.6: Distribution of answers to question no. 15 (chart copied from google form)

As can be seen from the charts above, 13% of respondents believe that the position of women deteriorated very much and 36.5% that has partially deteriorated, which in total makes up almost 50% of the sample. A large number of respondent's state that the position of women has remained the same (48.7% of them) but official warnings should be borne in mind, that the pandemic will leave numerous negative consequences, not only at present, but also in a long term, and will impact not only economic situation, but will also make a huge impact on everyday living. Also, the distribution of answers to a question concerning specific measures is also significant, given that 60% of respondents answered that such measures have not been adopted, and a fairly large number of respondents (37.4%) do not know if it there were any special decisions and/or measures. Three respondents (2.6%) who gave a positive answer to this question listed the following measures:

“Co-financing of the project to help women whose material existence was affected by the COVID 19 pandemic. Increased allocations of funds for the work of the Safe House due to the increased number of domestic violence during the pandemic. Co-financing of projects focused on the empowerment of women. Allocation of single payments to persons who lost their jobs during pandemic. Implementation of the Care and Assistance in the Home for the Elderly project. The largest number of project beneficiaries are women.”

“Measures to protect mothers with small children.”

“Participation in the distribution of masks to citizens.”

It is necessary to remind that the Gender Equality Agency of BIH (GEL BIH) has warned since the beginning of the proclamation of the state of emergency that the competent authorities must take into account the effects of their activities on the state of gender equality when adopting and implementing measures in the fight against pandemics. After consultations with non-governmental organizations and based on the answers received, LFS BIH, MHRR BIH and the Coordination Committee for Monitoring the Implementation of the Action Plan for the Implementation of UN Resolution 1325 “Women, Peace and Security” in BIH, drafted

in late April *Recommendations for gender mainstreaming in the process of planning, decision-making and implementation of decisions, measures and plans in the fight against the COVID-19 pandemic*. The recommendations relate primarily to the areas of prevention and protection against gender-based violence, women's employment, women's economic status and equal representation of women in decision-making bodies. Our research shows that local authorities have not acted in accordance with these recommendations.

5.3. Violence against Women and Domestic Violence

The 2018 OSCE Survey on Violence against Women in BIH shows that 48% of women in BIH have experienced "some form of violence, including violence by an intimate partner, non-partner, stalking or sexual harassment, since their age of fifteen" (2019, p. iii). Nevertheless, it should be taken into account that the analysis of the obtained data drew attention, based on the findings of the qualitative part of the research, to the BIH socio-cultural context (2018, iv-v). Based on the research, in the Study on the Welfare and Security of Women in BIH, it is concluded, among other things, that "the number of reports of violence is low", "there is no proper law enforcement" (especially in terms of sanctioning perpetrators), inadequate access to justice for women who survived violence during the war (OSCE, 2019, p. v-vi, 70-71).

Natalija Petrić (2019, p. 220) singles out "the most important documents establishing standards in the field of gender-based violence against women", as follows: United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women - Recommendations Nos. 19 and 35 (CEDAW, 1979), The United Nations Proclamation on the Elimination of Violence against Women (DEVAW, 1992), the Beijing Proclamation (1995) and the first regional legally binding document in Europe: (Istanbul) Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence, adopted in 2011. Bosnia and Herzegovina signed and ratified the Istanbul Convention as the sixth member of the Council of Europe in 2013. Framework strategies for the implementation of the Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence in Bosnia and Herzegovina were adopted by the BIH Council of Ministers in 2015.²⁰

As stated in the Report of Bosnia and Herzegovina on Legislative and Other Measures for the Implementation of the Provisions of the Istanbul Convention, in Bosnia and Herzegovina "in the past period a number of public policies have been adopted and implemented directly aimed at combating violence against women or policies containing aspects of the combating violence against women" in the form of "strategies or action plans" (Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees of BIH, 2020, p. 10). This report presents the policies adopted, the method of their enforcement and the monitoring mechanisms. In this context, the report also lists strategic documents (BIH Gender Action Plan and Action Plan for the Implementation of Resolution 1325) which recognize the problems of gender-based violence against women and domestic violence, as well as special policies aimed at preventing and combating these problems. The key objective of these special policies is "prevention of violence and protection of victims, with a priority focus on the interests of victims" (Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees of BIH, 2020, p. 12). It is evident that institutional efforts have been made to improve legal regulations and the adoption of public policies in the form of strategic documents. Nevertheless, the findings of the research by Aleksandra Petrić and Dženana Radončić show that Bosnia and

20 More info at <http://www.mhrr.gov.ba/Saopcjenja/default.aspx?id=5552&langTag=bs-BA>

Herzegovina “have not yet fulfilled most of the obligations accepted by acceding to the Istanbul Convention” (2020, p. 136). This research specifically addressed the issues of application of legal provisions aimed at the prevention and punishment of violence against women. Based on the research findings, it is concluded that it is necessary to improve the criminal law framework and institutional practices in the field of protection of women from violence. (Petrić i Radončić, 2020, p. 136).

In the prevention and suppression of violence against women and domestic violence, a special challenge is the development of general and specialized support services. When it comes to access to these support services (such as safe houses, SOS helplines, counselling, etc.), “over the past two decades, NGOs in Bosnia and Herzegovina have developed a wide range of specialist services for women and children victims of domestic violence in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The focus of their work is to protect the interests of victims and to represent them before the competent institutions.” (Petrić, 2020, p. 223). Thus, these services largely depend on non-governmental organizations and donor funds, instead of the state ensuring their stable and continuous funding.

The Shadow Report for the 3rd cycle of the Universal Periodic Review of the Situation of Human Rights in Bosnia and Herzegovina states that it is necessary to “unify legal solutions in the entity legislation in the field of the legal treatment of domestic violence and violence against women by adopting a single law on protection from domestic violence at the state level” (2019, p. 12). Thus, the financing of safe houses is regulated in various ways by the entity laws on the protection against domestic violence. Financing of the work of safe houses run by NGOs is legally provided from the budget of the Republika Srpska - 70%, and local self-government units - 30% (Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees, 2020, p. 52). On the other hand, in FBIH the mechanism of payment of these costs from the entity level 70%, and from the cantonal level 30% is still not fully provided. (Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees, 2020, p. 51).

On the other hand, in less developed local communities belonging to the Republika Srpska entity, the problem is that the Government of the Republika Srpska allocates 70% for the accommodation of women in safe houses and the local community 30%. Such standardization should take into account the level of development of the local community:

“Because the woman who lives in a big city or in a more developed municipality, she will not even go to a safe house. She is probably in a better financial situation, or she will find it easier to find a job so that she does not have to suffer. But in underdeveloped or extremely underdeveloped municipalities, when violence occurs, you cannot help her when even 70% of the population in that municipality has nowhere to work. She has no way out but to go somewhere and be relocated and spend her annual home budget just on that one occasion when she has to find where to live.²¹“

Given the global trend of the increase of violence against women and domestic violence during the pandemic, on April 20, 2020, issued was the Proclamation of the Committee of Members of the Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (Istanbul Convention) during the COVID-19 pandemic. The Proclamation defines guidelines for governments’ action during the crisis, which include enhanced services and safeguards in crisis situations.

21 Interview with activists from Bratunca, conducted via zoom on August 27, 2020

On the other hand, in BIH, even under “usual” circumstances, the issue of financing safe houses is usually uncertain, and in times of crisis, new challenges are posed to their further work and functioning in new circumstances.

In addition to all this, it should be taken into account that measures that followed the proclamation of the state of emergency in BIH, which were related to reduction of physical contacts and staying at home to prevent spreading of the virus, were discriminatory for some categories of the population. In particular, for those who are victims of domestic violence - and according to previous researches we primarily mean women, children and LGBT people - they are now forced to stay at home with a violent person in conditions of generally increased stress and new (accompanied with additional) financial problems that result from the pandemic. Currently available data, both worldwide and in BIH, clearly show that violence against women and domestic violence is on the rise during the state of emergency. However, exact data in BIH have yet to be presented systematically and clearly, and this will only be possible if all institutions and non-governmental organizations systematically take the data. In addition to all this, the currently available partial data indicate the prevalence of the problem, which justifiably defined the priority areas of a large part of the activities and campaigns of primarily feminist associations and LFS BIH. (Ždralović, 2020). For example, Dizdar Amina singles out as one of the problems during the proclamation of the state of emergency the lack of an alternative solution “where victims of violence would stay during the necessary period of isolation, until they are proven not infected, after which they would be admitted to a safe house where they can get a complete therapeutic treatment.” (Dizdar, 2020).

The violence against women is something that is perceived by general public as something important that needs to be solved. Even among the parts of the population that do not have support for other mechanisms of gender equality, research indicates the existence of awareness of this problem as well as support for its solution. The results of an important survey conducted on a representative sample at the Republika Srpska entity level indicate that domestic violence is recognized as a major problem to be addressed with the aim to achieve gender equality. Other issues, such as the unequal representation of women in politics, distribution of chores, unequal representation of women in some activities, e.g. sports, are considered little or too little important, indicating that a fragmented approach dominates when it comes to how citizens understand gender equality (Babović, Vuković and Petrović 2012: p. 82). This results in the fact that violence is not related to other factors that cause violence, which was confirmed by conversations with activists who point out that, for example, during the pandemic, the focus, if any, was mainly on this segment. This fragmentary approach is even more present at the local level. As stated by the interviewed activist:

“No gender was taken, but there were two women in the crisis headquarters, one is also a health inspector and she is on our Board. And she says we can't separate women and men except when there is violence, there was one rape case but it's for the police and the prosecution... Gender is not in focus, and Nevenka is also a feminist, but she could not pass it.”²²

The period of the pandemic and the kind of chaos that marked that period also enabled the forms of sexual harassment and gender-based violence, as well as mobbing, to take on new forms. The situation has allowed various manipulations to those who are in positions of power and decision-making to threaten the rights of others, in this case, women.

22 Interview with activists from Bratunca, conducted via zoom on 27 August, 2020.

“[...] and we had an active relaxation and recreation group throughout the pandemic we actually had a women’s lobby group. And then, since we were active, women came into contact with other women and so we learned that a number of women at the time of the pandemic reported an increased number of sexual harassment at work, like for example:since they worked in shifts, with a reduced number of workers, the bosses used this opportunity to leave the woman, whom they intended to sexually harass, to work longer, or to work at night, or to work only with him, so that, in the opinion our lobby group, there was an increased number of sexual harassment during the pandemic, because the capacity of employees based on the daily work schedule decreased. And mobbing, of course [...]”²³.

The period of the pandemic complicated the dominant fragmentary approach when it comes to violence against women in several ways. As already mentioned, when it comes to violence against women, the attention comes down to domestic violence and only in those cases some of the commissions for gender equality undertake some activities. At the same time, in less developed or extremely undeveloped local communities, these problems are usually much more complicated under normal, and not to mention extraordinary circumstances.

²³ Interview with activists from Tuzla, conducted via Skype on 10 August, 2020.

6. CONCLUSIONS WITH RECOMMENDATIONS

Despite the accepted international and state standards, the analysis of the situation points to the conclusion that it is necessary to make (additional) efforts to build and promote gender equality. On the basis of the conducted surveys in analysed local communities, it is possible to make a few general recommendations that we believe can be practically implemented and have positive and prompt effects.

First, more active and intensive work of gender equality commissions in local communities is needed. With the aim to improve the quality of work, and/or to only start working in some commissions, it is recommended to start with the practice of regular periodical reporting on work of commissions in local parliaments and to publish reports on municipalities'/city's web page. Reports should be submitted on a regular basis to gender centres on entity levels, but it is necessary to introduce the obligation of publishing it on official web pages. This is, at the same time, one of the modalities to make the work of commissions visible to the local community at the first place.

Second, the possibility of introducing permanent members of gender equality commissions, who would be gender equality experts, needs to be seriously considered. Given that there are already specialized women's associations at the local level, which bring together people who have been working on gender equality issues for many years, the engagement of experts in commissions at the local level should not be a problem, and we believe that this will have a positive impact on activities to promote gender equality at the local level. Professional education for members of commissions could produce results, but they, at the same time, require higher costs and permanent funding, taking into consideration frequent changes of commissions' members. All these reasons resulted in the conclusion that this problem would be easily and efficiently bridged with the permanent memberships in a commission on local levels. We are of the opinion that this would also have a positive impact on the intensity of the work of the commissions and would improve the quality of the activities they carry out, but it could certainly have positive effects both on greater visibility of institutional mechanisms for gender equality, as well as on improving cooperation between the governmental and non-governmental sector.

Third, through this research, but also earlier researches, it is noticed that the members of the existing commissions basically expect some concrete instructions on the activities they should carry out. However, given the limitations in terms of human resources and finances, it is not possible to expect that institutions dealing with gender equality issues at higher levels (primarily entity centres and LFS BIH) communicate daily with all commissions at local levels and give them specific tasks, and one of the reasons is the specifics of the situation in each of their communities. Nevertheless, it is necessary to provide some key instructions for these commissions on local levels. In this context, it would be advisable (once again) to remind the commissions of their scope of work, and perhaps concretely make a manual on possible directions and modalities of their action. We find that it would make sense to draft such a manual through workshops, both in cooperation with experts and members of commissions, and taking into account the specifics of the context. But this type of education and planning of new activities can be efficient, effective and carried out continuously, only with the assumption of appointing permanent members of the commissions at local levels.

Fourth, the findings of this, as well as some other research, indicate a lack of understanding of the basic concept of gender mainstreaming, which should accompany all activities carried out in local communities. Therefore, members of gender equality commissions should be trained not only to advocate for gender equality and initiate activities, but also to be able to evaluate all other proposals (programs, measures, budgets ...) through a gender-responsive perspective.

In addition to the above-mentioned, on the local level, it is necessary to conduct activities of economic empowerment of women, to promote gender equality, to introduce the use of gender-sensitive language (primarily in all administrative documentation) and to continue intensive activities related to this issue. It should also be borne in mind that in 2013, Bosnia and Herzegovina signed and ratified the Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence, the so-called Istanbul Convention, therefore local authorities have the responsibility to implement the provisions of the convention.

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